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## INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER LANGUAGES

GEORG MORGENSTIERNE

VOL. II

IRANIAN PAMIR LANGUAGES
(YIDGHA-MUNJI, SANGLECHI-ISHKASHMI AND WAKHI)



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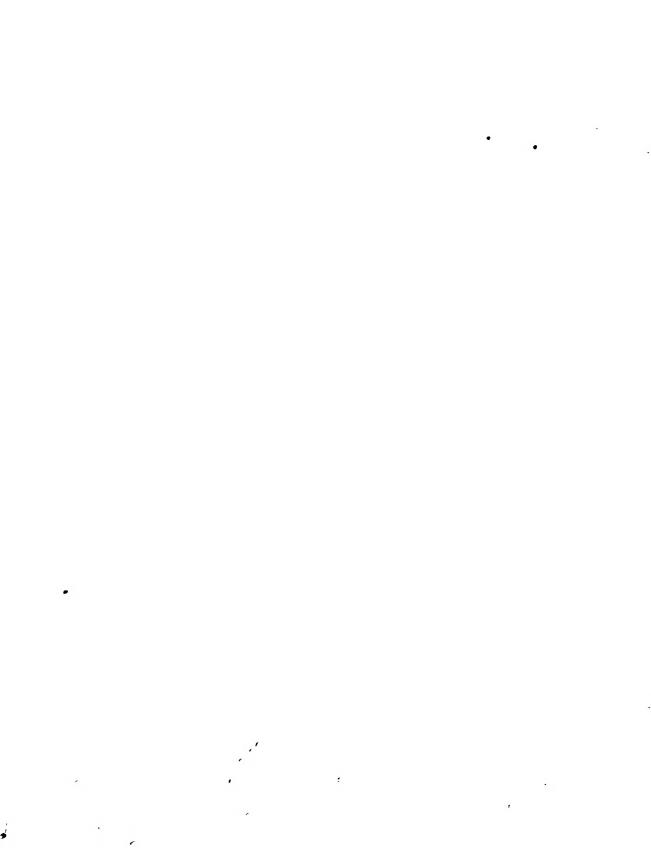
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### **PREFACE**

The following description of some Iranian languages of the Pamir and Hindukush regions is based mainly upon the material collected by the author in Chitral in 1929 and specified in the Introductions to the various sections of this book. To this has been added a few Shughni sentences taken down in Kabul in 1924. With the permission of the Institute and of the Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundet i Lund the late Dr. Sköld's Ishkashmi and Wakhi material has also been incorporated. And, finally, Colonel Lorimer has kindly allowed me to make use of his manuscript Wakhi Vocabulary. Material from other, printed, sources has been utilized as far as it helps to throw light on the historical development and etymology of the languages in question.

It has not been possible to give an exhaustive survey of the Pamir dialects. And, as none of my informants were good story-tellers, the texts are restricted in quantity and not very satisfactory in quality. But it is hoped that this publication will add something to our knowledge of some highly interesting, but rapidly decaying relies of Iranian, that most important but imperfectly known branch of Indo-European. I have preferred the term 'languages' to 'dialects'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> V. H. Skold, Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen, Skrifter utg. av Kungl. Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, XXI, p. VI, sq.—The editor of this work, Professor H. Smith, has included Wakhi in the Vergleichende Wortliste given pp. 132 sqq., to which is referred for a systematic arrangement of part of Skold's Wakhi material.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. below, p 433.

because, in spite of their numerical and cultural insignificance, these vernaculars can no more be reduced to a common standard than can for instance modern English, German and Norwegian.

The Vocabularies of the Pamir languages are of a very composite nature. The most interesting part consists of genuine Iranian words inherited within each separate language. They are of special importance because of our limited knowledge of the ancient Ir. vocabulary. Fortunately the isolated Iranian vernaculars of the Pamirs, and notably Wakhi, have preserved a number of ancient I.E. words. many of which are not known elsewhere in Iranian or Indo-Aryan. On principle I feel no diffidence in comparing words from a single Pamir tongue with such found in other I.E. languages. But opinions may differ as to how far one ought to go in including uncertain etymologies. In a work of this kind I have thought it useful to suggest even doubtful derivations for the critical examination of specialists.

Also from the purely Ir. point of view the vocabularies of the Pamir dialects are of great interest. I feel convinced that the only possible method of localizing the language of the Avesta is a minute study of its vocabulary in the light of the modern dialects, and its character appears to me to be preponderantly Eastern Ir. We may also mention the curious fact that while in Yidgha-Munji the word for 'sun'  $(m\bar{\nu}ra)$  goes back to  $Mi\partial ra$ , the neighbouring Sanglechi has preserved the name of Ahura-Mazdā in the same sense.

The loan-words of the Pamir languages are of various kinds. Some, not always easily recognizable, have come in from one of the neighbouring Ir. dialects. A few are borrowed from Turkish or I.A. But a very large and rapidly increasing number of words are of Persian origin. It would be of great interest to investigate the different strata of such loans and the various roads of invasion.

An interesting element are such Pamir-Hindukush words of unknown origin which appear to be common to several of the Ir. and I.A. languages of this region, in some cases also to Burushaski-And, finally, we find within each dialect, and especially in Wakhi, a number of apparently isolated words.

A firm basis for our understanding of the phonetical and morphological development of the Pamir languages has been laid by Geiger, and Munji and Ishkashmi-Zebaki have been dealt with separately by Gauthiot, Grierson and Zarubin. I am indebted to these my predecessors at every step in my investigation, but I have not thought it necessary or practical to quote them constantly. With the help of the new material at my disposal I have tried to carry out an historical explanation as far as possible, being well aware that much remains uncertain and hypothetical.

If the phonological and systemological view point has not been followed up as much as might be desirable, this is to a great extent due to the character of the material, which is often incongruous and insufficient for such purposes.\(^1\) Especially the vocalic systems of the languages in question are not easily definable, and the swamping with loan-words makes it difficult to decide exactly what phonemes belong to the genuine systems of the dialects. Still greater are the obstacles which meet us if we try to reconstruct the phonetical system of a Pamir language at some earlier stage, in order to be able to consider the sound-changes which have taken place from a phonological point of view. Yet an attempt may be made to offer a few remarks of a more general nature.

If we look at the changes through which the Yidgha-Munji consonant system has developed from Old Iranian, we find that the most striking feature is the dissolution—as in most modern Ir. languages—of the harmony in the system of fricatives. Among the unvoiced fricatives x and f are retained, but their position in the system has been changed through the introduction of epenthetic vowels in the groups fr, etc., through the metathesis of fr, etc., and through the change of ft > vd, etc. How long  $\theta$  has been retained is impossible to tell. We can only prove that the change into x is later than the dropping of unstressed i, and point to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the section-headings 'Historical Phonology' the word phonology has not been used in the modern, "phonological" sense.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 172, 9.

fact that common Yd.—Mj. still retained  $\vartheta$ , just as Shgh. does to the present day. But while \* $\vartheta rai$ , \* $\check{x}rai$  '3' and \* $i\vartheta\vartheta\varphi\bar{u}r$ , \* $\check{e}\check{x}\check{x}\varphi\bar{u}r$  '4' have remained long, - $\vartheta r$ - was reduced to -r- at an early date, e.g. in  $p\bar{u}r$  'son'.

Phonetically  $\delta$  may have become l very early, but phonologically speaking the change was not completed till it coalesced with  $l < r\delta$ , and with l in loan-words, thus forming a new phoneme, and breaking up the series v  $(\beta)$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ .

Through the change of nd > d, ft > rd, etc., and through the adoption of loan-words the voiced occlusives have again become part of the system, and new occlusives have been added by the introduction of g and the development of palatal k' and g'. A new opposition has been created through the differentiation of  $\hat{r}$  and c, but a parallel pair f: f has not come into existence.

The system of sibilants was profoundly altered through the early change, common to many E.Ir. languages, of j > i, of -i - i (from which Yd.—Mj. -y-. etc.), and of s(l)r > i, opposed to i.

It is not probable that the introduction of cerebrals in Yd.—Mj. should be due merely to the influence of Indo-Aryan loanwords, of which few, if any, appear to be of great antiquity. In most East Ir. languages ancient rt is represented by a sound which probably has passed through a common stage d. Thus: Shgh.  $m\bar{u}d$ , Rosh.  $m\bar{u}g$ , Yazgh.  $m\partial g$ , Yd., Par. mur, Sgl.  $m\partial l$ . Psht.  $m\partial r$ , Orm. mull-, Saka mula-, but Oss. mard, Wkh.  $m\partial rt$ , Yaghn. murta < mrta-.

The intermediary stage between rt and d may either have been \*rd or \*t. The latter alternative seems the more probable one on account of the treatment of secondary \*-rt-< \*-rit- in Shgh., Rosh.  $z\bar{\imath}rd$ , Yazgh.  $z\bar{\imath}rd$ , Yd.  $z\bar{\imath}t$ , Par.  $z\bar{\imath}t\bar{o}$  'yellow' (and  $m\hat{\imath}t$  'killed'). A development of rt>rd>d, and of rit>rt>rd in Shgh. would imply that rt had twice changed into rd, and the tentative chronology of Yd.—Mj. tabulated on p. 109. 7)  $^3$  presupposes a sonorization of

•

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. also Sgl.—Ishk. § 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf., however, Yd.—Mj. § 127.

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$  \*rt > \*rd > \*d.

t after r earlier than that of intervocalic occlusives. It is therefore, I think, more plausible to assume an early assimilation of rt > t in this group of E.Ir. dialects, and it is perhaps not excluded that Av. "s" represents an attempt to denote a cerebral sound of this type.

In pre-Yd.—Mj. other cerebrals appeared through the assimilation of rn, and rzn > n, of rn + t > nt (nt), and the absorption of the variety of t pronounced after an t into the cerebral series. The subsequent fate of these early Yd.—Mj. cerebrals may be tabulated as follows:

Also Sanglechi-Ishkashmi is characterized by the late loss of  $\vartheta$  (> S t, I s), but early assimilation of  $\vartheta r$ , by the dissolution of the system of fricatives, the development of  $\check{s}$  from s(t)r, the opposition between  $\check{c}$  and c, the introduction of cerebrals and q, and by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> At any rate no E.Ir. dialect lends any support to Junker's assumption of a "unvoiced, fricative r" as the intermediate stage.

B - Kulturforskning.

development of l (from rt/d and  $-\dot{s}$ -), which appears at present to be about to coalesce with l. Characteristic of Sgl. is the phonological equivalence of -d- and  $-\delta$ -, while in Ishk. the two sounds have coalesced also phonetically.

From Wkh. may be mentioned the differentiation of  $\gamma$  and  $\dot{\gamma}$ , and of x and  $\dot{x}$ . The unvoiced fricatives, which had to a great extent disappeared, have been reintroduced in loanwords and in secondary formations. Also cerebrals have been adopted into the system.

There is a common tendency towards a relaxation in the articulation of i and u; ai and au were monophthongized, as everywhere in Middle and Modern Iranian, and it is possible that the development of  $\bar{a} > \bar{u}$  is common to the southern group of Pamir languages (Yd.—Mj., Sgl.—Ishk., and Wkh.).

Ancient "a" appears in various forms in the modern dialects. It is impossible to decide at which stage the variations of this sound became separate phonemes.

Common Sgl.—Ishk. appears to have known four sounds developed from a, viz.<sup>4</sup>: 1) o, e.g., in Sgl. dos, Ishk, das 'ten'; 2) a, e.g.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wkh. § 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sgl.—Ishk. d- may be due to a secondary influence of Prs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> But various instances of a-umlaut show that final  $\tilde{a}$  had not become labialized before it was dropped in Shgh. and Sgl.—Ishk., and also in Parachi. Cf. p. 324; IIFL. I, p. 23, and NTS. I, p. 84. Probably it was shortened to -a at an early date.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sgl.—Ishk. §§ 78 sqq.

in Sgl.—Ishk. kas. 'to see'; 3)  $\bar{o}$ , e.g., in Sgl.  $v\bar{o}st$ , Ishk.  $v\bar{u}st$  'bound'; 4)  $\bar{a}$ , e.g., in Sgl.  $v\bar{a}nd$ -, Ishk.  $v\bar{o}nd$ - 'to bind'. In the modern dialects the quantity is perhaps not relevant, but it certainly was so in common Sgl.—Ishk. We therefore find early Prs. lw.s with  $\bar{o}$  in Class 3 (e.g.  $k\bar{o}r$ :  $k\bar{u}r$  'blind'); and such with Prs.  $\bar{a}$  in Class 4 (e.g.  $n\bar{a}f$ :  $n\bar{o}f$  'navel').

Type 1 frequently goes back to words with a in originally open syllable. Thus, Sgl. dos 'ten',  $o_7od$  'came',  $v\bar{o}r$  'door',  $x\bar{o}f$  'foam'  $\dot{z}od$  'killed', mod(ak) 'here',  $nov\bar{o}k$  'rain'.

Type 2 may represent a in open syllable before an  $\bar{a}$  in the following syllable. Thus kasen 'I see' < \* $kas\bar{a}mi$ ;  $xw\bar{a}r\bar{o}n$  'I eat' < \* $hwar\bar{a}mi$ ;  $^1$  fras- 'to ask'; nav- 'to rain'; tar 'from' < \* $tar\bar{a}$ , etc. Type 3 contains chiefly words with a in ancient closed syllable: Sgl.  $v\bar{o}st$  'bound';  $v\bar{o}nd\bar{o}m$  'wheat';  $v\bar{o}s$  'rope' (< \*bastra-): kot 'saw' (< \*kasta-);  $\bar{o}v\delta$  'seven':  $f^3r\bar{o}t$  'asked', etc.

Type 4 consists of words with a in a closed syllable before  $\bar{a}$  or i, both of which may have prevented labialization. Examples are: Sgl.  $v\bar{a}nd$ - 'to bind';  $x\bar{a}nd$ - 'to laugh', and other verbal stems;  $c\bar{a}m$  'eye',  $p\bar{a}m$  'wool'.  $d\bar{a}nd$  'tooth',  $m\bar{a}r$  'husband', from nominatives in  $-\bar{a}$  of ancient stems in -n;  $2 w\bar{a}r$  'trousers';  $z\bar{a}l$  'yellow' < \*zarita-;  $j\bar{a}n$ ) 'woman'  $< *janic\bar{i}i$ ;  $\bar{a}s\bar{i}k$  'tear'  $< *asr\bar{i}ka$ -  $< *asr\bar{u}ka$ -;  $m\bar{a}rc\bar{i}k$  'ant'  $< marwic\bar{i}i$  + ik.

But there are numerous exceptions, which do not fit in with this scheme.

Thus  $w\bar{a}t$ : wat 'fell' belongs to Type 2 and not, as expected, to 3; warf 'snow' ( $< *wafr\bar{a}(h)$ ) to 2, and not to 4: 3  $orm\bar{o}zd$  'sun' to 3 and not to 4: 4  $wu\bar{a}l$ :  $x\bar{o}l$  'six' must, in order to fit in, be derived from \* $xwa\dot{s}\dot{s}\bar{a}$ , but Sgl.  $h\bar{o}t$ , Zeb.  $\dot{u}t$  'eight', points to \* $a\dot{s}ta$ . 5

¹ But xwōrō·ī < \*hxarati. Cf. Shgh. xārum: xīrd; Par. xarem (not \*xōrem, cf. Par. Gramm. § 189).—But Mj. 'xarəm: xūt prob. < \*xūrt < \*x<sup>n</sup>art.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But note Yd. čam, pad, lad.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Perhaps Ishk, got its a from Prs. barf.

<sup>4</sup> Ahuramazdā(h) may have been transferred into the a-declension at an early date.

<sup>5</sup> Ishk. at with a from Prs. ašt?

In the suffixes  $-\delta k$  (<\*-akah) and  $-\delta k$  (<\*-aka) the vowel must have been lengthened. Especially difficult to explain are: sor: sur 'head'; xor: xur 'ass'; tovōr: tuwur 'axe'; yōz: yūz 'firewood', which belong to Type 3, although one would expect to find them together with vōr: var 'door' in Class 1.¹ It ought, however, to be noted that we also find Wkh. xur 'ass'; yūz 'firewood'; purk 'rat' in contradistinction to būr 'door', pūrg 'ashes'; but Wkh. also has  $t^*p\bar{a}r$  'axe'.

In spite of these irregularities, which may partly be due to mixing of dialects, the factors mentioned above appear to be the only ones which might explain at any rate the majority of cases. And, at all events, it seems certain that common Sgl.—Ishk. must already have possessed four separate phonemes: a, o,  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{o}$ , all derived from ancient "a".

In the Vocabularies the words have been arranged in order of their consonants (cf. IIFL. I. p. 230).

Words quoted from other sources have as far as possible been adapted to the transcription used in this work.

Thus Shaw:  $\hat{a} = \mathring{a}$ , a = A,  $\hat{e} = \bar{e}$ , i,  $\hat{i} = \bar{i}$ ,  $\hat{o}$ ,  $\hat{o} = \bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\hat{u} = \bar{u}$ ,  $th = \vartheta$ ,  $dh = \delta$ ,  $sh = \check{s}$ ,  $sch = \check{s}$ ,  $z = \check{z}$ , khh = x,  $kh = \check{x}$ ,  $gh = \gamma$ , italic  $g = \check{\gamma}$ ,  $ch = \check{c}$ , ts = c,  $j = \check{j}$  and  $dz = \check{j}$ .

I have also changed Sköld's and Lentz's i, u, ts,  $t\dot{s}$ , etc., into y, w, c,  $\check{c}$ , etc., and  $\check{x}$ ,  $\check{\gamma}$  in Shgh., etc., into  $\check{s}$ ,  $\dot{z}$ . Thus, e.g.,  $y\bar{o}\dot{c}$  for Sköld's  $io.t\dot{s}$ .

I have retained Lorimer's u for the high, mixed vowel. Sköld himself has frequently altered the  $\bar{u}$  of his original notations into  $\bar{i}$ , but  $\bar{u}$  has sometimes remained unchanged.

In words taken from Bellew's and Biddulph's lists I have tran-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sgl.  $p\bar{o}rk$ : Ishk. purk 'rat, mouse'  $< *p\bar{o}rk < *pork$ , with early contraction < \*paruka; but Zeb. park 'ashes'  $< *parak\bar{a}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Afghan author of the list of Shughni words in Annuaire de la revue de Kaboul, 1934—35, pp. 148 sqq., writes بُغ بُّغ بُل but  $\dot{\tilde{z}}$  بُر.

scribed  $\hat{a}$  with  $\hat{a}$ , gh with  $\gamma$ , sh with  $\hat{s}$ , ch with  $\hat{c}$ , and th with  $\vartheta$ , wherever the correctness of the transcription seemed to be certain. But I<sub>•</sub> have quoted, e.g., Bellew's "zäghit". Biddulph's "thurght", and Capus' "dyhogit, dzogit" 'daughter' within quotation-marks, without attempting to restore the true phonetical form (< \* $\delta\ddot{a}\gamma^{i}\dot{q}$ , \* $\delta\bar{a}\gamma\dot{q}$ , and \* $\delta\sigma\gamma^{i}d$ ?).

In a few cases I am afraid that I have not been consistent in the use of final, postvocalic -i, -u and -y, -w.

The Prs. and Khowar translations added to words and phrases in the Vocabularies are given in the exact, not always very correct, form in which they were given by my informants.

In the Yd.—Mj. Vocabulary "Y" after a word denotes that identical forms were given by Yzh, Ysh and at least two other Yd. informants. Similarly "Sgl. p." in the Sgl.—Ishk. Vocabulary means that the form is common to Sgl. p 1, 2, and 3.

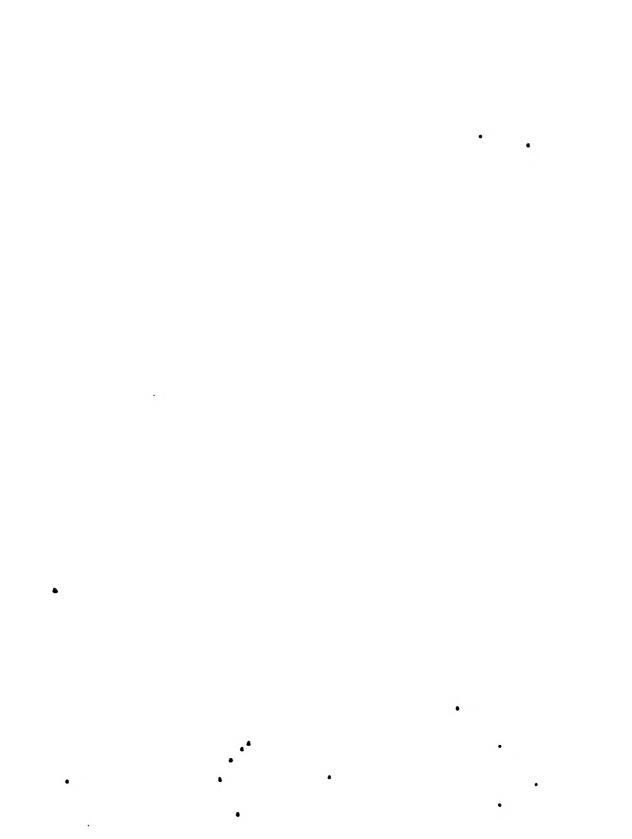
The English-Iranian Index which I hope may be of some use to Iranian scholars, has to a large extent been compiled by my wife.

My sincere thanks are also due to Professor Konow for his advise during the proof-reading, to Mr. G. K. Laycock, Lecturer at the University of Gothenburg, for correcting the English of the greater part of the volume, and to the printers and the diligent and patient compositors. I desire also in this place to express my gratitute to the authorities of Chitral, who kindly helped me and received me with hospitality during my work in the country.

The printing of this volume began in June 1936, and later publications have only occasionally been referred to.

Oslo, 7-1-1938.

G. M.



### **ABBREVIATIONS**

### Languages.

Bal.	== Balochi.	O. Prs	. = Old Persian.	S.gl). = Sanglechi.
Bart,	, = Bartangi.	Or.	— Oroshori.	Shgh. = Shughni,
Bur.	= Burushaski.	Orm.	= Ormuri.	Sogd. = Sogdian.
IA.	= Indo-Aryan.	Oss.	= Ossetic.	Wan. = Wanetsi Pashto.
IE.	= Indo-European.	Par.	= Parachi.	Wkh. = Wakhi.
Ir.	= Iranian.	Prs.	= (New\ Persian,	Y.d). = Yidgha.
I(shk	i). = Ishkashmi.	Psht.	= Pashto.	Yaghn. = Yaghnobi.
Khov	w. = Khowar.	Rosh.	= Roshani.	Yazgh. = Yazghulami.
M.j).	= Munji.	Sar.	= Sarikoli.	Zb. = Zebaki.

#### Books and Periodicals, etc.

- AIM. = Herzfeld, Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran-
- B. = Biddulph, Yidghah Voc., in Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh.
- Barth. Miran. Mund. = Bartholomae, Mitteliranische Mundarten, I-VI. Sitzb. Heidelb. Ak. d. Wiss. 1916-1925.
- Be. = Bellew, Voc. of Sárigh Cúlí, Wákhi etc., in Forsyth, Report on a Mission to Yarkund 1873.
- Benv. Gr. Sogd. = Benveniste, Grammaire Sogdienne, II.
- Bi. = Biddulph, Voc. of Sirikol, Wakhan and Kunjoot dialects, in Forsyth, Report (v. above).
- Burhan ud Din. Bu D. = Burxan-ud-Din-xan-i-Kuškeki, Kattagan i Badaxšan. Taškent, 1926.
- Cap(us) = Voc. Wakhi, in Bull. de la Société d' Anthropologie de Paris, 3º Série, Tom. 12, p. 206 sq.
- Et. Voc. Psht. = Morgenstierne, Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto.
- G. = Gauthiot, Quelques observations sur le Mindjani, MSL. XX. pp. 133 sqq.

Geiger, Pamirdialekte, or Gr.Ir.Ph. = W. Geiger, Die Pāmir-Dialekte, in Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie, I, 2.

Gramm, = Grammophone record.

Grierson — Sir George A. Grierson, Ishkashmi, Zebaki, and Yazghulami. (As. Soc. Prize Publ. Fund, V.

Herzfeld, v. AIM,

Hjuler = A. Hjuler, The languages spoken in the Western Pamir, in: The Second Danish Pamir-Expedition, conducted by O. Olufsen.

Houtnm-Schindler = H. Sch., Beiträge zum kurdischen Wortschatze, ZDMG, 38, pp. 43 sqq.

IIFL., I. = Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, I.

Junker, Drei Erz. = H. Junker, Drei Erzählungen auf Yaγnåbī, Sitz. d. Heidelb. Ak. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 1914, 14.

Kl. = S. I. Klimčickiy, Vaxanskie teksti, in: Trndy Tadžikistanskoy bazī, Tom III.

Lentz. = W. Lentz, Pamir-Dialekte, I. Ergänzungsheft z. Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung, Nr. 12.

Lorimer, Bnr. Gramm. = D. L. R. Lorimer, Burushaski Grammar.

Mir. Man. = Andreas-Henning, Mitteliranische Manichaica (in SBAW).

Munshi Faiz Bakhsh. = Vocabularies collected by M. F. B., and publ. by Shaw, in Ghalchah Langnages, pp. 134 sqq.

Or. Stud. Pavry = Oriental Studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry, London 1933. Ol. = Olnfsen, Through the unknown Panirs.

Rep. (on a lingu. mission to) Afgh. = Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan.

Rep. (on a lingu. mission to) N.W. Iud. = Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to North-Western India.

Shgh. ABC and abc. = Inqilōbi Madani Pōndand (Shughni primer for grown up people), and Xuγ̈nōni Alifbə (Shughni primer for children), Stalinabad 1932 and 1931.

Sköld, Mater. = H. Sköld, Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen. Skr. utg. av kgl. Hum. Vetensk. samf. i Lund, XXI.

Stein = Material collected by Sir A. Stein, and published by Grierson (v. above). Studia Indo-Ir. = Studia Indo Iranica, Ehrengabe für W. Geiger.

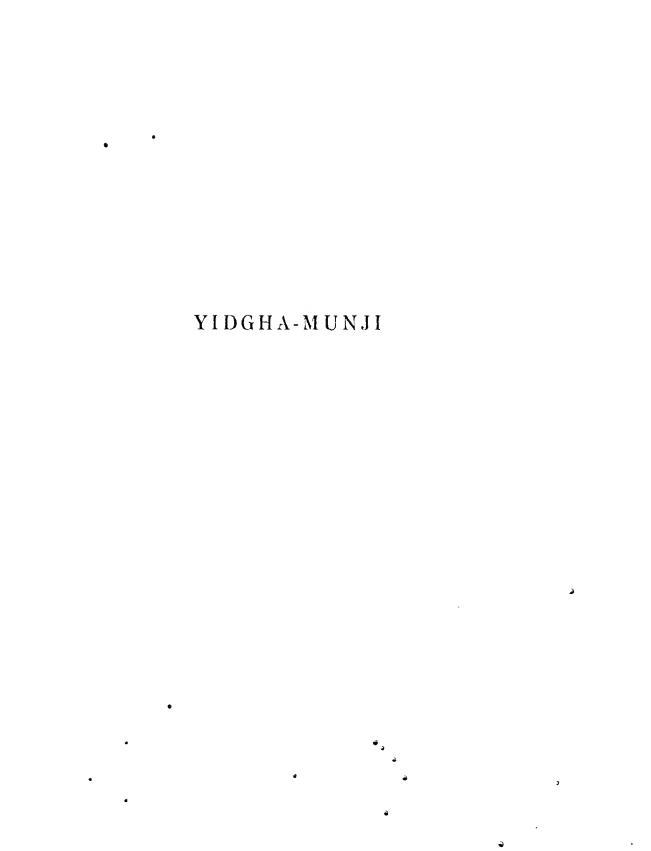
Tomaschek = W. Tomaschek, Centralasiatische Studien, II.

Vavilov, Agricultural Afghanistan = N. I. Vavilov and D. D. Bukinin, Agricultural Afghanistau, Leningrad, 1929 (in Russian).

W'alde) P(ok.) = A. Walde, Vergl. Wörterbuch d. indo-germ. Sprochen, herausgeg. von J. Pokorny.

Zar. = Zarnbin, K xarakteristike mundžanskogo yazīka, Iran. I.

Zar. Očerk razg, yaz. samark. = Zarubin. Očerk razgovornogo yazika Samarkandskix Evreev, Iran., II.



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#### INTRODUCTION

1. A bibliography of the scanty literature dealing with the two closely related Iranian dialects Munji and Yidgha has been given in LSI, X pp. 509 and 518, and it has been brought up to date by Zarubin¹ and by Lentz.² Cf. also the present author's review of Zarubin's article,³ and the short remarks about Yidgha and Munji, Report on a Linguistic Mission to N.W. India, pp. 69—72.

The material for the study of Yidgha was previously limited to the Vocabulary of some 500—600 words with introductory remarks given by Biddulph in his Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh,<sup>4</sup> and to the translation of the Parable and the Standard List of words contained in the LSI.

Munji was made known to philologists four years earlier than its sister dialect through the vocabulary of some eighty words collected by Munshi Faiz Bakhsh and published by Shaw.<sup>5</sup> This list is, however, disfigured by numerous errors and misprints.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from the material published in LSI, the only contributions to our knowledge of Munji in recent times have been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> К характеристике мунджанского языка, Иран, I, 111 sqq., Leningrad, 1927.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pamir-Dialekte, I, p. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> NTS, III, 296-98.

<sup>4</sup> Calcutta 1880, pp. CLIV-CLXIX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> On the Ghalchah Languages, JASB, 1876.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. kara 'ass', with k- for x-;  $tar\acute{a}t\acute{i}$  'black', with t (3) for n (3);  $p\acute{a}s\acute{t}i$  'bone', with p (2) for y (2); ghaoda 'cow', with d (3) for w (5);  $y\grave{a}rgh$  'rat', with y (2) for p (3); vorah 'goat', with r (5) for z (5), etc.

Gauthiot's Quelques observations sur le mindjâni, containing some 300 words, and Zarubin's above-mentioned article (about 850 words of vocabulary, with a valuable grammatical introduction).

Probably no part of this material has been collected in Yidgha or Munji-speaking territory. Gauthiot took down his vocabulary in Samarkand from a Kulābī peasant who was born in Wakhan in a small colony of Munjis settled there. Zarubin's material is derived from two Munji emigrants living in Ishkashim, and Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan, the chief informant of the LSI, probably collected his data about the various Pamir dialects from visitors to the capital of Chitral. Biddulph may, of course, have taken down his vocabulary of "Yidghah spoken in the upper part of the Lutkho valley and in Munjan" in Lutkuh itself, but it is perhaps more reasonable to assume that he made his diverse linguistic investigations in Chitral Headquarters.

2. As a matter of fact, very few Europeans seem to have visited Munjan, and none of them gives any information about the language spoken there. Wood 2 never proceeded beyond the lapis lazuli mines above Firgamu which are still in Persian-speaking territory. The only other European visitors known to me are Robertson, 3 who in 1892 (?) paid a flying visit to a Munjan village bordering upon Kafiristan, and the Russian botanists Vavilov and Bukinich, 4 who passed through Sanglech and Munjan. But Vavilov did not even notice that the language spoken in Munjan differed from that of the rest of Badakhshan.

Lutkuh, the home of the Yidgha-speaking *Idðys*, is much better known, and has, owing to its belonging to the British Indian protected state of Chitral, been visited by numerous British officers But

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> MSL, XIX, pp. 133-157.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  A personal narrative of a journey to the sources of the Oxus. London 1841. V. pp. 262 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush, pp. 315 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Agricultural Afghanistan. Leningrad 1929, pp. 112 sqq.

none of them has, as for as I am aware, published anything about the local dialect.

- 3. My material about Yidgha was collected in the summer of 1929 partly in Chitral Town and partly at Garm Chishma and other places in Lutkuh. During a visit to the Dorah Pass I twice came through the Yidgha settlements in Lutkuh. The political unrest in Afghanistan rendered it impossible to obtain permission to visit Munjan, but I came into contact with several Munjis in Chitral. They came there as traders, and some of them used the opportunity to bring with them for sale lapis lazuli from the famous mines which under normal conditions are exploited by the Afghan government.
- 4. My Yidgha informants were:
  - 1) Mahmad from Zhitr. My best informant, from whom I got an Yzh extensive vocabulary, besides sentences and paradigms. About 30 years old. (I worked with him at Garm Chishma.)
  - 2) Hawala Khan from Parabek, havildar in H. H.'s bodyguard, a Yp comparatively young man.—Two short songs, and a vocabulary taken down in the fields and houses of Burbunu (with some contributions from the villagers). (Garm Chishma).
  - 3) Bik from Gufti, havildar in His Highness' bodyguard. A young, Yg brown-haired and blue-eyed, brachycephalic Homo Alpinus. Quite intelligent and willing.—Vocabulary and some sentences. (Chitral).
  - 4) Kurban Ali, born in Zhitr, but living in Ughuti since many Yu years. 50—60 years old, and not easy to work with—Two tales.—(Garm Chishma).
  - 5) Haidar Ali from Rubāt-i-Kərōn in Munjan, but settled for the Yr last 20 years in Garm Chishma. About 40 years old.—His language was in the main Y, but interspersed with some M forms. 1—Vocabulary and sentences. (Chitral and Garm Chishma).
  - 6. Ghulām Haidar, who first asserted that he was a native of Ysh Shahr-i-Munjan, but later turned out to be from Zhitr. He

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thus e.g.  $br\bar{u}t$  mustache,  $b\bar{u}vo$  widow,  $ojuz_{7}o$  frog.  $t\bar{v}vist\bar{v}n$  summer.  $zimist\bar{v}n$  winter (with M  $\bar{o}$ ), v. Voc. s.vv.

probably thought that the dialect of a more distant place would fetch a higher price in the marked.—Quite intelligent.—Vocabulary, sentences, and a long tale. (Chitral).

- 5. My Munji informants were:
  - 7) Ali Mahmad from Miāndeh in Munjan. Ysh denied that A.M. Mm was a native of Munjan, probably in order to appear to be my—at that time—only purveyor of Munji. There can be no doubt whatever that Mm spoke good and pure Munji, and he was my chief informant as regards that dialect.—Vocabularies, sentences, and a short tale. (Chitral).
  - 8) Kurbān Mahmad from Gaz, below Miāndeh.—Middle-aged.— Mg Vocabulary, sentences. (Chitral).
  - 9) Naurōz from Gaz.—Short vocabulary (about 300 words). (Chitral). M(g)

Mt

10) Jawār from Tagou.—Vocabulary. (Chitral).
Besides I made quite short enquiries from the following persons

Besides I made quite short enquiries from the following persons whom I came across in Chitral village, or on the road:

- 11) A man from Tilī (Xulī).—Vocabulary (125 words). (Chitral). Mti
- 12) Nazar Shāh from Shahr-i-Munjan.—Voc. (some 50 words). M(sh)
- 13) Ali Nazar from Shahr-i-Munjan.—Numerals only.

  Msh
- 14) Kurban Mahmad from Tagou.—A few words and grammatical M(t) forms.
- 6. Unfortunately none of my informants were any good as story-tellers, and it was only with difficulty that I could get tales out of some of them. Moreover, the Munjis were eager to return to the harvesting work as quickly as possible, and not even the persuasive powers of my Pathan servant Yasin Khan could induce them to stay in Chitral. In most cases I could only work with the Munjis for a day or even less.
- 7. The origin of the name Munjan has been discussed in an article in BSOS, VI, pp. 29 sqq. Prs. Munjān is an arabized form of Mungān, cf. Sgl. Mandežān. While the Munjis themselves use the Prs. form, the Y name of the valley is Bre'γεyo, which together

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with Kati  $Mr'\tilde{u}$ -gul and Khowar  $Mirj\bar{a}n$  (in poetry) points to original \*Mrga- or a similar form.

The Kati name used in myths and legends is  $K \partial m \bar{o}r$ , v. op. cit. p.  $442^2$ , and cf. the name of the pass leading from Prasun to Munjan: K a m a h (Robertson),  $K a m a r b i d \bar{a}$  on the K. Pass', Survey Map), K o m a h (Vavilov), K a m a r b i d a (Voigt, Kafiristan).

8. Munjan is mentioned for the first time in the 7th century AD by Hüan Tsang, who says that the people depend on the Turks and that their "manners . . . resemble to a great extent the Hwoh country" (Kunduz = Tokharistan).

Very little is known about the subsequent history of the district. Yule <sup>2</sup> has rendered it probable that the Munjan of the Arab travellers must have extended towards the north right up to the neighbourhood of Talikan and Khanabad. However this may be, the evidence of some place-names seems to indicate that Munji was once spoken further north than is the case at present.<sup>3</sup>

Whether Melengad (p. 131 Melengan) n.e. of Jurm on Burhan ud Din's map (Бадахшан и Каттаган, p. 120) contains Mj. malanë 'middle', is of course quite uncertain, as other "l-dialects" exist, cf. below §§ 27, 28.

In more recent times Munjan came under the sway of the Mirs of Badakhshan, and, according to Burhan ud Din,<sup>4</sup> paid a yearly tribute of two Kafir slaves. It is not quite clear how they were able to procure these slaves, since Wood <sup>5</sup> tells us about frequent Kafir inroads into Badakhshan through Munjan, and adds that since

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, 288.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Marqwardt, Eranshahr, 226, 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. Firgamu, Firghamiru s. of Jurm, Firgam Tal, n. of Faizabud, etc. (cf. Voc. s.v.  $f \epsilon r' \gamma \bar{a} m \bar{\sigma}$ ), and Gharmai, s. of Jurm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Op. cit. p. 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Op. cit. p. 266.

the time of an especially violent attack some time before his visit, there had been no permanent settlers in the valley above Firgamu. This last information must be greatly exaggerated and is probably due to some kind of misunderstanding. But the peaceful and dull Munjis, who according to Burhan ud Din himself, only possess some 30—40 matchlocks and 5—6 (!) knives and swords between them, are hardly likely to have been able to capture slaves from the Kafirs, even from the meek and peaceful Prasuns. But possibly they bought Kafir slaves for the purpose.

In 1859, on the conquest of Kataghan by the Afghans, Munjan together with the rest of Badakhshan became a tributary to Kabul and, according to Burhan ud Din, agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 300 rupies. Vavilov and one of my informants state that there is a small Afghan military post in the valley.

Munjan is an excessively poor district. Vavilov 1 writes that the inhabitants gain their bread with enormous difficulties. They have few children because as they say, there is not enough food for more. The inhabitants of Tili have only sufficient bread for nine months, the rest of the year they subsist on grass and roots. Only on rare occasions do they eat meat. They cannot keep large flocks 2 on account of the scarcity of pasture, 3 but rely on agriculture.

Vavilov and Burhan ud Din agree that apricots and other kinds of fruit are of no importance. There are a few apricot-trees in the lower villages, but the fruit is bitter, and the blossoms are frequently destroyed by frost. Mulberries are not grown. The snow remains in Tili for from three to six months. Barley, millet

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. for the following pp. 112 sqq. and 526 sq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Acc. to B. nd D. the 2500 inhabitants of Anjuman and Munjan possess 111 horses, 898 cows and asses, and 4149 sheep. Vavilov found 25 horses, 40 cows, 25 sheep, 15 goats and 4 donkeys in Tili, a village of 20 houses with 50—60 inhabitants. The position of Tili at the foot of the pass leading to Kafiristan probably accounts for the number of horses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Robertson (l.c.) mentions the good quality of the grazing grounds, but this may apply only to single localitics. Nowhere is the exploitation of snmmer-pastnres in the hills mentioned, nor did I hear about it.

mixed with rye, and peas form the staple crops, but "the fields are heaps of stones amongst which small patches of ground are sown with millet and barley."

The inhabitants eke out the meagre produce of agriculture by trading on a small scale. They carry on their backs salt from Faizabad to Nuristan and sell it in exchange for wool, butter, hides and felt (palas).<sup>2</sup>

But, as I had occasion to observe, Munjis also take part in the export of blocks of red Badakhshi rock-salt to Chitral, and employ horses or donkeys for its transport.

Munjan is not altogether cut off from the outer world. According to B. ud D. a "big government road" leads through Munjan from Jurm and across the Hindukush to Prasun in Nuristan (= Kafiristan).<sup>3</sup> Another road, or track, leads from Maghnawul in Munjan across the Khelargai and Dorah Passes to Chitral, without touching the inhabited part of the Sanglech valley. And finally there is a rough track from Maghnawul to the Bashgal Valley.

The road across the Hindukush to Prasun and further into the Kunar valley is of quite recent date and the traffic which it carries has as yet had little influence upon the population of Munjan and their language. The main route, at any rate in earlier times, branched off below Munjan proper, followed the Anjuman river, and crossed into Panjshir and the Kabul region.

Among the three regions which may have influenced Munjan linguistically and culturally there is no doubt that Persian-speaking Badakhshan has for geographical and political reasons played a more important part than Chitral or Kafiristan. But there is one factor which has tended to isolate Munjan from the neighbouring districts on the same river-system. The Munjis are Ismailis

<sup>1</sup> Vavilov, l. c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> B. ud D. p. 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In Woods time the road between Jurm and Munjan was very bad.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The trade in the small bazar at Chitral village appears to have been insignificant prior to the British occupation in 1895.

and pay their tribute to the agents of the Agha Khan, just as the Yidghs and most other Pamir tribes do, while Kuran and Anjuman, with the exception of two villages Rabat and Sekui, bordering upon Munjan and probably originally Munji speaking, are of the Sunni persuasion.<sup>1</sup>

According to Vavilov, the inhabited part of the Munjan valley extends for 22—24 km. from Shahr (-i- Munjan) to Tili. In a side valley branching off towards the east at Shahr lies "Torau", 8—9 km. from Shahr, and close to it Maghnawul.<sup>2</sup> From Tili to the top of the Prasun Pass the distance is 42 versts.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the existing maps of Munjan are far from being exact. Thus, on the map accompanying Abdur Rahman's memoirs the whole valley has been turned upside down, and on the apparently very detailed map in B. ud. D.'s book the villages have been thrown about in a most fanciful manner. And even Vavilov, who passed through the district, on both of his maps places Maghnawul and "Torou" in the main valley below Shahr! The information I received about the position of the villages agrees in the main with the Survey of India maps.

- 10. Our only material for determining the number of inhabitants in Munjan is to be found in the particulars given by Vavilov and Burhan ud Din. Burhan ud Din estimates the population at 1500 persons, and the number of houses at 237.5 He does not, however,
  - <sup>1</sup> Cf. B. u. D., l.c.—According to my informants  $Rob\bar{a}t$  now speaks Farsi, but place-names such as Tuyakaf are evidently of Mj. origin.
    - <sup>2</sup> Acc. to Vavilovs map, p. 113, 10 versts, a little over 10 km. from Shahr.
  - $^3$  This agrees fairly well with the Survey of India map:  $17^{1/2}$  m. (29 km.) from Shahr to Tili, and 26 m. (= 43 km.) from Tili to the pass. Vavilov gives the height of Shahr as 2 900 metres, of Tili as 3 025 metres, and of Maghnawul as 3 340 metres.
  - <sup>4</sup> Vavilov (p. 115) violently attacks Sir G. Robertson to whom, without any foundation in fact, he attributes the absurdity of including Munjan orographically in Kafiristan.
    - <sup>5</sup> Exclusive of the summer kishlak of Nao with 6 houses.

mention the villages of Wulf, Mianshahr and Wayo. Vavilov counts 464 houses, and as he reckons 2—3 inhabitants to each house (in the case of Tili), this would give us a population of some 1200 persons. It ought, however, to be noted that he does not mention the villages left out by B. ud. D., and, besides, he gives no information about Ghaz and Shah Pari. In details the calculations of the two authors as to the numbers of houses in each village vary, but Vavilov is no doubt the more reliable source. But on the whole we shall not go very far wrong if we assume that the total Munji-speaking population amounts to something between 1000 and 1500 persons.

While it is probable that Munji once extended over a wider area, there is nothing, either in written history, or in local tradition, which refers to the immigration of the Munjis into their present home. Probably the growth of the population in the lower valleys, and may be also political disturbances, forced their ancestors to extend their settlements up to the highest possible limit. But we have no means of knowing when Munjan first became inhabited. The archaic character of some place-names (cf. Tili, Wulf, Miliyeg, etc.) 1 points to a comparatively early date.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. List of Names s.v.v.

# 11.

# List of Villages in the Munjan

Indian Survey (and other official sources)	Vavilov	• Burhan ud Din
Skarzer (left bank)		Iskarzer, 40 houses
Yoim (right bank)		
Sekwao		Sekui, 16 h.
Razar		
But (r)		
Kalaomir (r)		
Toghakaf (l)		
Robāt		Rabat, 20 h.
Shahr-i-Munjan	Šar, 2 900 mètres, 100 h.	Šaran, 80 h.
Doão (Survey)		
Deh Ambe (Mil. Rep.)	Diombe, 30 h.	Deh-i-Ebnai, 15 h.
Wilu (r)	Villo, 30 h.	Vilav, 10 h.
Ghaz (l)		Gez (غز), 20 h.
Shui Pari (r)		Sah Pari, 12 h.
		Cauni (Post), 9 h.
Sar Jangal (1)		Sar-i-Džengel', 10 h.
Waio (l)		3.51
Mian Deh(a) (r)	Mionbe, 30 h.	Miyan Deh, 25 h.
Yakhdak (l)	Yagdak, 12 h.	Yagdek, 15 h.
Panam (r)	Pano (Pako), 12 h.	Penam (Pekam), 15 h
Kala-i-Shah (r)	Kala-i-Sau, 200 h.	Kal`a-i-Sah, 10 h.
(=Gulbakaf, Kurbakaf)		
Thali, Tuli	Tli, 3025 m., 20h., 50—60 inh.	1
Não (r)	Nao, 2 huts	ا تو), 6 h.
	Villag	es in the Eastern Sid
(Šahr-i- Munjan)		

 (Šahr-i- Munjan)
 Mianshahr (= Kash Kāri)

 Mianshahr (= Kash Kāri)
 Torau, 3130 m.
 Tekab

 Peip, or Wulf
 Magnaul, 3340 m., 30 h.
 Megnul

Main Valley (from North to South)

Υr	τ	Y sh	M t	M(g)	
Skōrzer		Skarzer (l)			
16) Iwīm		Yu wīm (r)			
17) Səkvō		4) Skawo (r)			
15) <b>Purw</b> ōs?	цí				
14) Räzer	In Kə¹rön	3) Rāzer (l)			
18) Ka la	In				
19) Tuyokaf		2) Tuyakaf (r)		1	
20) Ru bōt		1) Rubāt			
4) Šār		Šāhar	1) Šahr	Šō rōn, Šāher	Šår-i-Munjån M (sh)
5) Dēambī			2) Dēambeh	Dīam bē	11 (01)
6) Wilū		Wīlu	3) Wīlu	Wilu	
7)			4) Γaz	Γəz (Prs.Aiγāz)	
(Šah-i-Par	ē)		5) Šāi Parē	Šō-i Pa'rī	
8) Sarjan gā	1				Sarjan gāl M m
(Wayo)			6) Wayo		1
9) Mīān déo			7) Mīān dēa	Mīàn dīa	Mîāndeh M m
10) Iγ dak			8) Iγ dāk	Yuγ dāk	Yuγdāk M m
(Panam)			9) Pa naũ	Pha nō	!
11) Kale-i- Šč	5		10) Ka lā	Khala-i- Šō	 
12) Tə¹lī		Te li	11) Tə lī	Thı lī	Ti lī=Xu lī M ti
13) <b>N</b> ōu			12) Nau	Nōu	

Valley (from West to East)

, acting (j. one in	230 10 23000)			
4) Šār			1	!
	$=$ Mili $\gamma$ eg?			į i
3) Ta gōu	Tagōu	Tagōu		
2) Wulf	Wulf •		Wulf	ŀ
1) Mayna vul	Maγnawul	Maγnawul		İ

The territory inhabited by the Yidgha-speaking tribe in Lutkuh <sup>1</sup> is more inviting than Munjan. The altitude of the inhabited parts of the valley is considerably less, from 2400-2500 m. (7600-7 900 feet) as compared with 2 900-3 340 in Munjan. Wheat and maize are grown,<sup>2</sup> apricots and possibly other fruits ripen, and walnuts are at any rate abundant at Izh, at the lower extremity of the Yidgha-speaking district. The so-called Parabek plain especially is both fairly wide and well cultivated, and compares favourably with most parts of Chitral. The houses and their inhabitants did not give the impression of extreme poverty, at least not when seen on a smiling summer day. The houses are built of stone, as there is no forest in the inhabited part of the valley. Higher up there is some birch and willow jungle, and still higher there are apparently rich hill-pastures abounding in a variety of alpine flowers and surrounded by extensive shrubs of briar which cover the hill-sides below the Dorah Pass.

The rain-fall is scanty, but there seems to be quite sufficient water for irrigation coming from the numerous hill-nullahs that drain the snow-fields.

The continuous Yidgha settlements do not extend for more than about 10 km. (6—7 miles) from Burbunu to Birzin, but there are a couple of hamlets, *Goik* and *Imirdino*, a few miles higher up.<sup>3</sup> Below Burbunu the population speaks Khowar, and between Imirdino and the foot of the Dorah Pass there are a few small settlements, dating from the nineties, of Kati refugees from the upper Bashgal valley.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Grierson in LSI gives Leotkuh as the correct pronunciation. I heard Khowar Lotkuh, Θkuφ, meaning the large (loth, loth) valley or district (kuh). Lutkho is an incorrect form, due to the association of the word with Turi-kho and Muli-kho, the home-valleys of the Kho tribe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Acc. to Gurdon Lutkuh counts among the richest wheat-growing districts in Chitral.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> V. Map.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> According to Bruce, Twenty Years in the Himalayas, p. 264, there was before that time a small settlement of Prasun Kafirs at the foot of the pass.

13. The following particulars about the Yidgha speaking villages are taken from official reports (of 1904) by Captain B. E. M. Gurdon, which I have got permission to use. His two lists of the number of houses and families are probably derived from different sources.

List of Villages of Northern (Left) Bank of the River (from below).

Gurdon	Survey Map	Yidgha
Burbunu 10 (9) houses	Burbunu	Burbu <sup>i</sup> nū
J(h)itur 15 houses,21 families	Itr	Žitr, Žüt <sup>.</sup> r
Rui 12 h., 12 f.	$\operatorname{Rui}$	$R ilde{u}i$
Gistini, Ge° 6 h., 21 f.	Gastinu	Gistini
Gulugh 4 h., 6 f.	Ghalok	<sup>†</sup> Gu lyū
Ughuti 7 h., 7 f.	Ughuti	Avyato (Khow. Uyuti)
Gohik 9 f.	-	$Go^*ik$
Imirdin 3 (12) h., 7 f.	1mirdit	I mirdino ('Imurjin)

Villages on the Right Bank.

Gurdon	Survey	Yidgha		
W(h)arth 6 h., 5 f. Parabek 3 h., 6 f. Gufti 4 h., 8 f. Birzin 10 h., 12 f.	Warth Parabek Gufti Birzin	Wart (Khow. Waxt) Parvuko (Khow. Parabek) Gurtio (Khow. Guoti, Guxti) Bir'zin, Brzin 1		
80 h., 110 f.				

According to Gurdon's calculations, the total population would at that time have amounted to not more than 6—700 persons, and Biddulph<sup>2</sup> can hardly be right in putting the number of families

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Besides Yu mentioned Aržīiko (above Imirdino?) and Xūriko (below Parouko?).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. 64.

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at one thousand. I was told that there were now 2—300 Yidgha-speaking houses (about 800—1000 persons), and it is quite possible that the population has increased so much during the last thirty years of peace.

14. The name of a member of the tribe is  $Id\partial\gamma$ , pl.  $Id\gamma\bar{v}$  (Mj. Yidg, pl. Yid $^{\circ}g\bar{i}$ ). This is also the name of the tribe itself and the valley it inhabits (Biddulph Yidokh, usually in the obl. pl.  $Id\gamma\bar{e}f$ ), while the language is called  $Yed^{\circ}\gamma\bar{a}$ , Mj.  $Yid^{\circ}y\bar{u}n$ , or also  $Yidg\bar{a}n\bar{\partial}$   $r\bar{o}i$ . Phonetically  $Id\partial\gamma$ , Yidg points to an ancient form \*Indug < \*(H)induka-,¹ and it is possible that this name was first given by the Munjis to those of their fellow tribesmen who settled on the Indian side of the mountains.

According to my informants, Yidghs live also below Burbunu, at Droshp, Chirwul (near Garm Chishma) and Murdān, but do not speak the language any longer.

The religious centre of the tribe lies just outside the area in which Yidgha is spoken, close to the bridge at Izh, and it is quite a picturesque Maulai shrine with pretty woodcarving and surrounded by fine trees.

According to Bīddulph<sup>2</sup> the Yidghs "claim to have migrated from Munjan<sup>3</sup> seven generations ago, in consequence of an invasion of that district by the rulers of Badakhshan in which the Meer of Munjan was slain". This information has every appearance of being precise and trustworthy and fits in well with the linguistic facts. Gurdon believes that they came from Munjan, Kuran and Ishkashim, but I doubt whether there are any grounds for including the last mentioned district. I was not able to get this tradition about their origin confirmed. Yu, my oldest informant, did not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf §§ 118, 164. Injigān is probably the Badakhshi form < \*Indigān.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, p. 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Tomaschek [BB., 7, p. 195) writes that they came from Yamgan, but I do not know his source for this statement,

know when the tribe had settled in Lutkuh, nor had he heard about any immigration from Munjan. According to him, the Yidghs originally came partly from Badakhshan and partly from Turikho in Chitral. Yzh did not believe that his ancestors had come from Munjan or any other part of Badakhshan. He said that there was no intermarriage or relationship between Lutkuh and Munjan. His own family (Gażandorė) had come from Turikho, he did not know how long ago.

The names of the Yidgha speaking villages are of foreign origin.<sup>1</sup> They cannot be proved to be Khowar, but they show at any rate that the valley was inhabited before the arrival of the Yidghs at some unknown date.

It ought, however, to be noted that names such as  $\check{So}_{ij}oyo$  and  $Munio^2$  seem to have entered Yidgha at an early date, and it can scarcely be assumed that the names of these insignificant villages had become current among the ancestors of the Yidghs while they were still inhabiting Munjan. The name of Chitral  $(\check{Citr\bar{e}yo})$  is a different case.

15. At present the Yidghs are included among the Faqer Maskin, the poorest class in Chitral. They are divided into clans like the Khos, the principal ones being Haidardorë in Gistini and Parabek, Gažandorė in Žitr and Imirdino, Danguladorë in Gurti, Sumāldorë in Žitr (Bālā), Šīxäidorë in Žitr, Γəlamāndorë and Šexāmandorë in Burbunū, Mərātdorë in Birzin, and Sumbaldorë in Wart.<sup>3</sup> Thus there are nine clans to some 80 houses!

Apparently the Yidghs have to a great extent been assimilated into the Kho population, and they never seem to have enjoyed any political independence or to have produced any powerful chiefs. Their position on the ancient trade-route between Chitral Head-quarters and the Dorah Pass may have contributed to their complete submission to their masters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> With exception of  $X \bar{u} \gamma i k o$  'the Well' mentioned only by Yu., and possibly of  $R \bar{u} i$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. List of Proper Names, s.vv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The suffix -dor is of Khowar origin.

<sup>2 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

- 16. As might be expected, there is practically no dialectic variation within the limited territory in which Y is spoken. Ysh had a tendency to nasalize his final vowels, and he pronounced kōfila 'caravan' and pəzg- 'to break' as against Yzh kāfīla and pəzg- and Yg had war 'oath', while Yzh, sh, and r all pronounced wor. A pellet-bow was called xəsmānek in the lower villages, but səxmānek) higher up, and similar discrepancies occur in a few other words. But on the whole the dialect of the few hundred Yidghs is homogeneous.
- 17. Munji, on the other hand, is divided into several sub-dialects, which differ mainly in some phonetic details.<sup>1</sup>

They may be roughly divided into two groups. One includes the dialect of Miandeh (Mm) and the dialects of Zarubin's and Gauthiot's informants.<sup>2</sup> It is characterized by having -g- for ancient -k-<sup>2</sup> and, in a number of words,  $\bar{u}$  for ancient  $\bar{u}$ , corresponding to  $\gamma$  and  $\bar{i}$  of other M dialects and of Y. Examples are e.g. Mm.  $\partial t \bar{u}$  'four',  $r \bar{u} g o$  'vein', but Mt, etc.  $\partial t \bar{u}$ ,  $r \bar{u} g o$  'vein', but Mt, etc.  $\partial t \bar{u}$ ,  $\partial t \bar{u}$ ,  $\partial t \bar{u}$ .

In this group the tendency towards the assimilation of nd, mb,  $ng^4$  is stronger than in the rest of Munji, and G and Z goes still further than Mm. Thus Mm, Z, G have lod 'tooth' corresponding to  $l\bar{o}nd$  of other Mj. dialects, and Z, G have assimilation also e.g. in  $\gamma odum$  'wheat': Mm etc.  $\gamma \bar{o}ndum$ . Y has assimilated forms in both cases.<sup>5</sup> The dialect described in the LSI, has d in  $l\bar{a}d$  and  $\bar{a}$  in  $c\bar{f}\bar{a}r$ , but  $\gamma < k$ , e.g. in  $\gamma du\gamma a$  'water'. We may therefore assume that it belongs to a part of Munjan situated below Miandeh and the homes of Z and G, but above Ghaz, possibly to Wayo.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Rep. N.W. Ind., pp. 70 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gauthiot's informant was a native of Wakhan, but his dialect evidently originally belongs to some locality in upper Munjan, possibly to Kala-i-Shah.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> G. gives  $\gamma$  in a few words, but also in  $a\gamma u\check{s}k^ya$  'finger' where it can hardly be correct. Cf. § 117.

<sup>4</sup> V. §§ 115 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. § 118.

The dialect on which Mullah Faiz Bakhsh's short vocabulary is based agrees with that of the villages of lower Munjan (Ghaz and Shahr) and of the Tagou valley, but has retained the nasal in ankardia (read \*anyaskia?) 'finger' where all other varieties of Mj. have the assimilated form.

A curious fact, which I am at loss to explain, is that the dialect of my informant from Tili, the uppermost village of all, is in line with that of Lower Munjan, and not with Mm, Z and G. Thus we find e.g. Mti  $r\bar{\imath}\gamma a$  'vein' (with  $\bar{\imath}$  and  $\gamma$ ),  $l\bar{o}nd$  'tooth', and, besides,  $\ddot{o}sk\bar{\imath}\gamma$  'roof' (Mt, etc.  $\partial ski\gamma$ , but Mm, G, Z  $yesk\bar{\imath}g$ , etc.),  $y\bar{\imath}ma\gamma eka$  'moon' (Mg, etc.  $yuma\gamma ika$ , but Mm, G, Z yumayo, etc.) Mti also agrees with lower Munjan in having a long  $\bar{o}$  in  $y\bar{o}r\bar{\imath}a$  beard' and in some other words. It is, of course, possible that Mti was really a native of one of the lower villages.

Apart from the divergences in the treatment of nd, etc. Mm differs from Z in some particulars. Thus, e.g.:

Mm, t  $y\bar{u}r$  'ground': Z  $y\bar{e}n'g$ .

Mm  $v^3 z \bar{\epsilon} d$  'knew': Z  $v z \bar{\epsilon} (n) d$ , Mt  $v^3 z \bar{\epsilon} n d$ .

Mm  $l^{\flat}v\bar{\epsilon}d$  'winnowed': Z  $liv^{\flat}y$ , Mt, (g)  $l^{\flat}v\bar{\epsilon}y$ .

Mm wujuzgo 'frog': Z, G wujzəga, Mt, etc. ujizga.

18. Mm shares with Y, and to some extent with Z, the fem. ending -o, -å, corresponding to -a, -ü of other M dialects.

The villages of upper and lower Munjan being isolated from each other, certain phonetic variations and some differences in the formation of past stems have arisen.

But as a whole M is quite distinct from Y in phonology, morphology and vocabulary, although, as we have seen above, some innovations in M dialects are shared also by Y. Thus the transition of  $\bar{u}g$  into  $\bar{\imath}\gamma$  may have taken place in lower Munjan before the emigration of the Yidghs to Lutkuh.

19. Among the phonetic differences separating M as a whole from Y, the most important are:

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Anc. rt results in Y r but M r (v. § 124).

3 \dot{s}t — \dot{s}\dot{c} — \dot{s}\dot{c} — \dot{s}k^y (v. § 109).

3 rn — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n — n —
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Note also the Y tendency to drop w before u (v. § 81), and Y i-corresponding to Mj. yu- (§ 84). Regarding the different development of ancient a in Y and M v. § 139.

Owing to special factors or more sporadic changes we find Y åyury egg, iščīy roof, arlāsto sleeve, cokon puppy, cisīr four, dīr other, fšarm shame, laxsoro ice, rispēn iron, šīnjo needle, tīx- to fall, vrī- to break, xird- to shave, yexko duck, zeriryo birch-tree; but M aryūg, yeskīg, alvosto, skon, čfūr, yüdūr, šforom, yaxsoriy, yuspon, šīžno, cīx-, vrīr-, xred-, yälko, vozvurgo, or similar forms.

The morphological differences between Y and M are not numerous. The most important concern the genus inflection of adjectives <sup>1</sup> and the preterite of intransitive verbs. <sup>2</sup> The difference between Y  $v^2to$  and M fto 'thee', and between Y wulo, pl. wuli 'wife' and M wula, wuli, etc., is due to phonetic factors.

20. It is in their vocabularies that Y and M diverge most widely from each other. We must, of course, bear in mind that our knowledge of the vocabularies of the two dialects is far from being complete, and that in many cases the absence of a word in one dialect may only be apparent. But, taken as a whole, the evidence of the vocabularies clearly shows how the separation of centuries and the difference of outside influences have drawn the two sister-dialects apart.

In a great number of cases M, as is only natural in consideration of its geographical and political position, has adopted a Prs. term where Y has retained the genuine dialect word, or has borrowed from Khowar.

¹ Cf. § 195. ² Cf. § 234.

21. Examples abound in the Vocabulary. Here we shall mention only a few characteristic ones:

M (from Prs.): nâxun nail. anîr pomegranate, guzar ford, xōkovo first watering, lajōm bridle, bârân rain, daro valley, naxs song, toko alone, bohōr spring, gusuōr earring, gro knot, duzd thief, qala fort, mō month, xargūs hare, kus vulva, qasam oath, naxčīr male ibex, sīl flood, jigar liver, xərs bear, araq sweat, barg leaf, rūšân bright, axtarāna stable, etc.

But Y: anaxno, alāno, pilf, avzino, awlān, novo, koša, fagyikė, fkyiyiko, fsidro, yūärikė, yurež, yäl, lizo, mux, sīy, šīno, wor, žümânė, yougo, yēyən, yarš, xūl, pūņuk, orunyo, aspəlan, etc.

Corresponding to M (from Prs.) amsāyaga neighbour, darān belly, našpotiy pear, dasta handle, haud lake, tilā gold, taqāo pillow, šamšēr sword, nuqra silver, xušō ear of corn, būwaya widow, yarm, suzōn hot, we find Y (from Khowar): grambešu, ūžūt, kyogō, hostaganu, žōi, svuvorum, vrazidinē, xugor, droxum. sor, wāsərwo, piệ.

In some cases Y and M have borrowed different forms of Prs. words, Y usually through the medium of Khowar. Examples of such words are: M  $\hat{a}ino$  mirror,  $\hat{a}s\hat{a}u$  easy,  $b^urin$  rice,  $k^3t\bar{o}b$  book,  $t\bar{t}ram\hat{a}$  autumn: Y  $\dot{s}i\dot{s}o\gamma o$ ,  $ask\bar{a}n$ , grin,  $ket\bar{u}u$ ,  $p\bar{a}\bar{\imath}z$ .

22. Very rarely M has retained a genuine word which has been lost in Y: M yūi husband's brother, zογno chin, z<sup>ο</sup>γοτϊy thirsty, yuvazgo plough-wedge: Y x<sup>u</sup>sur, zʌnax, truśnë, aċardīnë.

Corresponding to M  $\delta s$  'porridge' and  $ju\hat{a}na$  'calf, one to two years old', which are of Prs. origin, Y has the Ind. loan-words  $atil\ddot{v}$  and bakinda, but the exact source of these words is unknown.  $p\tilde{a}p\partial s$ , etc. 'lungs' is one of the very few words of Ind. origin occurring in both dialects. A curious case is M souno 'co-wife', which appears to be an IA. loanword, although I am unable to explain how it has penetrated into M. Y has the Prs. word  $amb\delta\gamma$ .

Loan-words from Kafiri are Yd. *plac* cheese, *kıtayë* almond (prob. borr. from the Lutkuh Kafirs), and possibly Y—M *c³ra'ū* male markhor, v. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.

23. Khowar loan-words are very rare in Munji. I have only come across  $b\bar{a}n$ ) 'holly-oak' and droxvm 'silver' and do not feel at all sure that these words are really in common use in M.

Y, on the other hand, contains, besides those mentioned above, a great number of Khow. words, which denote plants, implements, etc. unknown in Munjan, or the correspondent forms of which have not been recorded in M. Some of the Khow. loan-words in Y are in their turn of Ir. origin, and it is worthy of note that even Y, the dialect of a small and outlying district of Chitral has to some extent contributed to the vocabulary of Khowar.<sup>1</sup>

24. Of special interest are those cases where the difference of vocabulary between Y and M is not due to one of the dialects having borrowed, from Prs. or M, but where each of them has chosen a different word of dialectal origin. To some extent there may be, or have been, a slight difference in meaning, but we must also reckon with the possibility of real homonyms existing in original Y—M, due to ancient mixing of dialects.

The possibility of some of the words co-existing in both dialects should, of course, not be ruled out.

Examples of such words are:

M ågung $^y$  dough: Y ləvaza.

- » yōba dance: Y drūvda.
- » frayingo she-goat, one y. old: Y prenjio.
- » yūelo yoke-rope: Y frāiyo.
- » sam lasiko neckrope of the bullock: Y sabə ran)
- » pa teżo she-calf, one y. old: Y miścoro.
- » p<sup>3</sup>rīvur cow-house: Υ γϊγίο.
- » kosk barley: Y yersio.
- » šīno anus: Y jumino (but šīno vulva).
- » nāmyo, yïstōn felt: Y livzīn.
- » škyui neck: Y šilë (v. Voc. s.vv.).
- » sasto hill-side: Y paifar.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm I}$  Cf. my treatment of this subject in Iranian Elements in Khowar, BSOS. VIII, 657-671.

M yurv mouth: Y pokorë.

- » kupor lip: Y poršik.
- » zôbe gums: Y sotkë.
- » puma avalanche: Y  $r \in k$ .
- » ken- to dig: Y  $nikan\bar{a}(w)$ -.
- » vrīnd- to be standing: Y fsāy-.
- 25. But on the whole, in spite of the divergences mentioned above, Y—M forms a well-defined group clearly distinguished from all other Ir. languages by a series of characteristics.

The vocabulary contains a great number of words peculiar to this dialect group. As regards the morphology we may mention the formation of masculines in Y  $-\ddot{e}$ , M  $-\ddot{e}y$ , the feminines in -o, -a, the obl. sg. in  $-\epsilon n$ , the pronouns za, zo 'I' and  $m\ddot{a}f$ , mof 'you', and the personal ending 3 pl. in  $-\epsilon t$ , -at.

Among phonetic features peculiar to, or characteristic of Y—M may be mentioned the preservation of  $x\hat{s}$  and  $f\hat{s}$ , the distinction between ancient  $-\hat{s}$ - and \*- $\hat{s}\hat{s}$ -, the development of  $\vartheta$  into  $\hat{x}$  and of  $\hat{s}t$  into  $\hat{s}k^y$ ,  $\hat{s}\hat{c}$ , and the tendency towards the assimilation of nd and similar groups of consonants. Also the combination of features found separately in other dialects tend to give Y—M a phonetic structure entirely of its own, thus e.g. the development of  $\vartheta$  and  $r\vartheta > l$ , of rt > r, r, and of -t- and  $-\hat{s} - y$ .

On the other hand, we find the usual E.Ir. tendencies prevailing, e.g. the change of  $\check{c} > c$ , of  $xt > \gamma d$ , ft > vd, of  $sr > \check{s}$ , of voiced stops into voiced fricatives, the loss of h-, the prothesis of w- and y-, and the frequent reduction of i and u to a mixed vowel of the  $\partial$ -type.

The morphology and the vocabulary are also of a decidedly E.Ir.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> V. § 94 sq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. § 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> V. § 65.

<sup>4</sup> V. § 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> V. §§ 115 sqq.

type. Note e.g. typical E.Ir. words such as  $mi\check{x}$  day,  $pi\check{s}\check{c}an$  thigh,  $p\check{i}\check{x}$  arrow,  $\check{s}\check{i}yo$  female,  $y\bar{a}d\ddot{v}$  blind, wulo wife,  $wul\bar{e}yo$  span,  $z\partial v\bar{i}\gamma$  tongue,  $yer\check{s}io$  barley,  $imo\gamma o$  moon.\(^1\)

26. Gauthiot has asserted that Y—M ought to be separated from the Pamir languages and ranged among the north-western Ir. dialects. In a review of Zarubin's essay on Munji I have tried to show that this theory cannot be upheld, and that the points of agreement between Y—M and Central Ir. dialects are less significant than is assumed by Gauthiot.

There can in fact be no doubt that Y—M is on the whole closely related to the Pamir dialects, although on several points it stands apart from them.

27. Within the range of the Pamir dialects Y—M shows little special affinity to the Shughni group.<sup>5</sup> The connection between Y—M and Wakhi chiefly consists in the occurrence of a few words with  $l < \delta$ —probably loanwords—in Wkh. About the relation between our group and Saraghlami nothing is known, except that one of the three words known from this dialect points to a transition of  $\delta > l$ .<sup>6</sup>

But between Y-M and Sgl.-Ishk there are several points of resemblance.

Thus we find a considerable number of words which are, as far as is known at present, peculiar to these two neighbouring groups of dialects, or which appear here in a form elsewhere unknown. Cf., e.g.: Y åbūya moraine: Sgl. ambol; Y uščeno: Sgl. uštīn; Y åwusp

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Several of them are found in the Avesta. But this only shows that the Av. language is based upon E. Ir., as I hope to be able to prove from a detailed study of its vocabulary.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> MSL, XX, 133 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> NTS. III, 296.

<sup>\*</sup> Very few, if any, Y-M words are of a decidedly W. Ir. character.  $x \check{sira}$  'milk' has its correspondent in Ossetic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Note, however, Y nix-, Shgh. neθ- 'to sit down' < \*nihδ-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. Zarubin, Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Sciences, Série B., 1924, p. 79: woliké 'water'.

ploughbeam: Sgl. āwiṣˇp; Y lɛso wild oats: Sgl. dəsīn; Y ixō sister: Sgl. yəxōai; Y mīryo meadow: Sgl. mēry; Y niya sour milk: Sgl. nīðuk; Y nov rain: Sgl. nav; Y, Sgl. pīx span; Y woro trousers: Sgl. wāl; Y lib- to card wool: Sgl. dəmb-; Y as-: ayoi to come: Sgl. is-: āyad; Y is-: yāi to carry: Ishk. uss-: wud; Y tī-: to enter: Sgl. atiy-; Y—M vrī(r)- to break: Sgl. vrēl-.

There are also some common morphological features, e.g. in the system of demonstrative pronouns, in the existence of a particle vo, va denoting the definite object, and in the termination of the 2nd pl. in  $-\partial f$  which from Sgl.—Ishk. has also entered Western Wkh.

On the other hand, the two dialect groups present no special similarities as regards their phonetic development. But the correspondences of vocabulary and morphology can hardly have been developed under modern conditions when communication between Munjan and Sanglech appears to be insignificant, and is at any rate carried out by the medium of Persian. We are therefore, perhaps, justified in assuming that Y—M and Sgl.—Ishk. were once in much closer contact than in the case at present, probably at a time when the phonetic differences between both groups was not yet strongly accentuated.

28. If we look outside the range of the Pamir dialects Pashto appears to be the nearest relative of Y—M. Not only do we find the change of  $\delta > l$  in both languages, but the Wanetsi dialect of Pashto distinguishes between ancient - $\delta$ - and ancient -t- in exactly the same way as Y—M.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, we must not forget that the tendency to change  $\delta$  into l was probably once widely spread in E.Ir. and that the treatment of  $\vartheta$  and  $\vartheta w$  differs in Y—M and in Psht. A few words are characteristic of both languages, cf. e.g. Voc. s.vv.  $\bar{a}\gamma d$ - to dress,  $\gamma \ddot{a}l$  thief, la with,  $w\bar{a}\gamma o$  summer,  $y\bar{e}\gamma \partial n$  liver.

At any rate the special relationship or contact between Y-M

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> V. § 206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. NTS. IV, 160.

and Psht. must go back to an early date, before the period when Saka tribes brought the Ir. dialect from which Psht. is descended into Southern Afghanistan.

The points of resemblance to Sogdian are limited to a few words, cf. Voc. s.vv.  $dr\bar{u}v$ - to dance,  $por\dot{s}ik$  lip, yuxs- to learn. Also with Parachi, its Ir. neighbour south of the Hindukush, Y—M shares a few words and forms (cf. s.vv.  $li\dot{s}\dot{c}$  saw, amuno apple,  $yu\dot{r}$  fire) but on the whole this dialect is of a different type, and has developed along other lines.

29. As far as we can see, Y—M has occupied its present position for a very long period. It has probably lost territory in the north, but it has since immemorial times had Kafir dialects as its neighbours south of the Hindukush, and it is quite possible that the linguistic frontier between Ir. and IA. has not always followed exactly the highest mountain ridge.

Now we find a transition of d > l in Prasun, the most isolated Kafir dialect, which has certainly occupied its present home close to Munjan for a very long time. It is therefore very tempting to follow Gauthiot in his assumption of a connection between the developments in both languages, especially as it seems probable that intervocalic t-disappeared in Prasun, while d remains in the shape of l. This state of things reminds us strongly of Y—M, while it differs completely from the tendencies prevailing elsewhere in Kafiri and IA.<sup>2</sup>

Of more doubtful value is Gauthiot's comparison between the M (but especially Y!) tendency to assimilate nd > d, etc., and the Kafiri development of  $ant > \tilde{a}t > at$ . The phonetic processes are not identical, and the change in Y—M is evidently of recent date. But we may perhaps compare the Prasun transition of nd > d and of mb > b with the development in Y—M. We must

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. Kalasha with -d > 0, but -t > -l (V. Rep. II, 67).—In Y—M and Prasun d was changed into l before any weakening of intervocalic stops took place.

remember that Munjan and Prasun are only separated by a not too difficult pass.

This circumstance also explains the existence of a few words common to Y—M and Kafiri. Cf. M frayomiy and Kati promə, Prasun  $p\bar{a}m\bar{\sigma}$  kid; Y "stuy: Prasun 'styak lock of hair; Y—M  $\bar{s}\bar{u}$ : Prasun  $\ddot{u}\check{c}\bar{u}$  ( $<*\dot{c}r\bar{u}$ ) horn. It is doubtful whether niya 'sour milk' is borrowed from, or influenced by Kafiri or IA. Regarding loanwords from Kafiri cf. above § 22.

30. On the whole Y—M, is, in spite of influences from various sides, and in spite of several special phonetic innovations, an Ir. dialect of a highly archaic type, which in its relative isolation has preserved many ancient and interesting forms and words. Its possible connection with the ancient Ir. language of the Tokharians remains, for the time being, a matter of speculation.

## PHONETIC SYSTEM

#### Consonants.

	Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottul
Plosive	p, b	t, d	$(t, d)^1$	k', g'	k, g	q	 
Affricate		c	(č) 1	i i, j		ļ	
Fricative	f, v	1		ž	$x, \gamma$	$\langle x, \gamma \rangle^3$	h
Sibilant		s, z	$\S, (\S)^1$	š, ž			
Nasal	m	n	$\left \begin{array}{cc} \check{s}, \ (\check{z})^1 \\ (n)^1 \end{array}\right $	$[\mathfrak{F}']^{\frac{2}{2}}$	⟨ŋ⟩³		
Rolled & Lateral .		r, l	$(r)^{1}$			1	
Semivowels	w			y		· !	Ì

32. The consonant systems of Y and M are in the main the same. Characteristic of both, as compared with those of other Pamir languages is the absence of  $\delta$  (either as a phoneme—as in Wkh. and Shgh.—, or as a variant of d—as in Sgl.), and the existence of  $\check{x}$  and of k', g'. But M does not possess the retroflex series (with the exception of  $\S$ ), and the palatal  $\mathfrak{F}'$  (which is hardly a separate phoneme in M) is unknown to Y. In both dialects velar n is a mere variant of n before g and k.

The surd plosives are unaspirated in Y, but at any rate to some extent aspirated in M. Some of my informants (e.g. Mti) appeared

<sup>1</sup> Only in Y.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Only in M.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Phoneme variant.

to aspirate  $p^1$  only, while M(g)—but not Mg—aspirated strongly all surd stops (and  $\check{c}$ ) in accentuated syllables. Thus, e.g.  $ph\bar{o}ns'$  '5', 'khiryä 'hen', ' $qh\bar{i}o$  'bull', thi'nek 'shallow',  $\hat{c}h\bar{o}^m$  'eye' (and  $\hat{c}h\bar{o}rda$  '14' < Prs.  $\hat{c}ah\bar{u}rda$ ).<sup>2</sup>

This tendency towards aspiration is characteristic of several Pamir languages <sup>3</sup> and of Badakhshi Prs., and it occurs also in Turki. <sup>4</sup> It is of course a theoretically possible, but not a very convincing hypothesis that the aspiration in E.Ir. and Turki should be due to the influence of some common, unknown substratum.

The absence of aspiration in Y may be accounted for by the negative influence of Khowar. This language possesses a separate series of aspirates—parallel to that of other IA languages—and Y, in adapting its sound system more or less to that of the dominating language—of Chitral, had to chose between the unaspirated or the strongly aspirated series of surd plosives.

32 a. Y t, d and c are found only in loan-words, but appear to belong to the phonological system of the language. Also q is a foreign sound, and with some speakers k is substituted for it.

k', g' ( $k^y$ ,  $g^y$ ) must probably be considered as separate phonemes both in Y and in M.<sup>5</sup> In M k' occurs also in the combination  $\hat{s}k'$ , which is different from  $\hat{s}k$ .<sup>6</sup> Regarding  $\hat{c} < k'$  v. § 41.

) is to some extent interchangeable with 2,7 but it is at any

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. the situation in Prs., and in Psht., where p is more strongly aspirated than k or t (v. BSOS, V, 54).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In some words the aspiration has not been noted, but that may be due to inexact notation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Thus, e.g., in Sgl. About aspiration in Shgh. v. NTS. I, 36 (and Voc.), and Skold, Materialieu, Voc. Reg. Ossetic cf. Munkácsi, Blüten der ossetischen Volksdichtung, 7.

<sup>\*</sup> I thought I heard aspiration in several Turki dialects of W. and E. Turkistan which I had occasion to listen to in Chitral. In Kokand final -t even results in an affricate: uts 'fire', ots 'horse'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. § 41.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cf. § 60, and v. Voc. s.vv.

rate by way of being a separate phoneme. j is a rare variant of z, v. Voc. s.vv.  $urzu\gamma$ .

In M I heard bilabial  $\varphi$  before vowels in several words (a.g. Mm  $\dot{c}\varphi\bar{u}r$  '4',  $\varphi\bar{i}ya$  'spade'). But in Y, and partly also in M, it is dento-labial. v is a dento-labial fricative, with lips and teeth in rather loose contact, and unrounded, except before o, where it was sometimes not easily distinguishable from w.

33. There can be no doubt that  $\S$  and  $\S$  are separate phonemes, but it is not always easy to distinguish between them, and it is possible that some speakers of M use a neutral  $\S$  for both through the influence of Prs. phonology.  $\check{z}$  is only found in Y and is of rare occurrence.  $\S$ ,  $\check{z}$  and  $\check{c}$  have usually a very palatal character, and I have sometimes written  $\grave{c}^y$ ,  $\grave{z}^y$  in my notes. In Y  $\grave{s}\grave{c}$ , M  $\grave{s}k^y$  and in Y  $\grave{c}\check{s}ir$ ,  ${}^i\check{s}to$ , etc. the acoustic impression was still more palatal, but I do not believe that  $\check{s}$  (s') in these positions constitutes a separate phoneme.

Y—M  $\check{x}$  is a lisping, palatal sound which could not easily be mistaken for x, and which sounded quite different from Wakhi or Shgh.  $\check{x}$  (=  $\mathring{s}$ ). It was really a palatal  $\vartheta$ , but I have kept Gauthiot's notation.

Uvular x and  $\gamma$  were only heard in Yd. xio 'n. of a shrub' and in Y  $qia\gamma$ , M  $kuwo\gamma$  'bull' and they are probably variants of x,  $\gamma$  (conditioned by the influence of i and q?).

Y—M h is an unstable sound, cf. Voc. s.vv. But still I believe that it ought to be considered as a phoneme, the forms without h being aberrations from the 'standard' pronunciation. But this is by no means certain. Note the existence of final h (loh,  $\gamma ura^h$ ).

Similarly there can be no doubt about the existence of a phoneme w, but nevertheless we find vacillation before u, e.g. in urw,  $urzu\gamma$ , wulo, etc. Regarding the phonological value of initial y-cf. § 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 81.

The final sound in M  $zil^y$ ,  $z\ddot{i}l^{gy}$ , etc. 'heart' is probably a combination of l+y and not a separate, simple phoneme.

Cerebral n is a phoneme in Y, but n is substituted by some speakers, except where n is conditioned by a following d.

Probably connected with the rounding of v before o mentioned above is the phenomenon expressed in the occasional notations, e.g.  $a\gamma^w oi$  'came';  $no\gamma^w or$  'came out';  $k^w os$ - 'to search';  $x^u oi$  'own', etc, especially in Y words.

34. A final voiced consonant usually becomes unvoiced. Thus, e.g.: kob, kop 'little'; aλθρ 'wonderful'; γūlv', γōlv, γōlφ 'dog'; g''ip 'lost'; rīv, rīf 'rhubarb'; ογωγ, σγωγ, σγωγ, 'egg'; yīλ, yīλ 'snake'; zīk, zīng 'knee', etc. On the other hand we may hear -z for -s, -d for -t in sandhi: woz γων 'now he seized'; k''ed vīo 'was doing'. And, in the pronunciation of Ysh, xoi 'own' frequently was sonorized into γoi after a proclitic vo, wo. Cf. also Mg nā-mo; 'nobis' with γ instead of -x before voiced sounds.

Characteristic of Ysh is also the frequent 'cerebralization' of final r, chiefly after  $\bar{u}$ . Thus:  $p\bar{u}r$  'son' (also Yg);  $ax\bar{u}r$  'manger';  ${}^u\!st\bar{u}r/r$  'big';  $av\bar{a}r$  'bring', but  $p\bar{u}r\ddot{a}n$ ,  $avr\varepsilon$ , etc.

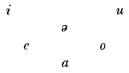
Ysh, and to a lesser degree Yzh, have a tendency to nasalize final vowels. Thus, e.g.:  $ux \grave{s}\tilde{o}$ ,  $ai d\tilde{o}$ ,  $a\grave{s}\check{c}\tilde{o}$ ,  $n\tilde{o}\tilde{u}$ ,  $wist\tilde{o}$  '6, 7, 8, 9, 20';  $po!\gamma\tilde{o}$  'hair';  $\grave{s}\check{o}!l\tilde{\varepsilon}^n$  'neck';  $r\tilde{u}\,\tilde{i}$  'bowels';  $v\bar{\iota}z\gamma\tilde{a}$  'arm';  $pz\grave{k}\check{o}dr\tilde{i}$  'dung', etc., etc. This nasalization has been omitted in the following description of Y.

In M(g), on the other hand, final -m was reduced to a sometimes scarcely audible sound in the 1st pers. of verbs, e.g. in  $\gamma \bar{\imath} w u^m$ :  $\gamma \bar{\imath} v d u^m$  'I spin', 'span';  $l \bar{\jmath} r a^m$  'I have';  $x \epsilon \hat{\jmath} a^m$  'I pull', etc. Cf. also  $\hat{c} h \bar{\jmath}^m$  'eye' (but  $\gamma \bar{\jmath} n d \partial m$  'wheat', etc.).

The 'morphonological' changes of consonants are mainly restricted to the variations between present and past stems of the verbs, for which v. §§ 225 sqq

#### Vowels.

35. As far as I was able to detect, the vowel-system of Y appears to be quite simple and to consist of the following six phonemes:



But, as in most other E.Ir. dialects, especially in Psht. and Wkh., the amplitudes of variation are exceptionally great. First of all there are variations of quantity. I am inclined to believe that these are conditioned by stress, or by the influence of following consonants or groups of consonants, and that vowel-quantity is phonologically irrelevant in Y. And the Vocabulary contains a large number of variations between o, a and  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{a}$  in the same words.

But it is really impossible to settle the question without a profound knowledge of, and a proficiency in speaking the language which I was very far from attaining, and it is quite possible that at any rate  $\bar{\imath}$  and  $\bar{u}$  are true phonemes.

Also the quality of the vowels is strongly influenced by neighbouring consonants, and it varies further according to length and stress.

a is usually palatal [a] and easily becomes  $\ddot{a}$  through the influence of an i, e.g. in Yzh  $w\ddot{a}ri\gamma o$  (Ysh  $wa^o$ ) 'rain';  $p\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}stiko$  'armlet', etc. In unstressed position [a] is heard, but has not been consistently noted.

o is wide [2]. In final position it is sometimes slightly diphtongized in Yd. [2:1]. Besides  $\hat{o}$  [2:],  $\hat{a}$ ,  $\hat{a}$  has been noted, but chiefly in lw.s from Prs.<sup>3</sup> I am not quite certain whether this  $\hat{a}$  is a separate phoneme, or if I may have been influenced in my notation by associations from Badakhshi Prs. in using this symbol.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> BSOS, V, 58 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Wkh. Phon.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$   $\hat{a}$  occurs in 43 lw.s and 9 genuine dialect words;  $\bar{b}$  in 9 lw.s and 38 genuine ones.

u has an unstressed variant v, and i in unstressed position (but also in other cases) is articulated as I. A mid-palate i is heard in some words (in contact with x?).

I am not certain whether  $\tilde{\imath}$  and  $\tilde{u}$  are true phonemes, separate from i and u. After y we find  $\overline{u}$  or  $\overline{u}$ . E.g. Yu  $y\overline{u}$ , Ysh  $y\overline{u}$  one', Ysh  $d\bar{a}r\overline{u}(\bar{\imath})$  'medecine'. A diphthongization of  $\bar{\imath}$  was noted once in Ysh  $r^{3}s\bar{e}i = r^{3}s\bar{\imath}$  'arrived'.

e and  $\varepsilon$  are probably variants of one phoneme, and I even heard  $xayo = x\varepsilon yo$  'bridge'.

In many cases  $\partial$  is simply a reduced form of a, e, u, etc. But it is nevertheless probably a separate phoneme, characteristic of a number of words. Of the two variants  $p\partial rs$  and prs 'ask', the first one is probably the phonologically correct one.

In final position Yzh  $-\ddot{e}$ , with retracted e approaching  $\partial$ , corresponds to  $-\partial$  of some other speakers.

36. Diphthongs are rare (cf. näilā-, säil, dau let, mai lis) and possibly form no part of the system. In the Vocabulary I have written -ōi, -āi where Zarubin, possibly phonologically more correct, has -ōy, -āy.

The overshort vowels, 3, 4, 4, 4, are difficult to classify phonologically. Their quality is completely dominated by that of the surrounding full vowels, and they may possibly be considered as variants of 3. But it is a question whether they are really always perceived as real vowels, or whether the prothetic and svarabhakti vowels 4 are not as phonologically irrelevant as are the vowels in the Indian pronunciation of 5t-, etc.

37. The influence of surrounding sounds on short vowels may be exemplified by: yursiligo, yursuligo 'shoe-string'; n∂γūy∂m 'I hear'; nuvās∂m 'I comb'; nižim 'I sit down'; noγο-: n∂γavd- 'to bite'. Cf. also the variations between -∂m, -um, etc., conditioned by the nature of the preceding vowel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g.  $s^3p\tilde{\imath}$ ,  $^3st\tilde{u}_{\gamma}$  (v. § 103),  $sur^uw$ ,  $tu_{\gamma}^um$ , etc.

<sup>3 -</sup> Kulturforskning

Cf. also Ysh maf  $\check{c}\bar{\imath}$   $\check{z}\bar{a}f$  'ye shall not say', but tu  $\check{c}u$   $\check{z}u\bar{\imath}$  'thou shalt not say'. Note also Y mai 'these', but  $y\ddot{a}i$ , woi 'those' (cf. §§ 206, sqq.).

38. The vowel systems of the various dialects of M appear to vary a great deal, and none of them is sufficiently well known to permit any analysis of them being made.

In Mm we find a long å and a final -iy unknown to Y, and also in other cases i appears to be a separate phoneme. The relevance of quantitative differences appears to be better established than in Y, and it is possible, with all due reservations, to construct the following chart of Mm vowels:

Short Vowels		Long Vowels		
i i	и, в	$ar{\imath}$	$\ddot{u}$	
е, <i>є</i>	0	Ē	5	
(ä?) a		ā	û, đ	

#### Stress.

39. Word stress is weak, and to some extent dominated by sentence stress.

Thus, e.g.: Y sh 'wulo 'wife', but 'yū wu'lŏ 'one wife'; pisto wo zinī ef 'she asked the daughters-in-law', but zinī ef pistō 'the daughters in-law asked'; muz'durə kën 'serve'; but 'muzdu, re γū rum 'I take service'.

Although they describe very closely related variants of M, Gauthiot and Zarubin differ considerably from each other as to the place of the accent—the Frenchman inclining to accentuate the last syllable—. My own notations, rightly or wrongly, often disagree

with those of both of my predecessors, and are not always consistent. Cf. §§ 162 sqq.

Thus, e.g.: G aγuš'k³a 'finger'; wuyzē'ga 'frog'; γâ wa 'cow'; kå vā ya 'pigeon'; maγū'sa 'fly'; namol γa 'salt'; xšī ra 'milk', etc. But in some cases Y agrees, completely or partially, with G as against other forms of M. Cf. Voc s.vv. ag mīn 'honey'; imo'γο 'moon'; ixō 'sister'; iz ma 'fire-wood'; kiri'o 'hen'; urzuγ, ur zūγ 'straight'. Also in words not recorded by G we often find that Y stresses a later syllable than M. Thus: o γuzo 'walnut'; i līr 'belly'; a'larsinë 'threshold'.

In a few words Z and G are alone in stressing the final syllable: G, Z amin'g'a, etc. apple': Y å muno, Mm 'aming'o, etc.; G, Z stōrəy 'star': Y, M 'stārë, etc.

## Groups of Consonants.

40. Through the loss of unstressed vowels of the first syllable and through borrowing, numerous groups of initial consonants have arisen in Y—M.

Thus we find, e.g.:  $p\grave{c}$ -, pk-, pr-, ptr-, ps-,  $p\grave{s}$ -,  $fk^y$ -, fx-, ft-, fs-,  $f\grave{s}$ -, tf-, kr-, kr-, kt-, xr-,  $x\grave{s}$ - (or  $x^o\grave{s}$ -),  $\grave{c}k$ -,  $\grave{c}f$ -,  $\grave{c}f$ -,  $\check{c}f$ -, tr-, sp-, sk-, (i)st-, sp-, (i)st-, sp-, tr-, t

But after voiced sibilants, and usually also after voiced fricatives, svarabhakti vowels are developed. Thus, e.g.:  $z^3\gamma$ -,  $z^3r$ -,  $z^3r$ -,  $z^3r$ -, etc.

In internal and final position yet other combinations (with decreasing aperture) have become possible through recent adjustments, e.g. groups beginning with r, l, nasals, z and  $\check{z}$ , groups consisting of velar fricatives and a nasal, etc.

Through these developments the aspect of Y—M has departed considerably from that of general Ir. and of most other Pamir dialects. And it may perhaps be said that it has in some respects approached the phonetic aspect of the Kafir dialects.

#### HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

#### Consonants.

#### Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.

41. Initial k- remains in kōi 'who', ken- 'to dig', ken- 'to do', kap k- 'fish', 'kero 'knife', kirio 'hen', etc. V. Voc. s.vv.

In a number of words we find, especially in Y, a palatalized  $k^y$ . This development of initial k- is in accordance with the general tendency of Y—M towards palatalization, but it seems impossible to determine the exact conditions of the change. A similar change appears in Yazgh., e.g. in k' an- 'to dig', k' a  $\hat{x}$  abac 'magpie', and also in Shgh.<sup>1</sup>

A certain number of the words in  $k^y$ - are or may be, lw.s from  $k^y$ -Prs. Thus, e.g.: kyof- 'to groan',  $kyahr\ddot{v}$  'anger',  $k^y\epsilon^l\bar{\ell}u$  'key', etc. (v. Voc.), cf. also  $K^yi^lyam$  Kulum (in Nuristan). From M I have noted k- and  $k^y$ - (but also Mti  $\epsilon aliye$  'key'). Other Prs. lw.s have k in Y too, cf.  $ka^b\tilde{u}t$  'blue', etc.  $K^y$  might perhaps be assumed to belong to an earlier stratum of Prs. lw.s, but this is quite uncertain.

Nor is the origin of  $k^y$  clear in all genuine Y—M words. In Yd  $kyo^{\dagger}g\bar{o}$  ( $\check{c}o^o$ ) 'pear' ky- is developed regularly from t-, and  $k^y\epsilon m$  'who' and  $k^y\epsilon i$  'house' may be derived from \*kayam, \*kayay. But why  $k^y\epsilon mal\gamma o$  'skull',  $k^y Ifo$  'hump',  $k^yun\gamma o$  'magpie', while we find k- before i in kIrio 'hen',  $kin\check{c}ika$  'girl',  $ki\check{s}\check{c}a$  'plough', etc.?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Notes on Shughni, Voc. s. K.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62.

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. § 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. reg. gy § 53.

42. I heard q in qasam 'oath', qissa 'tale', qačio, kačio 'scissors', etc. But in several words of foreign origin I heard k- instead of the expected q-. Cf. Voc. s.vv. kāk 'dry', kəlf 'lock', kīmat 'price', kurūt 'thick milk'. To some extent this may be due to mis-hearing on my part, but there is probably a certain vacillation in the use of q according to the degree of education of the speaker, and in some words k- may actually have ousted the foreign sound. The same is the case in other Ir. dialects.

In  $q\ddot{v}\dot{a}\gamma$  'bull' q- appears in a genuine Y word. Regarding the prothetic a- in a kadë 'thorn' cf. § 167.

43. Initial t- remains. V. Voc. s.vv. tu 'thou',  $tu\gamma^u m$  'grain',  $t\bar{\imath}ro$  t- 'darkness', etc. Cf. also the encl. pron. 2 sg. -t, in secondary intervocalic position.

Z. gives day, obl. daf as facultative pl. forms of  $y\dot{a}$  this. In this word d- is a weakened form of t- (prob. after early loss of ai-), <sup>1</sup> cf. Prs.  $d\bar{a}$ ,  $da\gamma a$  'this'.

Initial p- remains. V. Voc. s.vv. po 'on', pīo 'rotten', pādo p- 'road', palo 'foot', pilf 'ford', etc.

44. Initial č remains unchanged in a number of words. V. Voc. ċ-s.vv. ċam 'eye', čεšo 'pin of a spindle', ċur mō 'three days ago', Y ἐśīr,² M ἐfūr 'four', ča'mīn 'how much', ċarxo 'falling stones' (lw?), čapë 'door-frame', ċū(v)- 'to pick, choose', M ἐkyūgo 'urine', ċīy- 'to freeze' < \*ċāh-, etc.

There is no certain instance of a genuine Y—M word retaining  $\dot{c}$  before ancient  $\tilde{t}$ .  $\dot{c}\bar{i}r\ddot{e}$  'apricot',  $\dot{C}itreyo$  'Chitral',  $\dot{c}ir\bar{u}\gamma$  'lamp', and  $\dot{c}e$  'what' are lw.s (or  $\dot{c}e < \dot{c}ahya?$ ), while Yd.  $\dot{c}inur\gamma o$  (M  $conur\gamma o$ , etc.) 'starling' is of unknown origin.

But we find c- before ancient i in  $c\ddot{e}$ , ces, comin 'what', etc., and in  $c\ddot{e}b$ - 'to pinch': Wkh.  $\dot{c}ip$ -. It is therefore possible that  $\dot{c}i$ -was differentiated into ci-, but the evidence is not strong. In Saka

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> With dissimilation cšīr.

the development took a different turn,  $\check{c}$ - becoming c- except before i.

The origin of cigyerë 'mushroom' and cipō- 'to wink' is unknown, but these words may go back to forms with ancient či-. co rox 'spark' is common to most neighbouring dialects, calan durë 'window' is borr. from Khow., and  $c^2ra\bar{u}$  'markhor' probably from Kafiri. In Y  $c^2ke^4na$  (= M  $sk\partial n$ ) c- is of secondary origin. The only word with c- before ancient a is carovo 'bustard', but also this word may be a loan-word.

At any rate there is no regular change of  $\dot{c}$ - into c- in Y—M, as in most other Pamir dialects, Psht. etc.

If 'sti 'something' goes back to \*iti < iit + ?, the contraction may be earlier than the change of ii > ci.

### Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates.

45. In the varieties of M described by Gauthiot, Zarubin, and the k-LSI, and also in Mm, postvocalic k-results in g. In the rest of M territory and in Y it has weakened further to γ, thus coalescing with ancient -g-.² It will be noted that the preservation of k- as a voiced occlusive shows the greater power of resistance of the velar as compared with the dental and the labial surd stops.³

### Examples are:

Υ av'yuš 'embrace, lap': M, Z yivguš < \*upa-kaša-?

- » lθγαn-, nθγān- 'to throw away': Mm liγäd (pret.) < \*ni-kan-.
- » l³ruyus, Mt l³rīyus 'sickle': Mm l³rēgus < \*drāti-kusa-.
- » moyuso, Mt mayəsa 'fly': Mm 'mogusa < \*makasā-.
- » noyo- 'to bite': Mm nəgō-, Z nigōw- < \*ni-kap- (?)
- » puγo 'woman's hair': Mm pugo < \*pūkū-.
- rīγο, Mt rīγa 'vein': Mm rūgo < \*rākā-.</li>
- »  $s\ddot{e}\gamma^{i}o$ , Mg  $s\ddot{i}\gamma iya$  'sand': Mm  $s\ddot{i}g^{y}o < *s\ddot{i}kat\bar{a}$ .
- 1 V. Konow, Saka Studies, 25. Cf. also the parallel development in Marathi.
- \* This change is later than that of ng > g.
- <sup>3</sup> Cf. also the development in Sgl.

Y suyiko, M(g) sīyikä 'a tale': Mm sūyo < \*saukā.

» vul'yōr, Mg wur'yär 'shoulder-blade': Mm wur'gar.

Note Mm Yidy 'a man from Yidyūn = Lutkuh': Y  $Id\partial\gamma$ . Cf. also Y:  ${}^{s}st\bar{u}y$  'long hair', yiyio 'cow-house',  $s\bar{u}y$  'street',  $ved\bar{u}\gamma$ ' to mix' and  $\check{v}\bar{i}r-\gamma i\check{s}\check{v}\check{v}$  'dried apricot' which probably all have ancient -k-. Y  $mu\gamma o$ , Mm (stur)muyo 'vetch' is probably borrowed from IA \*muyga-, and not derived from \* $m\bar{u}ka$ -. The origin of  $su\gamma$  'leather-strap' is unknown.—Mm  $\check{s}a\gamma ur$  'hedgehog' is probably a lw. (cf. Sgl.  $\check{s}a\gamma vr$ ).

Gauthiot, who generally has g for -k-, writes  $\gamma$  in  $p \ni \gamma a$  'hair',  $may \bar{u}sa$  'fly',  $nam \hat{a} | \forall \gamma a$  'salt'. This is probably due to mixture of dialects. Mm  $por\gamma$  'mouse': Z porg, G pork may be misheard.

Y—M  $-\gamma/-g$  has been absorbed into a preceding  $\tilde{u}$  (o) in some words, but the exact conditions causing this loss are not apparent.

Examples are: M  $z\partial v\bar{u}$ : Y  $z\partial v\bar{i}\gamma$  'tongue' ( $<*z\partial v\bar{u}g < -\bar{a}ka$ -); M  $q\bar{v}o$ ,  $quwo(\gamma)$ : Y  $q\bar{v}o$  'bull'; Y  $c\partial ra^*\bar{u}$ : M  $c\partial roug/\gamma$  'markhor'; Y  $z\bar{u}(u)$ : M  $z\bar{u}g$  'hide' (\*)auka-?); Yd.  $Guly\bar{u}$  'Gulugh'. But cf. also Y  $h\bar{u}\gamma$  'money'.

In M  $\check{s}iiko$  (Y  $\check{s}i\gamma iko$ ) g (or  $\gamma$ ?) has probably been lost through palatalization.

In a large number of words with ancient suffix  $-k\bar{a}$  we find Y—M  $g/\gamma$ . Thus, e.g.:

imoγo, yumago 'moon', vrīyo, vrīgo 'eyebrow', wulγa, wul³ga 'kidney', sīy 'hare', urzuy, urzug 'straight', Idəγ, Yidg, etc. Cf. §§ 181, 188, 190.

Regarding the development of -aka- into Y - $\ddot{v}$ , M - $\ddot{v}y$ -, cf. § 182. With - $\ddot{e}/\ddot{v}y$  (e.g. in Y  $\dot{y}y\bar{a}d\ddot{e}$ , - $\dot{v}$ , Mm  $\dot{y}y\bar{b}d\dot{v}y$ , g  $\dot{y}y\bar{a}nd\dot{v}y$ , ti - $\dot{i}$ , (t) - $\dot{i}y$ , t - $\dot{i}^{yy}$ , Z  $\dot{y}a\dot{v}d\dot{v}y$ , G  $\dot{y}a\dot{v}d\dot{v}y$  'blind') cf. the parallel development into - $\dot{a}i$  in Psht.<sup>3</sup>

Postvocalic k appears in Y-M in the suffix -(i)ko; in lw's (e.g.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Poss. also M wâlu 'feast': Y wäly?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. Zar. p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 189.

 $k\bar{a}ka$  'top of the head',  $ka'k\bar{u}k$  'cuckoo', M(g)  $\dot{c}ik^{9}r\tilde{i}$  'rhubarb'); <sup>1</sup> through secondary contact with a voiceless sound (e.g. Yd.  $\gamma usk^{9}n$ , M  $\gamma \bar{u}s^{9}kvn$  'cow.dung'); <sup>2</sup> and in comparatively recent compounds (nikanā· 'to dig').

46. Intervocalic -t- results in Y—M -y-, or is lost. This development t- is common to many Ir. dialects, but only in Y—M and Wanetsi Psht. is it combined with the conservation of -d- in the shape of -l-. The two series may be illustrated thus:

$$-t$$
-  $>$   $-d$ -  $>$   $-\delta$ -  $>$   $-y$ -  $-d$ -  $(-\delta$ -)  $>$   $-l$ -  $>$   $-l$ -.

The intermediate stage  $-\delta$ - (<-t-) is perhaps only a theoretical one, \*-d- having been weakened direct to -y-, because no voiced dental fricative existed in the phonetic system of the language at the time when \*-b- (<-p-) became \*- $\beta$ - (-v-).

Examples of the treatment of intervocalic -t- are very numerous. Thus, e.g.:

Y liī, M līy 'gave'; vī 'was', ἄγδί, αγ∂y 'came', and other preterites in postvocalic -ta.³ V. Voc. s.vv. Y astīo 'abuse' (?); abrāo 'pear'; γ¨ιγίο 'cowhouse'; kov¨ιο 'pigeon'; kyεi 'house'; kyεm 'which'; lūi 'smoke'; l³ruyus 'sickle'; mayoγο 'mare'; M nāmyo 'felt'; Y 'niya 'sour milk'; pīo 'rotten'; rū'ī 'guts'; sūī 'slate'; sĕγīο 'sand'; spī 'white'; səzīyo 'jujube-tree'; M tūi 'mulberry' (early lw.?); Y vrai 'brother'; wūi 'wind'; wu lēyo 'span'; wīya 'willow'; xīrγο 'watermill'; yɛya 'bridge'; zamai 'son-in-law'; ża-, M žāy- 'to say'.

More doubtful cases are M kaləy 'soot' (\*kata-dūta-?); wiεn-'to untie' (\*wi-tan-?); 'xεyo 'wall' (\*xatā-?); yūγo 'one (of several) (\*yūtaka-?); M yūi 'husband's brother' (\*yāta-?).

Cf. also the 3 sg. Pres. in -ë, -i < -ayati, \* Breyeyo 'Munjan' < \*Mṛgatā (?).5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. also  $k \ni k y a r o$  'dagger', etc. with k y < t. V. § 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> And in Y pəkorë 'mouth' < \*pat(i)karaka-?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. § 235.

<sup>4 § 231.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. BSOS. VI. 442.

The Khowar place-names  $Cetr\bar{a}r$  'Chitral', Šoyor 'Shogot' and  $Man\bar{u}r$  appear in Y as  $\check{C}itr\bar{e}yo$ , Šoyoyo and Munio, and have probably been borrowed at a time when Khow. had intervocalic  $-\delta-<-t-$ , not at a still earlier stage. Also Y  $g^yer-$ , Mj. giyar- 'to pass, to forgive' has probably been borrowed from Middle Prs.  $*g^wi\delta ar$ , and M kaliyo, Y  $k^y\epsilon'l\bar{e}u$  'key' probably goes back to Prs.  $kil\bar{\iota}\delta$ .

yo 'this' is derived through \*eyo < \*aita-, \*aiša-. Reg. day, daf cf. above. In  $t\bar{\imath}(y)$ - 'to enter' < ati-i the t became initial at a very early age.

The unstressed prefix pati- has lost its dental completely in po, pusur,  $p\ddot{c}urma$ , etc. In secondary contact with another t we find t < \*tt:  $pati\dot{s}\dot{c}$  'broke' < \*pati-trsta-,  $z\ddot{u}t$  'speaks' < \*)atati. Cf. also pacag- 'to break', if from \*pati-srnda-.

47. Through early syncope -t- was saved in wisto 5 'twenty' and mistor 'mehtar' < \*masyatara-6

Similarly t remains in secondary contact with r, which became unvoiced and was lost. Thus  $z\bar{\imath}t$  'yellow'  $< *za^i rt < Av. zairita-, *x\bar{\imath}t$  'eats'  $< *xwart < x^v araiti$ , and other 3 sg. pres forms of roots in r. Accordingly the syncope took place after the change of ancient rt > \*rd, but before the sonorization of intervocalic t.

But secondary nt developed along with original nt. Thus: vod 'brought'  $< *u\beta ant < upan \bar{t}ta$ -,  $ved\bar{o}$ - 'to warm' < \*abi-han-tap- (?).  $w\bar{t}d$  'sees' (with occasional unvoicing of the final consonant  $w\bar{t}t$ )  $< va\bar{e}naiti$ . etc.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But note Madaglashti  $gy\bar{a}\bar{s}t$ , pret. of  $guz\bar{a}r$ - 'to leave behind', which shows the possibility of a local Prs. loss of  $\delta$ -.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> § 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. reg. č § 50.

<sup>4</sup> Reg. paifar, paixo cf. § 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> As in all Ir. languages except Oss., Psht. and Wanetsi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Scarcely Boyušt < \*Bayašita, cf. Index of Names, s.v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cf. Khow. rt < rt.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Par. zītö.

<sup>9</sup> V. § 124. Cf. also Konow, Saka Studies, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cf. § 115.

If  $k \ni d\bar{\imath}$  'which' is derived from  $*k \ni nd < *k \ni md < *k adm^o < *katamaka\cdot$ ,  $r\bar{\imath}md$  'pleased' and  $ptr \ni mdo$  'seized' must be analogical forms.

48. Intervocalic -p- results in -v-, just as ancient -b-.

Thus: Y  $av'\gamma u\check{s}$ , M  $yivgu\check{s}$  'embrace'  $<*upa-ka\check{s}a$ - (?);  $\check{a}'v\bar{u}z$ - 'to bring' < upa-az-; 'kovio, etc. 'pigeon' <\*kapauta-; M  $n\partial liv$ -:  $nuv\check{o}st$  'to lie down'  $< ni\ pad$ -; M nivilo 'bedding'  $<*ni\ pady\bar{a}$ -;  $nuv\check{a}\check{s}$ - 'to comb' <\*ni- $pa\check{s}\check{s}$ -;  $nuv\check{s}$ - 'to write' <\*ni-pisya- (or. ancient lw.);  $p^ura$ -,  $pr\bar{a}v$ - 'to find, obtain' <\*pari-ap-;  $parva\check{x}In$  'round, kneecap'  $<*pari-pa\vartheta anya$ -; rov- 'to bark' <\*rap-;  $\check{s}uv$ - 'to suck': Wkh.  $\check{s}ap$ -; tuvor 'axe' <\*tapara-; va particle denoting the acc. < upa;  $v^{\flat}ro$  'after' < aparam;  $v\partial d\bar{o}$ - 'to warm' <\*upa-(?) han-tap-;  $v\partial z \varepsilon \check{x}o$  'pregnant'  $<*upa-za\partial y\bar{a}$ -;  $x^{\flat}\check{s}ovo$  'night'  $< x\check{s}ap\bar{a}$ -; 'yovurso 'juniper'  $< hap \partial r\partial si$ -; M  $y\bar{u}v\partial rs\partial n$  'upper door-sill' <\*upari-sayana-.

This v has a tendency to lose its friction and be merged into w. Thus, e.g., in M  $\gamma i w$ - (Y  $\gamma i$ -) 'to spin',  $z r' \gamma i v$ -,  $z \partial \gamma i w$ - (Y  $z r' \gamma \bar{e}$ -) 'to twist' < \*(uz)gaip-. And in the causatives we find  $-\bar{a}v$ -,  $-\bar{a}w$ - ( $-\bar{o}v$ -,  $-\bar{o}w$ -), but also  $-\bar{a}$ - ( $-\bar{o}$ ). Cf. also Y idou 'fever', if  $< *hant\bar{a}pa$ -;  $y \dot{a}u \gamma o$ , etc. 'water'  $< *\bar{a}pak\bar{a}$ -; Y  $r \bar{u}so$ , M  $r a \bar{u}so$ , etc. 'fox'  $< *raupas\bar{a}$ -; woru 'upper' < \*u(v)ar < upara-, etc.

nowisa 'nephew', rikau 'stirrup', Y ketiu 'book' are loan-words from Prs. forms in v/w.

In Y fsidro 'spring',  $ft\bar{o} = v^2t\bar{o}$  'thee', and probably in fxa(w)'to shear', v < upa has become unvoiced before a voiceless consonant.  $ag^im\bar{n}n$  etc. 'honey' has been assimilated from \*angivin, etc.

Y rufo 'broom' (cf. Sgl. ref);  $\check{sifon}$  'clay used for plastering';  $t^{p}rif$ - 'to steal'; and prob. Zar.  $t^{p}fow$ - 'to put fire to' have got their f's from early forms of the preterial stems: \*ruft,  $\check{sift}$  and \*taft.

**49**. Y—M -p- is mainly found in lw.s: pap 'grandfather'; pāpəs 'lung'; rūpäyo 'rupie'; cop 'left', etc. Also kap 'fish' is possibly a lw.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Av. huxšvafa.

-č-

from Wkh. or a similar dialect. In  $ap\bar{\imath}r$ ,  $skap\bar{\imath}r$  'before' the p may be due to recent composition. Possibly the prefix  $p(\imath)$  in some cases goes back to paiti.

50. Intervocalic -c- results in -z-. Thus:

lūż- 'to milk' < \*dauċa- (Par. dūċ-, etc.); la żīno 'pile of firewood' < \*ni-čayanā-; nəmiż- 'winking' < \*ni-miċa- (v. s.v.); Y niṣāż- (M nijāš) 'to show' < \*ni-ċaṣa-; parzīn 'enclosure for sheep' < \*pari-čayana-; pərwīż- 'to sieve' < \*pari-waiċa-; rūżen 'smoke-hole' < raoċana-; Y šinjo, M siżno, 'needle' < \*suċanī-; tīż- 'to cut' < \*tāċaya-. Probably also yożī- 'to stumble', ef. Wkh. gaĕ- 'to totter'; kużke etc. 'hair' < \*kauċi-; patɛżo 'she-calf, one year old' < \*pati-taċī + ā (?); Stužun 'the Ustich Pass' < \*stuċ(a)na- (?). ċużiya 'chicken' is prob. an early lw. from Badakhshi ċuċa.

After n we find j in prenjio 'young she-goat' and in  $sab^{j}ranj$  'neckrope of the bullock', possibly derived from the fem. suffix  $-\tilde{c}i$ .

Words of uncertain derivation, in which  $-\dot{z}$ - may go back to either  $\dot{c}$  or j are e.g.:  $ki\dot{z}\gamma o$  'dirty';  $m\bar{u}\dot{z}$ - 'to move in the wind';  $no\gamma u\dot{z}\ddot{e}$  'snipe'; Y  $p\bar{a}\dot{z}i$  (Zar.  $p\bar{o}ui$ ) 'all'; M, G.  $r\hat{a}\dot{z}\partial n$  'language';  $\dot{s}i\dot{z}$ ,  $\dot{s}u\dot{z}$  'vulture' (Sgl.  $\dot{s}u\dot{z}$ );  $\dot{s}i\dot{z}o$  'cotton-';  $ta\dot{z}ia$  'heron';  $Ga\dot{z}an$ -dorë 'n. of a Y clan'.

Y mažoyo 'female markhor' is a Khow. lw., and kužo 'crooked' and  $sarf^{\flat}r\bar{a}\check{z}e$  'ornaments' are probably borrowed from Prs.  $ka\grave{z}$ ,  $ku\grave{z}$  and  $sarfar\bar{a}z\bar{\imath}$ .

In  $\dot{z}a$  'from' (cf.  $\dot{z}^u k \bar{u}$  'whence')  $< *ha \dot{c}a$  the  $\dot{c}$  was sonorized before the loss of initial (h)a-.<sup>2</sup> But in  $ti\check{x}$ -,  $\dot{c}i\check{x}$ - 'to fall' ( $< *\dot{c}a^i h \dot{d}$ -  $< *ha \dot{c}ahi \dot{d}a$ -),  $\dot{c}p\bar{a}\dot{c}$  'behind', and possibly in  $\dot{c}\partial\gamma\bar{u}$ - 'to return' the loss of ha- occurred earlier, owing to the more complete absence of stress in polysyllabic words.<sup>3</sup>

51. -ċ-, -ċ- appear in a number of lw.s from Khow., e.g. in buċayi 'bud'; hoċ 'boiled fat'; pιċ 'hot'; m²rεċ 'mulberry'; piċili 'n. of a plant'; taċingë 'Kafir boots'. With M maċio, Y ma cio 'she-dog'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s vv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf.  $v\partial$ ,  $p\partial < upa$ .

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  š $par{a}ar{c}$  prob.  $<ar{c}par{a}ar{c}$  (cf. š $tar{a}h\ddot{a}n$  'below'), and not <  $^6$ ž $p^0$ .

cf. Badakhshi  $m\bar{o}\dot{c}a$ . Y  $vro\dot{c}$  'to fry' is perhaps derived from an imperative  $vro\dot{c} < *vro\dot{c} < *vro\dot{c}$ , cf. Khow.  $vren\dot{c}e^{-1}$ 

Altogether uncertain is the derivation of Yd. ârico 'strawberry', and also of mṛkic 'carded wool'; Zar. nicod- 'to moisten thoroughly'; γəricoy- 'to creak'; Y γuricā- 'to swallow'.

-c- occurs in Y in the lw.s plac 'cheese' (fr. Kati); blacā- 'to collect' (fr. Khow.); cf. also Y macīo 'she-dog', and pelicio 'fire-tree, torch' which may perhaps have borrowed from an early form of Khow.  $p\bar{u}i\dot{c}$ . In Y pəcəg-, etc. 'to cut, cleave' c is probably derived from t+s.

## Voiced Stops and Affricates.

52. The general E.Ir. tendency to change voiced stops into fricatives has prevailed completely in Y—M where we find, at least in initial and intervocalic position,  $\gamma$ ,  $l \ll \delta$ ,  $v \ll \beta$  and  $\dot{z}$ .

It is possible that this change first affected intervocalic voiced stops,<sup>4</sup> it being in fact the first stage of the Ir. weakening of intervocalic consonants. And it might perhaps be assumed that the initial d- in  $d\ddot{a}l$ - 'to give' is due to a preventive dissimilation dating from a time when  $dad\bar{a}$ - should regularly have become \* $dad\bar{a}$ -. But the preservation of d- in a single, or at the utmost a small number of words, is not very likely. The dissimilation has probably taken place at a later period, \* $dad\bar{a}$  becoming again \* $dad\bar{a}$ -. In  $l\bar{\iota}vd\epsilon n$  'fire-place' < \* $d\bar{\epsilon}\gamma d\bar{a}n$  the dissimilation went the other way, just as in Psht.  $l\bar{\iota}d$  'saw' < \* $d\bar{\iota}d$  < \* $d\bar{\iota}d$  < \* $d\bar{\iota}d$  < \* $d\bar{\iota}d$  and in Sogd.  $d^uv\bar{a}das$  'twelve'.

<sup>1</sup> From Yd.? Cf. BSOS, VIII, 664.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. above § 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. § 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> And initial ones in sandhi after a word ending in a vowel.

 $<sup>^5</sup>$  I do not understand Benveniste's remark, Gramm. Sogd. II. 146. Oss. duwadas, diwa- (not  $duw\ddot{a}$ - $^{\circ}$ ) can without difficulty be traced back to  $^*duw\bar{a}\delta asa$  and correspond to Psht.  $dw\bar{a}las$ .  $dw\bar{o}las$ .

- 53. Initial g- appears as γ- in γū 'ear'; γäl 'thief'; γūdom 'wheat', g-etc.¹ Also Gharmai 'n. of a village in Yamgān' is probably of Munji\*origin. Most words in γ- are of genuine Y—M origin. But there are also some lw.s (e.g. γūlak 'pelletbow', γar 'adulterer', etc.) and a few words of unknown derivation (e.g. γ∂nūgo, etc. 'sneezing'; γaza 'a room'; γuzγap 'dirty'; γus- 'to feel troubled'). g<sup>y</sup>er- 'to walk, pass' and g<sup>y</sup>ib 'lost' are early lw.s from Prs.
- 54. Ancient -g- results in -y- in ayoi 'came';  $^2$   $\bar{a}\gamma(u)d$  'to dress' < -g\* $\bar{a}$ -gunda-; o'yuzo 'walnut' < \* $\bar{a}$ gauz $\bar{a}$ -; Y a zuzyo, M wuyzəga, etc.
  'frog' < \*wazaga- $k\bar{a}$ -;  $br\ddot{a}\gamma iko$  'sparrow' < \* $mrg\bar{i}+k\bar{a}$ ;  $fr\bar{a}i\gamma o$  'yokerope' < \*fra-yug $\bar{a}$ -; Y  $fer\gamma \bar{a}m\partial$ , etc. 'he-goat' < \* $frag\bar{a}maka$ -;  $m\bar{e}\gamma$ 'cloud' <  $ma\bar{e}\gamma a$ ;  $n\partial\gamma uy$  'to hear' < ni  $gau\dot{s}$ -;  $nu\gamma\bar{o}z$  'to swallow' < \*ni- $g\ddot{a}z$ -;  $poru\gamma$  'bolt of a door' < \*pati-ruga-;  $y\bar{u}\gamma$  'yoke'.
  Probably also  $P\partial'r\hat{a}\gamma o$  'Nuristan', and  $P\bar{o}ru\gamma$  'n. of a village in
  Sanglech' go back to forms in -g-, cf. Sgl.  $Par\bar{o}\gamma$ ,  $P\bar{o}ro\gamma$ .

Words of uncertain origin are:  $lo\gamma n$ - 'to lie-down';  $\check{e} \partial \gamma \bar{u}(w)$ - 'to return' ( $< *ha\check{e}a-gaub-??$ );  $lo\gamma oi$  'entered' (v. s.v. ti-),  $v\partial l\gamma o$  'above', and  $zu\gamma$ - 'to pour out'.

The development of -g-/- $\gamma$ - in livden 'fireplace'  $<\delta\bar{e}\gamma\delta\bar{u}n$  is quite irregular.

55. Y—M shares with Psht. and some dialects of Sogd. the change of d through  $\delta$  into l in most positions. It is perhaps also characteristic of Saraghlāmī.³ Sporadically we find  $l < \delta$ , d also in Wkh., and in Prs., probably in words of E.Ir. origin. But cf. also Kurd.  $Xul\bar{a}$  'God' and Bakht. leva 'mad'. In the main the tendency appears to be centred in north-eastern Iran, perhaps especially in  $Badaxs\bar{a}n$ ,  $Balaxs\bar{a}n$ . It is impossible to decide whether the l was developed separately in Y—M and in Psht.—Wanetsi, or if it belongs to a common ancestor of both dialect groups. Regarding the parallel change of d < l in Prasun cf. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  And in other preterites in postvocalic -ta-, v.  $\S$  235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. § 27.

56. Initial l < d- occurs in a large number of words. Thus, e.g.:  $d = l\bar{u}i$  'smoke'; lad 'tooth'; luydo 'daughter';  $l\bar{u}o$  'gave'; los 'ten';  $l\bar{u}\dot{z}$ - 'to milk', etc.\(^1\)

Y Bidd. lānawo 'wise' must, if correct, be an early lw., but last 'hand' may be a genuine dialect form.<sup>2</sup>

lyoxë 'itching' is of unknown origin, and the l of Y laxsərə 'ice' (M yaxsəriy) is unexplained.

Regarding däl- 'to give' and lūr- 'to flee' v. §§ 136, 137.

Y—M l from intervoc. -d- (and -dy-) occurs in: olo 'there' < -d-57. avaδa; ilīr 'belly' < \*udarya-; alarsīnë 'threshold' < \*aδarasayanaka-; alāno 'pomegranate'  $< ha\delta ana\bar{e}(pat\bar{a}-)$ ; aspəlan 'stable' <\*aspadāna; avēli 'both' < \*ubā-duvai (?); avlasto 'sleeve' < \*abi $dast\bar{a}$ ;  $awl\bar{a}n$  'bridle'  $< oaiwi-\delta\bar{a}na$ ;  $d\ddot{a}l$ - 'to give'  $< da\delta\bar{a}$ -;  $y\ddot{a}l$ 'thief'  $< ga\delta a$ ;  $k \ni la$  'when'  $< ka\delta a$ ; la 'with'  $< ha\delta a$ ;  $l\bar{u}r$ - 'to flee' < raod (?); molo 'here'  $< *imad\bar{a}$ ; malen 'half-full'  $< ma\delta ama$ : Miliyeq < \*Madya^; məlān 'waist' < maiðyāna-; malax 'locust' < maδaxa- (or lw.?); nəl 'reed' < \*nada-; näilō- 'to circumcise' < \* $ni\ddot{z}$ -dab-(?);  $n\partial liv$ -, etc. 'to lie down' < ni- $pai\partial ya$ -;  $n\partial m\bar{a}lyo$  'salt'  $< *nama\delta(a)k\bar{a}$ ; palo 'foot'  $< p\bar{a}d$ -; pol 'footprint'  $< pa\delta a$ -; plār-'to sell' < \*parā-dā-; pəlarz- 'to wrap' < \*pati-darza-; pälästiko 'armlet' < \*pati-dasta; poruylan 'hole for the door-bolt' < odāna-; šilë 'neck' < \*ušadaka-(?); šəlo 'near': Soyd. šo (?); wul- 'to throw' < \*wid; wolo 'irrigation channel'  $< vai\delta i$ ; wulo 'wife'  $< va\delta \bar{u}$ :  $wul\bar{e}yo$  'span' < \* $wid\bar{a}ti$ -; xul 'perspiration' <  $x^va\bar{e}\delta a$ -;  $x\bar{u}lo$  'embroidered cap'  $< xao\delta a$ ;  $z^{3}\gamma al$  'to run away' < zgad.

Of uncertain or unknown etymology are:  $fy\bar{\epsilon}li$  'a lie';  $\gamma\bar{u}elo$  'yokerope';  $kul\gamma\ddot{a}$  'a wild growing vegetable'; pelicio 'fir-tree'; selxiko 'sorrel'; veliwo 'lightning';  $vul\gamma\bar{o}r$ , wurgar 'shoulder-blade'; wulid 'foot-print'; wulai 'open';  $wal\gamma$  'feast' ( $\ll *wadu-ka-?$ );  $wulye\gamma o$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Et. Voc. Psht., s.v. lās.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 51.

'a small shrub'; yelu 'stack of grain'; 'yīla 'a little'; M yälko (Y yežko) 'duck'.

palan 'saddle' and  $x\bar{a}l$  'taste' are probably lw.s. Regarding  $p\ddot{e}l\ddot{e}k$  and polan v. Voc. s.vv.

In  $ni\check{x}$ - 'to sit down',  $ti\check{x}$ -,  $\dot{c}i\check{x}$ - 'to fall', and possibly in  $y\bar{e}\check{x}io$  'nest', an early contraction has resulted in  $*h\delta > *\vartheta > \check{x}$ .\(^1\) Note also  $u\dot{s}\check{c}eno$  'hay-stack'  $< *v\check{a}\check{s}t\bar{a}n\bar{a} < *v\check{a}stra-d\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ -.

Ancient  $\delta$  (d) in secondary contact with d < t resulted in  $\delta > l$ . Cf., e.g., dil 'he gives' < dadati. Regarding t + t cf. § 47.

58.  $b > \beta$ , v- occurs e.g. in  $v\bar{i}o$  'was'  $< b\bar{u}ta$ -; vad- 'to tie' < band-; b- van 'root, bottom' < buna-; van 'long' < bara: a-, etc., cf. Voc. s.vv.

Words of uncertain origin are M, Z vaynew 'yield of grain'; visco 'steep hillside'. It is possible that vär, vēr 'time' was borrowed from Prs. at a time when this language has still  $\beta$ - from w-. In that case  $p\bar{u}z\bar{e}$  'falcon' may be a later lw., borrowed from Prs.  $b\bar{a}z$ , while Y—M had as yet no initial b-.

At present b- is quite common, chiefly in lw.s, but also in native words with original \*ham-b-.

59. Examples of -v < -b- are:  $\bar{a}v\bar{r}r$ - 'to bring'  $<\bar{a}$ -bar-;  $avl\bar{a}nd$  'hem -b of a cloak'  $< *abi\cdot d\bar{a}mant\bar{a}$ -; avlasto 'sleeve'  $< abi\cdot d\bar{a}st\bar{a}$ -;  $avl\bar{a}n$  'bridle' (note w!)  $< {}^oaiwio\bar{a}na$ -; yurv- 'to seize'  $< *g_rb$ -;  $dr\bar{u}v$ - 'to dance': Sogd.  $\partial r'w\beta$ -;  $l\bar{o}$ - 'to graze' < \*law- < \*dab-; nov- 'to rain',  $n\bar{v}$  'rain' < nab-;  $n\bar{v}v$ 0 'beak'  $< *nabak\bar{a}$ ;  $n\bar{v}v$ 0 'to take out'  $< ni\bar{s}$ -bar-;  $r\bar{v}v$  'rhubarb'  $< *r\bar{a}ba$ -.

In secondary contact with a voiceless sound we find f: afseno 'whet-stone'; afsinyo 'ladder';  $afsinn\ddot{e}$  'summer-wheat' < \*abi. Cf. also the unvoicing of  $-v < *-bi\ddot{s}$  in the obl. pl. in  $-\partial f$  and in maf 'you'.

Note Yzh aveli, M, Z aveliyi 'both', but Y sh abelī.4

¹ Cf. Shgh. neθ-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. §§ 199, 203.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 88.

In loan-words we often find v (or w) for Standard Prs. -b-, but in most cases the fricative probably belongs already to Bad. Prs. Examples are, e.g.: Y ketiu 'book'; (M  $k^3t\bar{o}b$ );  $d\bar{i}w\dot{c}\bar{u}w$  'torch';  $d\bar{u}\bar{o}va$  'second watering'; Y rikau (M  $rik\bar{i}b$ ) 'stirrup', etc. Note also Parauko = Khow. Parabek, n. of a village in Lutkuh.

60. Initial  $\dot{z}$ -  $<\dot{j}$ - occurs in  $\dot{z}$ - 'to speak' < \* $\dot{j}at$ -; Y  $\dot{z}\bar{\iota}io$  (M  $)\bar{\iota}iko$ )  $\dot{j}$ - 'bowstring'  $<\dot{j}y\bar{a}$ -;  $\dot{z}\bar{\iota}lo$  'hail' < \* $\dot{j}\bar{a}rd\bar{a}$ - (or lw.?);  $\dot{z}inko$ ,  $\dot{z}in(k)a$  'woman'  $<\dot{j}aini$ -. Y  $\dot{z}aro$  'poison' is probably a lw. from Khow.  $\dot{z}\bar{u}(u)$ ,  $\dot{z}\bar{u}g$  'leather' seems to go back to \* $\dot{j}auka$ -, but, in spite of Skr. gav- (Kalasha gao) 'leather', it is perhaps doubtful whether it is permissible to assume a form with e-vowel of this root.

żib- 'to rise'; žaf- 'to chew'; żingo 'n. of a bird' and żunayë, etc. 'boy' are of uncertain origin.

In Y—M, and also in Psht and Sgl., we find  $\check{z} < j$ -, but  $c < \check{c}$ -.¹ Evidently the dentalization of palatals in these dialects is later than the loss of occlusion in voiced stops (and  $\check{j}$ ). In Saka, on the other hand,  $\check{j}$ - results in j- (written js and dz),² in Wakhi probably in j-,³ and in Shgh. etc. in  $z - (j - 1)^4$  Also Ossetic probably has j-, but the examples are few.

The indigenous sound  $\dot{z}$ - and Prs.  $\dot{z}$ - appear to be more or less interchangeable, and ought probably to be regarded as being variants of one and the same phoneme. Cf., eg., svv. jigar,  $\dot{z}iga'r\ddot{e}n$ ;  $\dot{z}a'h\ddot{a}nd$ ; ju~ana,  $\ddot{z}u~v\ddot{a}n$ ;  $\ddot{z}irab\ddot{e}$ .

61. Examples of -ž- are: iž 'snake' < ażi-; miżäγiko 'mist' < \*mi)ū-; mūž--j- 'to move' < \*ham-auž- (?); u'żer- 'to look' < \*awa-jaraya-. piżūm- 'to entrust' is possibly borrowed from Khow. peżem-, in its turn of Ir. origin.<sup>5</sup> The derivation of raża 'platform' is uncertain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In many, if not in all cases. Cf. above § 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Konow, Saka Studies, 25; Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt, 11.

<sup>3</sup> In joi bow-string'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> E.g. in  $z\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to beat'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. BSOS, VIII, 663. But notice Yr pəčām- < \*pati-jam-?

#### Cerebrals.

62. In words of Ir. origin cerebral sounds have been developed from rt > Y r (M r); rn > Y n  $(M nq^y)$ ; s(t)r, rs > s.

In lws from IA, especially from Khow., all types of cerebrals occur in Y. Thus, with t: tok 'wild pear' < Khow. tong; tfo 'n. of a bird' < tif; paropati 'boil, sore' < Khow. parpat; cont 'knuckle' < Khow. cot; totine 'hammer' < Khow. totine; titone 'dried mulberries' < Khow. titone 'boot', totine 'coat' < IA. < Eng. Cf. also titone 'tasteless'; totine 'n. of a part of the plough'; titone 'bent, crooked'; titone 'necklace'; titone 'porridge'; titone 'roof-beam'; titone 'dumb'. In titone 'chive' < Khow. titone the titone has been dissimilated by the following titone occurs in titone 'cotton thread' < Khow. titone 'sledge hammer' < Khow. titone 'a kind of handmill'; titone 'wooden bowl' < Khow.; titone 'a kind of handmill'; titone 'wooden bowl' < Khow.; titone 'a flower' < Khow. titone 'two-storied house' < Khow.; titone 'n. of a flower' < Khow. titone 'two-storied house' < Khow.; titone 'n. of a flower' < Khow. titone 'milkone.

We find  $\check{z}$  in  $\check{z}a\check{z}\bar{\imath}ro$  'chain' < Khow.  $janj\bar{\epsilon}r$ ;  $I\check{z}$  'n. of a village' < Khow., but also in  $\check{z}or\check{z}o$ ,  $\check{z}or\check{z}o$  'partridge', and  $\check{z}\bar{\imath}mme\check{z}$ -,  $\check{z}ime\check{z}$ - 'to pull up weeds'. Reg.  $\check{c}$ , r and l v. §§ 79.

In a few, probably relatively old, lw.s from IA  $k^y$  has been substituted for t in Y:  $kyo^{\dagger}g\bar{o}$ ,  $\check{c}o^{\dagger}g\bar{o}o$  'wild pear' < Khow.  $t\bar{o}ng$  (cf. tok above);  $k\partial^{\dagger}kyaro$  'Kafir dagger' < IA.  $kat\bar{a}ro$ , etc.; Y  $pok^y$  'husks' < Khow.  $ph\bar{o}t$ ; Y  $k\bar{u}k^ya$ , M kutyo 'short': Wkh.  $k\partial t$ , etc. < IA;  $k\bar{a}k^y$ , etc. 'to boil' < \*kat-(?);  $re\check{s}k$  'avalanche' < Khow.  $re\bar{s}t$ . nd probably became \* $(n)g^y$  in  $mag^y$ - 'to rub'.<sup>2</sup> Cf. the change of rt through \*d to Sar. g, and the transition of a cerebral into a velar in the childish pronunciation of E. Norw. ontli (written ordentlig) as ontli.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> With Ir.  $\gamma$  and IA t in the same word.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 121.

<sup>4 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

#### Surd Fricatives.

- 63. Ancient x- remains in  $xo^u d$  'to laugh';  $x\bar{u}yo$  'a spring'; xoro x- 'donkey', etc.\(^1\) xof 'scum, foam' and  $xo\dot{s}$  'to pull' have x < k- in other Pamir dialects, too.\(^2\) Reg. x < xw- v. \(^5\) 98.
- 64. Intervocalic -x- remains unchanged. Thus: max 'we'; max 'peg' -x<\*maixa-; anaxno 'nail' < \*ā-nāxanā-; pīx 'span': Sgl. pēx; woxo
  'root-fibre' < \*waixā-, etc. Reg. other words with suffix -xă v.

  § 98.

Words of uncertain origin are:  $p \ni rx\bar{a}w$  'to eat with a spoon'; fxaw 'to shear'; fxot 'to seize';  $l^yox$  'to itch'; poxayak 'temples';  $f \ni rx$  'to stool'  $< *fra \cdot rix$  (?);  $\check{x}\check{u}rox$  'to shy'.

 $\dot{s}\bar{a}xo$  'branch' and  $r\bar{o}x^{o}$  'cheek' are borr. from Prs., and gox 'hole'; muxan 'veranda'; tux 'steam';  $brax\bar{a}$  'to knoek'; krox 'scab'; nax 'floor';  $c^{o}rox$  'spark' are borrowed from Khow., or resemble Khow. forms.

In sandhi we find a sonorization of x- in Y vo  $\gamma oi < vo \ xoi$  'own'.

- 65. Characteristic of Y—M is the palalalization of θ into x, a sound θ which is probably also designed by Saka thth in haththa- 'true' < \*haθya-.³ In initial, antevocalic position the only example of x-are xümânë 'male ibex', a word of uncertain etymology, and the place-name Xuli 'T(h)ili'.</p>
- 66. Postvocalic ϑ occurs in γυ'τεἴ 'knot' < \*graϑa-; miử 'day' < -ϑ\*māϑya-; mỗἄε 'stick' < \*måϑaka-; pīử 'arrow' < \*pāϑa-; M paἄ϶y
  'wide' < \*paϑaka-; parvaἄιπ 'knee-cap' < \*pari-paϑanya-; peἄιko
  'snare' < \*pāϑyā + iko (?). It is uncertain whether pəzεἄι 'young
  male sheep', νəzäἄο 'womb', and zäἄko 'child-bearing' contain ancient
  -zaϑa- or \*zaϑya-.⁴

Reg.  $ni\check{x}$ - 'to sit down',  $t/\check{c}i\check{x}$ - 'to fall', and  $y\bar{e}\check{x}io$  'nest' < \*ni-hid-,  $ha\check{c}a$ -hid-,  $\bar{a}$ -hadya-, with  $h\delta > \vartheta$ , v. § 57.

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. Reg. xu'gor 'sword' v. BSOS, VIII, 668.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Anc. Prs. hašiya-.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 155.

The derivation of  $ye\check{x}io$  'handmill' and of  $p\check{e}i\check{x}$ - 'to break' is uncertain.  $pi\check{x}o\gamma o$ ,  $pi\check{z}\gamma o$  'saliva' ( $<*p\vartheta u$ -?) shows the affinity between  $\check{x}$  and  $\grave{s}$ .

 $\gamma o \dot{h}$  'excrements' is probably borrowed from some other dialect.  $l \partial m \bar{i}$ , pret. of  $l^{2} m \bar{o} n$ - 'to rub' is scarcely the regular phonetic outcome of \*nima $\vartheta ita$ -, from which we should expect \* $l^{2} m \partial \tilde{x} i$ -, but an analogical formation.

67. Also initial f- is of rare occurrence. Examples are: fia 'wooden f-spade'; fār- 'to catch': Prs. fārīdan 'to want'; f'sko 'nose': Sgl. fusēk; fiz 'breast': Wkh. pūz.

fāru 'mill·broom' is dissimilated from \*frāruv. fusfesīya 'small locust' looks like an onomatopoetical formation, and fagyikë 'song' is of uncertain derivation.

68. Intervocalic -f- remains in:  $k^y$  if o 'hump'  $< *kauf\bar{a}$ -; n if 'navel'; -f- x of 'scum';  $w\bar{a}$ f- 'to weave';  $k^y$  of- 'to groan': Prs. k af  $\bar{i}$  dan 'to crack'; p uf- 'to blow'; x of- 'to cough'; t af  $\bar{o}$ v- 'to put fire to' < \*t af ya- (?), etc.

Cf. also  $vr\bar{o}f$  'to fly';  $\dot{z}of$  'to chew';  $\dot{j}\bar{o}f$  'to send, command'. In  $\dot{s}\ddot{v}ft$  'to plaster', etc. the f is of secondary origin, cf. § 228.

Other words with -f- are: paifar 'steep hillside'; sofo 'earthen jar'; zifkyän 'rolling pin' (v + k?); safsiyän 'armpit';  $F^{\circ}$ rastufi 'n. of a lake'; sefloč 'hoof'.

#### Sibilants.

69. Ir. s- remains in sayo 'shade'; sīγ 'hare'; sāl 'year' (lw.?); s- sëγi'o 'sand'; surv 'hole', etc.'

A number of words in s- are of uncertain etymology. Thus, e.g.: səbrīm 'boiled fat'; sofo 'earthen jar'; svy 'strap'; selxiko 'sorrel'; suniko 'wooden shovel'; sīniya 'sole'; sāro 'below'; sosë 'heap of sheaves'; sasto 'hillside'; sizalyo 'tarantula'.

Reg. s- < š- in šinjo cf. § 135.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. yumino 'anus'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

70. Also -s- remains unchanged. E.g.: as- 'to come' < \*ā-isa-; is-, -s-yīs- 'to carry' < yās-; γīs 'thread made of goat's hair' < gaēsa-; γuskən 'cow-dung' < \*gau-sakana-; kōs- 'to search for' < kaş- (?); los '10' < dasa; leso 'oats': Sgl. dəsīn; nusiy 'the shady side of a valley' < \*nisāya-; pusur 'head' < \*pātisārah- (?); ros- 'to arrive' (lw.?); rūso 'fox' < \*raupasā-; wos 'now, then': Psht. (w)ōs, etc.

Of uncertain origin are: loso 'rope' (Prs. dasa 'fringe'?); ces 'what'; yus- 'to worry'; kuso 'maize-stalk'; sosë, sors 'heap of sheaves'; wosa 'wide', etc

In  $nez\gamma o$ ,  $ni\gamma zo$  'mucus of the nose's has been sonorized before  $\gamma$ . Y  $kar\gamma \partial z$  (M kargas) 'a kind of eagle' corresponds to Prs. kargas, but z appears in other dialects, too (v. Voc.). Cf. also yuwiz 'double bridle': Khow. iwis (with -s < -z?);  $ba\gamma az$  'bellowing': Sgl.  $ba\gamma as$ ;  $ram\bar{u}z$  M. LSI. 'deer': Psht.  $r\bar{a}m\bar{u}sai$ . It is impossible to determine the special causes of the sonorization of s in these words.

- 71. Initial z- remains. Thus. e.g.; zīk 'knee' < zānuka-; zīl 'heart' z- <\*zṛdya-; zamai 'son-in-law' < zāmātar-; zōmbå 'jaw' < \*zambā; zoyno 'chin' < \*zanaxā-; zəmargirë 'lizard' < zamarə-guz- (or lw.?); zīt 'yellow' < zairita-; zaxmo 'field' < \*zamaxā-; züxko 'child-bearing' < \*zaŷā + ko; zīy- 'to bear' < zaya-.
  - $z\bar{a}\gamma\hat{o}$  'crow' is probably a lw. from Prs., and  $z\hat{o}m$  'to yawn' from Khow.<sup>1</sup> Reg. last 'hand'  $<*\delta asta-$  < zasta-, cf. Et. Voc. Psht. s.v.  $l\bar{a}s$ .
- 72. Words with intervocalic -z- are too numerous to be given in full -zhere. Examples are: a'vāz- 'to bring' < upa-az-; iziko 'yester-eve';
  azīto 'barberry' < \*ā-zaritā-; azuzγo, wuyzəga 'frog' < vazaγā- + kā;
  dīz- 'to bury' < \*han-daiz-; lizo 'fort': Prs. diz; nuyōz- 'to swallow':
  Wanetsi γōz- 'to drink'; mīz- 'to urinate' < maēz-; ne'rīz- 'to lick'
  < ni-raiz-; pəzexī 'male sheep, 1—2 y. old' < \*pati-zaḍyaka-; vuza
  'he-goat' < buza-; vēzb- 'to tighten' < \*abi-zamb-; vīzγa 'arm above
  elbow' < būzu- + ka-; vəzān- 'to know' < \*upa-(?)zan-; vəzāxo
  'pregnant' < \*upa-zaḍā-; wuzā- 'to be tired' < \*wi-zūya-; wuziā(w)¹ BSOS. VIII, 662.

'to extinguish' < \*uz-aya- (caus.); uuzīr 'yesterday' < uzayara-; žirizen 'the day before yesterday' < \*θrita-azana; zo 'I' < azəm. Of uncertain origin are: γaza 'room'; niaskë, niāzγila 'yawn'; sizalγo 'tarantula'; wizinga M Z cotton thread. Reg. pūzë 'falcon' ef. § 58. Reg. the suffix -γuz v. § 193.

73. In the following words Y—M & corresponds to Av. & (< \*qy-, & \*ks-), or to & of other Ir. dialects: & ii 'went, became' < & uta-; & am- 'to drink' < & am-; & ifc(ik)o 'waterfall': Prs. & iftan 'to trickle': & fon 'clay for plastering', & ift- 'to plaster': Bal. & fay 'rod for applying collyrium', etc. (but v. s.v.); & am 'ripe': Bal. & am 'moist'(?); & uv- 'to suck': Wkh. & ap-; & ii 'vulture': Sgl. & ii. Cf. also & ili' 'neck': Av. u& a& a.(?).

A number of words with s- are lw.s, or of unknown origin.1

In E.Ir., and among W.Ir. languages in Kurdish, there is a -s-7<del>4</del>. tendency to sonorize intervocalic s, and the resulting \*-z-, is subject to further changes. There is evidently some connection between this development and the sonorization of intervocalic surd stops. We find that Sogd., Yaghn, and Wkh., which preserve intervocalic tenues, do also retain -8- as an unvoiced sound.2 But the problem remains why Ir. 5 was more exposed to assimilation than -s-, while in European languages the opposite seems to be the case.3 Probably the back articulation of Ir. -s- weakened its resistance against the influence of the surrounding vowels. The resulting -¿- has been preserved in earlier Saka, in S.Psht. and in Shgh. (ž). But it was an unstable sound, which in N.Psht. changed into g (Ghilzai also  $\gamma$ ), in Roshani into u, and in Sgl. and Sar. into l, l. In later Saka and in Par. it tends to disappear completely, while in Orm. and Y-M it developed probably through a sound resembling the

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Oss. retains unvoiced  $-s < -\tilde{s}$ , but sonorizes -t > -d, etc., thus developing on parallel lines with most W.Ir. dialects in this respect.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Chuwash (Turkish) -š- > -l-, v. Grammont, Traité de Phonétique, 2061.

'cerebral y' of Burushaski,¹ into y, which has in many cases disappeared in Y—M. It may be noted that  $*y < \dot{s}$  has no palatalizing effect on the preceding vowel, cf.  $abr\ddot{u}o$  'pear' < \*hamrautā-, but  $\dot{s}p\bar{u}o$  'louse'  $< spi\dot{s}$ -. The intermediate stage  $\dot{z}$  has been preserved through early metathesis in  $yar\dot{z}o$  'beard'  $< *rai\dot{z}\bar{a}$  ( $< *rai\dot{s}\bar{a}$ ), from which also Psht.  $*\dot{z}air\bar{a} > \dot{z}ira$ .

Examples of y,  $0 < -\check{s}$ - are:  $\mathring{a}b\bar{u}ya$  'moraine': Ishk.  $ambol < *hampi\grave{s}a(ka\cdot)(?)$ ;  $fr\bar{\imath}\gamma o$  'flea'  $< *fru\grave{s}ik\bar{a}\cdot$ ; frumo- 'to forget'  $< *framu\check{s}\cdot$  (v. Voc. s.v.);  $\gamma\bar{u}(\bar{\imath})$ , etc. (Mm  $\gamma\bar{u}\bar{\imath}l?)^2$  'ear'  $< gao\grave{s}a\cdot$ ;  $m\bar{u}o$ ,  $m\bar{\imath}yo$ , etc. 'sheep' < Av.  $ma\check{e}\check{s}\bar{\imath}\cdot$ ; ni- 'to go out'  $< *ni\check{s}\cdot\bar{\imath}\cdot$ ; ni- 'to hear' (G.  $nu\gamma\bar{u}\check{s}\cdot?$ ) < \*ni- $gau\check{s}\cdot$ ;  $ni\bar{u}$  ( $ni\check{x}\cdot$ ) 'sat down' < \*ni- $\check{s}asta\cdot$  (or \*ni- $hasta\cdot?$ );  $n\ddot{a}il\bar{u}\cdot$ ,  $n\bar{\imath}yal\bar{o}v\cdot$  'to make to sit down' < ni- $\check{s}a\check{o}aya\cdot$ ; ni-oiu, ni-oiuj' 'black' < \*an- $aru\check{s}aka\cdot$  (?);  $sp\bar{u}o$ ,  $spuy\mathring{u}$  'louse'  $< spi\check{s}\cdot$ ;  $vr\bar{\imath}\cdot$  'to break'  $< *brai\grave{s}\cdot$ ; yo 'that'  $< a\check{e}\check{s}a\cdot$ ; yuvg 'arrow'  $< i\check{s}u\cdot + ka\cdot$ ;  $y\bar{u}ga$  'ear of wheat'  $< *au\check{s}aka\cdot$ ; zinio 'daughter-in-law'  $< *snu\check{s}\bar{a}\cdot$ .

Words of more uncertain or unknown origin are:  $g\bar{u}y$ - 'to knead' (v. Voc.);  $\gamma \partial n\bar{i}go$ ,  $xn\bar{i}ga$  'sneezing'  $< *x(\dot{s})n\bar{i}\dot{s}a$ -;  $\dot{s}\bar{u}iko$  'collar-bone': Bal.  $sr\bar{o}\dot{s}$  'elbow' (?);  $ki\bar{o}$  'labour, ploughing';  $q\bar{v}\bar{a}\gamma$ , etc. 'bull'.

ux'šo, etc. '6' is probably derived from xŝvaš, not from \*xŝwaŝa,\* note the different accent in avdo, 'aŝĉo in some forms of Y.

Reg. šilė ( $< u ša \delta \bar{a}$ ), cf. §§ 164, 109.

75. In a great number of words we find Y—M - $\dot{s}$ -. Most of these words are borrowed from Prs. or Khow., others contain an original group  $sr \ (> \dot{s}, \ \dot{s})$ .

But in some cases - $\dot{s}$ - appears to go back to Ir. \*- $\dot{s}\dot{s}$ - ( $\langle \hat{k}s, qy \rangle$ , which in Av. is written  $\dot{s}$ , thus coalescing with  $\dot{s} < s$  (after  $i, u, \gamma$ ). Thus  $di\dot{s}$ - 'to think' could be derived from \*han- $di\dot{s}\dot{s}a$ - ( $\langle -\dot{s}di\hat{k}\cdot s(\hat{k})e$ -), but \*han-disya- is also possible;  $nuva\dot{s}$ - 'to comb' points to \*ni- $pa\dot{s}\dot{s}a$ -

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Lorimer, Bur. Grammar, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> G.'s  $\gamma \bar{u} \dot{s}$  can scarcely be a correct dialect form.

<sup>\*</sup> Y sh, r š<sup>3</sup>pūo with early assimilation of spiš-> \*špiš??

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gauthiot, JA. 1916, 244.

< \*ni-pekse-, and nisaž-, ni)aš- 'to show' to \*ni-čašša-, Av.  $\check{c}a\check{s} nuvi\check{s}-$  'to write' is probably a lw.; but  $ko\check{s}a$  'valley' can scarcely be borrowed from Prs.  $ka\check{s},$  and ought to be derived from  $*ka\check{s}\check{s}aka-$  (v. Voc. s.v.). Also  $av\gamma u\check{s},$   $yivgu\check{s}$  'lap' possibly contains  $*ka\check{s}\check{s}a-$ . Cf. also  $fir\check{s}\bar{o}n-$  'to shake'  $< *fra-\check{s}\check{s}an-$ .

Words which possibly contain ancient  $\dot{s}\dot{s} < qy$  are:  $fru\dot{s}\ddot{e}$  'muzzle': Av.  $fra\ddot{s}a$ -;  $p\dot{s}\ddot{a}\ddot{i}$  'ripe'  $< *pa\dot{s}\dot{s}aka$ -  $< *pa\dot{c}ya$ -. Also  $xa\ddot{s}\partial y$  'friend';  $ka\ddot{s}$  'piebald' (Shgh.  $\dot{c}u\ddot{z}$ , etc.);  $\gamma a\ddot{s}\ddot{e}$  'good' (Prs.  $ga\dot{s}$ ) may have original  $-\dot{s}\dot{s}$ -, but the origin of these words is unknown. Nor is it possible to determine the original form of  $\gamma u\ddot{s}$  'meat'. Regarding  $\dot{e}e\ddot{s}$  'not', which Gauthiot would connect with Av.  $a\bar{e}\dot{s}a$ , v. Voc. s.v.

Other words of unknown origin containing -š- are:  $niš\bar{o}k$  'jaw'; kurušo 'Angelica';  $a\dot{s}asto$  'a kind of small berries';  $u\ddot{s}un$ - 'to neigh'. In some of these words  $\ddot{s}$  may be incorrect for  $\ddot{s}$ .

#### Nasals.

76. Initial and intervocalic nasals remain, except in the cases when n is dissimilated into l (v. § 136).<sup>2</sup>

Examples of n- are: no 'not';  $n\bar{o}u$  '9';  $n\partial b$  'dew'; nif 'navel', n-etc. anaxno 'nail' has a 'prothetic' a-. The nature of the relation between  $d\bar{u}r$  'to-day' and Sgl.  $n\bar{e}r$ , etc. is unknown.

Intervocalic -n- remains in ken- 'to do', 'to dig';  $m \ni n$  'my'; -n- $\gamma unia$  'hair';  $asp \ni lan$  'stable';  $n \bar{a} no \gamma o$  'grain'  $< *d \bar{a} na k \bar{a}$ -;  $st \bar{n} \gamma o$ 'supine'  $< *ust \bar{a} na k \bar{a}$ -;  $w \bar{n}$ - 'to see', etc. Note M stun(ek) 'throat':
Psht.  $st \bar{u} na i$ , but Y  $ust \bar{u} \gamma a$  with apparent loss of n.

Initial m- in:  $m\bar{a}$ - 'to measure'; moyuso 'fly';  $m\partial l\bar{a}n$  'waist';  $m\partial r$ - m- 'to die', etc.

Intervocalic -m- occurs in  $fray\bar{a}m\bar{\sigma}$ , etc. 'he-goat';  $l\bar{a}m\sigma$  'village'; -m-lamdo 'hem';  $l\bar{o}mago$  'snare';  $n\bar{\sigma}m\bar{d}l\gamma\sigma$  'salt';  $r\bar{\imath}m$ - 'to please';  $s\bar{a}m$  'yoke-peg';  $s\bar{a}m$ - 'to drink'; zamai 'son-in-law', and also in  $m\sigma$  'this' < ima-; max 'we'  $< a(h)m\bar{a}xam$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From which Khow. froš.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reg. mr > br v. § 120.

In ind 'so much' (\*imanta-); avlānd 'hem of a cloak' (\*abidāmantā-?); frayingo 'she-goat' (cf. frayāmə) m has been subject to assimilation. The etymology of səmte 'blunt' is unknown.

# Liquids.

77. Initial r remains. E.g.:  $r\bar{u}^{i}$  'bowels';  $r\bar{u}\gamma^{0}$  'vein';  $r\bar{u}\gamma^{0}$  'clarified butter'; rok 'colour', etc.

If rin'y'a 'slippery' is derived from \*rix'snaka- or a similar form, r- corresponds to l- in Prs. la'sn. Note also ne-riz- 'to lick'. l'ur- 'to flee' is transposed from \* $r\bar{u}l$ -.\frac{1}{2}

The r- in Y rispën 'iron' (M yuspan) is unexplained.

Intervocalie -r- occurs in  $im\bar{u}r$ - 'to count';  $\gamma ar$  'stone';  $\gamma ar\gamma$  -r- 'heavy'  $\langle gouru$ -;  $l\bar{u}r$ - 'to have';  $\bar{u}v\bar{r}r$ - 'to bring';  $\dot{c}\dot{s}\bar{u}r$ ,  $\dot{c}f\bar{u}r$  '4';  $pargu\dot{s}\dot{c}\dot{c}$  'finger-ring', etc.

Reg. t < rt in secondary contact cf. § 125. In fro- 'to melt', and possibly in  $f \ni rx$ - 'to stool',  $\cdot r$ - has been lost through dissimilation (< \*fra-ri, \*fra-rix-).

da 'in, into' may be a lw. from Bad. Prs., but Y—M loss of r in an unstressed word is equally possible.

 $z\bar{u}l$  'difficult' may have got its l from  $zul\hat{u}war < z\bar{o}r\bar{u}war$ .

- 78. Y—M l- is found chiefly in words beginning with ancient d- $^2$  l- and in lw.s. There are a few words of unknown origin, such as:  $ling\bar{o}n$  'handmill'; langau 'bucket'; and we find an unexplained prothetic l- in Y  $laxs \rightarrow r$  'ice' (M  $yaxs \rightarrow riy$ ), and, according to Gauthiot, in  $l\bar{\imath}s$   $k^y\bar{\imath}un$  'female breast' (M  $yi\bar{s}k^yuna$ , Y  $i\bar{s}c\bar{\imath}n$ , etc.). But there is no instance of IE l > Y—M l.
- 79. Y l renders Kati r' in the lw. plac 'cheese'. But we usually r find Y r (or the variant l) for Khow. l (δ). Thus, e.g.: blacā- 'to collect', bamboli 'beard of a maize cob'; brok, blok 'knuckle'; kerë 'shield'; kūriak 'yoke-peg'; krīnsar 'walking stick'; kalakəri 'wrinkles';

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. § 56.

h-

 $krab \ni r\ddot{e}$  'lamb's wool'. Cf. also  $loh \cdot r\bar{i}nj$  'double': Khow. jurinj;  $pa\ koro\ (pa \cdot kol)$  'woollen cap'; krox 'scab, incrustation';  $lu\bar{u}$ ,  $l\bar{u}$  'pinemarten'  $\langle$  Khow.??

#### Glottal.

80. Initial h- has been dropped, as in most E.Ir. dialects.

Thus, e.g. in ardo '7'; usk 'dry'; yovurso 'juniper' < hap r r s i; probably also in idou 'fever'  $< *han t \bar{a} p a$ -(?);  $a b r \bar{u} o$  'pear'  $< *ham r a u t \bar{a}$ -;  $a b \bar{u} y a$  'moraine' < \*ham p i s a k a-; ida 'slave' < \*han t a k a- (?);  $y \bar{u} r z v n$  'millet'  $< *(h) \bar{a} r z a n a$  (?);  $Y I d r \gamma$ , M Y i d g < \*Hinduka-.

With loss of the initial vowel we find:  $\dot{z}a$  'from'  $< ha\dot{c}a$ ;  $\dot{c}i\dot{x}$ -'to fall'  $< *ha\dot{c}a$ -hida-;  $bax\dot{s}$ - 'to divide' < \*ham-bax $\dot{s}$ - (or. lw.);  $d\bar{t}z$ - 'to bury' < \*han-daiz- (and some other verbs in d-);  $g\bar{u}y$ - 'to knead' < \*han-gau $\dot{s}$ - (?), cf.  $\dot{a}gung^y$  'dough'.

h- has been dropped also in some lw.s. Thus: avda, abda '17'; amsāyo 'neighbour'; ālq 'throat'. But note also (h)oč 'melted fat' (from Khow.); hasa'īne, osa'īnë 'handkerchief' (from Khow.), hasār, azōr '1000', etc.

The result of this recent introduction of h- has been that, just as in some Psht. dialects, a 'Cockney' h- has been introduced in some words where it is devoid of any etymological signification. In fact Yd. h is probably phonologically insignificant. Cf. e.g.  $h\bar{u}\gamma$  'money'; (h) $adam\bar{\sigma}$  'limb';  $had\ddot{v}$  'slave';  $h\bar{\sigma}nad\ddot{v}$  'out of breath'; (h)avraphi 'work'; harko 'back'; huro, wuro 'there'.

Intervocalic -h-likewise is lost:  $s\bar{\imath}\gamma$  'hare' < \*sahaka-; mux 'month' -h-< \*mâhaxa-; wāṛo 'summer' < \*wāhṛtā-; xā- 'to thresh' < x¹ah-;  $\bar{\imath}$ no 'blood' < vohuni-; hū $\gamma$  'price' < \*wahāka- (or lw.?).

Reg.  $h + \delta > \vartheta > \check{x}$ , v. § 57.

#### Semivorvels.

81. Antevocalic w- is preserved as a semivowel in a great number w of words. Thus, e.g.:  $w\bar{u}i$  'wind';  $w\bar{a}f$ - 'to weave';  $wofs\bar{i}o$  'wasp';  $wul\gamma a$  'kidney';  $w\bar{i}n$ - 'to see', etc.

Before u there is a sporadic loss of w-, frequently in Y.—especially in Yg, r and B—more seldom in M. We find, however, that forms with and without w- may be used by the same person, and it looks as if w- had no phonological significance before u.\(^1\) V. Voc. s.vv. wulai, wulo, wurw-,  $wur\dot{z}$ ,  $wu\ddot{s}$ ,  $(w)u\ddot{s}iyo$ ,  $wuz\ddot{a}$ -,  $u\ddot{s}ceno$ . In  $w\bar{u}i$ ,  $wul\gamma a$ , wuleyo and  $wur\gamma$  I always heard w-. Reg.  $h\bar{u}\gamma < (w)\bar{u}\gamma$ , cf. Voc. s.v.

wisto '20', wul- 'to throw', wuleyo 'span', etc, prove that w- was preserved before original i. yiston 'felt' can therefore, even apart from other reasons, scarcely be derived from \*wi-star(a)na-. (y)īno 'blood' presents special problems in Y—M, just as in most other Ir. dialects.

 $v^{\vartheta}z\bar{a}n$ -,  $v/wz\bar{o}n$ - 'to know' <\*wi-zan- (? v. Voc.) possibly has vz- < wz-.

82. Initial y-remains in yōu 'grain'; yū $\gamma$  'yoke'; yē $\gamma$ on 'liver'; yuxs- y 'to learn'. Cf. also yūi 'husband's brother' < \*yāta- (?); ye $\check{x}$ io 'handmill' < \*ya $\vartheta$ ra- (?); yū $\gamma$ (-yāmo) 'three days hence' < \*yuta- (?). But the function of y- has changed its character through the development of prothetic y-.

yāmo 'the day after to-morrow' and yōba 'dance', etc are of unknown origin. Note axlon besides yaxlon 'cold'.2

# Prothetic w- and y-.

83. Common to the Pamir dialects is the tendency, to some extent Proth. walso shared by Psht., towards the development of wor you before initial vowels. This tendency, which betrays a weakness of phono-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. below § 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reg. laxsərə 'ice' v. § 78.

logical, if not of a phonetic nature of original w- and y-,¹ had not been fully developed before the period of complete separation between the various dialects. Therefore the results of the common tendency vary from dialect to dialect, and also within Y—M itself.

Thus we find, e.g.: Y yasto 'bone'; yūrzən 'millet'; yārë 'flour'; yašk 'tear'; Wkh. yašč, yīrzn, (yūmž), yašk, but Sgl. wastuk, wuždän, wuļōk, āšik.

Prothetic w- is rare in Y—M. It occurs before u, and in a few words only, chiefly in M:

wurzey Mm, Z, G 'straight': (h)urzuy, Mm, g, Y.

wušk Mm, g, Z, G, Ysh, r 'dry': ušk Yzh, g, B.

wušk'- M(g) Z 'to rise'.

wuzīr Mm, etc. Z, Yzh, etc. 'yestereve': uzīr B.

wu§ $\bar{o}u$ - Mg, (g), Z 'to call': u§ $\bar{a}(w)$ - Mm, G, Y.

But the unstressed initials in ustušė- 'to jump', us $x\bar{u}bun$  'sleep-less', etc. are always without w-.

84. Prothetic y- plays a more important part in Y—M than w-, Proth. y-probably owing to the general palatalizing drift of this dialect-group. It is universal before accentuated α-. Thus, e.g.: yādë 'blind' < anda-(ka-); yasto 'bone' < ast-; yārmë 'arm above elbow' < arəmōo; yāšk 'tear' < \*asruka-; yovurso 'juniper' < hapərəsi-; yāṇ- 'to grind' < \*arna-; yåuγo 'water' < \*āpakā-; yūṇ 'fire' < \*ārta-; yūrzvn 'millet' < \*(h)ārzana-; M yūspən 'iron' < \*āspana-, etc. Before ancient ai, au and ṛ: yeya 'bridge' < haētu-; yūya 'ear of corn' < \*aušaka-; yarš 'bear' < arəša-.

In  $y\bar{u}$ - $<\bar{a}$ -, au- the prothesis must have taken place before the vowel had reached the stage  $\bar{u}$ .  $y\bar{u}v$ -rs-n 'upper door-sill' is perhaps derived from \* $\bar{a}upari$ - not from upari-.

yurv 'mouth' and yūmenä 'n. of a plant' are of unknown derivation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. the somewhat similar phenomena in the Slavonic languages. V. e.g. Meillet, Le Slave commun<sup>2</sup>, § 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Gauthiot MSL, XIX, 140.

The prothesis does not occur in an unaccented syllable. Thus we find yersio 'barley', but arso min 'barley bread'; and similarly yūrzvn 'millet', but arzo min; yasp 'horse', but 'aspolan.' Other examples are: ἀ būya 'moraine'; ἀ brilo 'pear'; a'gidro 'grape'; agi mīn 'honey'; o gušco 'finger'; o'γuzo 'walnut', o γοί 'came', etc. Cf. also av dō '7', aš cō '8' (Skr. saptá, astáu?).

Y afseno, M yufse<sup>u</sup>no, fsēune 'whetstone' is a special and difficult case.

While Y on the whole has an aversion to initial yi-, this combination is quite frequent in M, especially in Mm and G, and in some words M yu-, with differentiation, corresponds to Y i-, irrespective of the original nature of the initial.

Thus, with ancient (h)i-: Y imar-: M yumar- 'to count' (but also B yūmra) < hièmar-; Y, Mg, Z izë: Mm, ti yijya 'goat skin bag' < \*izyaka-; Y, Mti Idəy, etc.: Mm Yidg 'member of the Yd. speaking tribe'. A differentiation may have taken place in M yi-. In Yed'yā—with e through umlaut?—y- has been retained in Y.

With ancient u-: Y, Mt, g ilīr: Mm yilar, etc. 'belly' < \*udarya-; Y, Mt imoyo: Mm yumago  $< *ux *mah + k\bar{a}$ .

With ancient a:  $i\check{z}$ :  $y\check{i}\check{z}$  'snake'  $< a\check{z}i$ -;  $d\bar{u}r$ ,  $id\bar{u}r$ :  $yud\bar{u}r$  'other'  $< *ant\bar{u}ra$ -; ida: yuda 'slave' < \*han-taka-. Note  $Yuw\bar{u}m$ :  $Iw\bar{u}m$  'n. of a village in Munjan';  $yuw\bar{u}z$  'double bridle' (Y!): Khow.  $iw\bar{u}s$ .

Cf. also s.vv. imoyō, īno, Iryoyo, is-, īščiy, iščīn, ixo, ixiko, ixčogo, izma, Iydek, and ken- (iken-: yiken-).

85. Intervocalic -w- has been retained in: yawo (and γavo) 'cow'; -wnawoyo 'new'; nāwoyo 'mill-race'; pərwīż- 'to sieve'; tēw- 'to stir'
<\*tāwaya- (?); uǯā(w)- 'to call' < \*us-srāwaya-; with loss of initial
vowel in wo 'that' < ava-; wāst- 'to place' < \*awa-stā-; cf. also
huro, wūro 'there' < avaθra (in unstressed position).

Final -w- becomes vocalized, or forms part of a diphthong in  $l\bar{\imath}u$  'bad';  $y\bar{\delta}u$  'grain';  $n\bar{\delta}u$  '9'.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>scriptscriptstyle 1}$  With recent change of accent. Cf.  $\tilde{a}\gamma d\text{-}$  'to dress'  $<*\tilde{a}^{\scriptscriptstyle \parallel}_{\scriptscriptstyle 1}und\text{-}.$ 

In larova 'illness', lur'vë 'ill' < \*a-druwaka-; l'ro vo, larawä 'reaping': Prs. dirau; yurvo, yarva 'throat'; yavo, yawo 'cow' the semivowel shows a tendency to change into a fricative. This explains the -f of the enclitic pron. 2 pl., and of fkyiyiko 'alone' < \*ēfk- < \*ēwk. The development of \*aiwa- > yū 'one' has parallels in other Ir. dialects. Cf. § 152.

Intervocalic -y- occurs in  $p\delta ya$  'sour milk'; oyim 'I go' (3 sg.  $y\bar{\imath}$ ) -y- <\*ayayami;  $\check{x}^uroi$ , etc., '3'  $<\vartheta r\bar{a}y\bar{o}$ ;  $fr\bar{a}i\gamma o$ ,  $f^{\flat}r\bar{a}\gamma o$  'yoke-rope' < \* $fra\cdot yug\bar{a}$ . But  $s\bar{a}\gamma o$  'shade'  $<*s\bar{a}yak\bar{a}$ . In unstressed position, or in compounds, aya coalesced with  $ai: p\bar{\imath}stan$  'udder'  $<*payah\cdot st\bar{a}na\cdot$ ;  $la\dot{z}\bar{\imath}no$  'pile of wood' and  $par\dot{z}\bar{\imath}n$  'hedge' (< ° $\check{c}ayan\bar{a}$ ); a'larsino,  $y\bar{u}'r\ddot{a}rsin$  'threshold', 'upper door-sill' (< ° $sayan\bar{a}$ ).

# Groups of Consonants.

86. Groups of consonants have been subject to changes and modifications through the usual factors: assimilation, differentiation, metathesis, epenthesis, etc. In most cases it will be quite clear which principle has been at work, and it will be more convenient for the purpose of presenting a general survey of the phonetic development in Y—M to arrange the material according to the nature of the ancient Ir. groups of consonants. I have chosen the first consonant of the group as a basis for the classification.

No groups of consonants beginning with a surd occlusive existed in Anc. Ir., and the only example of a group beginning with the surd palatal affricate is Av. čvant-, represented by the possibly genuine M čad 'how many' (Y čand is borrowed from Prs.).

Reg. recent combinations of surd occlusives with other consonants cf. § 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. 231.

First Component a Voiced (Stop or) Fricative.

87. We have no means of deciding whether  $lu\gamma do$  'daughter' is gd derived direct from a  $dug \partial d\bar{a}$ ,  $du\gamma da$ , or from  $*duxt\bar{a}$ , with regular change of  $xt > \gamma d$ . The same remark applies to some of the preterites in  $\gamma d$ .

There is no certain instance of ancient gz.  $ma\gamma z$  'marrow' is gz prob. a lw.  $ro\gamma z$  'woman's cloak' is of unknown origin.

Original gn  $(\gamma n)$  is retained, but with development of a svarabhakti gn vowel, in  $r\bar{u}\gamma \partial n$  'clarified butter';  $na'\gamma \partial n$  'bread'  $< *na\gamma na$ ;  $xu'y\bar{e}\gamma \partial no$  'sister-in-law'  $< *xwah\bar{a}$ - $gn\bar{a}$ . The placename  $Ma\gamma nawul$  may possibly contain Av.  $ma\gamma na$ - 'naked'; but ancient xn is also possible in this word and in  $\gamma \partial nil$ - 'to bleat'. Reg.  $\gamma^{\partial} n\bar{\imath}go$  'sneezing', v. § 96.

In gr., too, a svarabhakti vowel is developed:  $\gamma u^i r \epsilon \check{x}$ ,  $\gamma^{\circ} r \delta \check{x}$  'knot'  $< *gra\vartheta a$ ; M  $\gamma^{\circ} r u v d$ -,  $\gamma^{\circ} r i v d$  'seized' prob. < \*grifta-;  $^3 \gamma u r v o$ ,  $\gamma i r w a$  'throat'  $< *\gamma^{\circ} r i v \bar{a} < gr i v \bar{a}$ ;  $\gamma u^i r o i$ ,  $\gamma^{\circ} r \ddot{a} i$  'earth': Yaghn.  $\gamma^i r i k$ , etc. Reg.  $\gamma \circ r i \dot{c} \delta y$ - 'to creak' v. Zar. p. 145 f.

Just as is the case in many other Ir. dialects, internal groups -gr-with r as the second component are transposed. In this manner it is possible to avoid a hard group without adding a vowel, as is necessary in initial position. The only example of -gr- is tiry 'sharp'.

Ancient gw is possibly contained in  $l^{2}rov^{2}$  'illness',  $lur^{1}v\ddot{e}$  'ill', -gwif < drigu. But v. Voc. s.vv.

88. Ancient -dn- possibly in  $k^y\ddot{a}l$ - $\gamma ereno$  'bald-headed eagle' if < dn \*- $g_{\gamma}dn\bar{a}$ - (??). Reg.  $afsirn\ddot{e}$  'summer-wheat', v. s.v.

The epenthesis in  $*\delta^{j}r$  must be older than the change of  $\delta$  into l, dr-since we find l > r < \*dr, and we can scarcely assume a development  $*\delta r > *lr$ .

Examples are:  $l \bar{\nu} r i$ - 'to reap'  $< *dr \bar{u} y$ - (?);  $l^{\bar{\nu}} r o v o$  'reaping'  $< *dr a w \bar{u}$ -;  $l \bar{\nu} r o f \hat{\nu} o$  'awl': Prs.  $diraf \tilde{s}$ ;  $l^{\bar{\nu}} r u \gamma u s$  'sickle'  $< *dr \bar{u} t a^{\bar{\nu}}$ ; M  $l^{\bar{\nu}} r \bar{u} v a$  'shrub, bush'  $< *dr \bar{u}^{\bar{\nu}}$ ?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 232.

<sup>3</sup> Y yurd is a back-formation from the present yur-.

Words with Y—M dr are either lw.s (e.g. dril 'inflated skin'; droxum 'silver' from Khow.;  $druš\check{c}$ , etc. 'rough'; d(i)raxt 'tree' from Prs.), or contain ancient -ndr. Thus  $dr\bar{u}v$ - 'to dance' (if not a lw.);  $d^3ro$ - 'to fear';  $dr\bar{i}$ - 'to pour out' < \*han-d-; dram 'inside' < \*antarahmi.

In  $l^3royo$  'clear sky'  $< *idrak\bar{a}$ -, and  $l^3rovo$  'illness' < \*a-druwaka-1 -dr-the initial vowel has been dropped at an early date. On the analogy of  $-gr->-r\gamma$ - and -br->-rv- we might expect Y—M \*-rl-<-dr-, but this supposition is not supported by any evidence. On the contrary, we find Y  $mo(n)dray\ddot{v}$ , M  $mvlr\ddot{a}gi$  'silver neck-ring' < \*mudraka(ka)- (v. Voc. s.v.), which, if not borrowed, points to a different development of -dr-. It is, of course, not surprising that  $-\delta r$ - should be treated in a special manner. Cf. also Y  $p^3\dot{s}kedr^{\dagger}$  ( $p^3\dot{s}girdio$ ) 'dung of goats and sheep', which may contain a form -\*driy < \*drti, cf. Wkh.  $\delta art$ , etc.

In Y  $l^bb\bar{a}n$ - 'to winnow' the fricative has been changed into the occlusive in accordance with a tendency prevailing in this dialect under certain favorable conditions. Cf. Voc. s.vv.  $x\bar{u}bvn$  'sleep', zeviryo 'birch'.

Intervocalic -dw- occurs in  $\gamma alv$  'dog'  $\langle ga\delta va$ -, where there is dwno phonetic necessity for the development of a svarabhakti-vowel.

89. Initial br- becomes v(v)r. Thus: vrai,  $v^vrai$  'brother'; vri- 'to brbreak'  $< *brai \dot{s}$ -; vri vo 'eyebrow';  $vro\dot{c}$ - 'to fry' (v. Voc.). M  $vri \dot{s}um$  'silk' and Y  $v^vrut$  'mustache' are ancient lw.s from Prs.;  $vrazidin\dot{v}$  'pillow' is probably borrowed from Khow.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Or, with Gauthiot, < \*drivea (cf. lur've 'ill')?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. § 102, and cf Av. db-, b- < dv-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The svarabhakti-vowel is not constant in this group.

In intervocalic position we find metathesis (cf.  $-r\gamma - \langle -gr - \rangle$ ): surv 'hole' < \*subra -.

An uncertain instance of bd is M  $\bar{o}vd$  'ford', if  $< *\bar{a}-bda$ .

bd

## First Component a Surd Fricative.

### First Component x or f.

90. Ir. xt results in Y—M  $\gamma d$ . Thus:  $ba\gamma d$  'divided' < \*ham-baxta-; xt  $p \ni r w \bar{o} \gamma d$  'sifted' < \*pari-wixta-;  $t \ni \gamma d$  'cut' < \*taxta-;  $^1 v \ni da\gamma d$  'mixed' < \*abi-han-taxta-; cf.  $wu\gamma d$  'found place':  $wu\bar{\jmath}$ . Regarding  $lu\gamma do$  'daughter' cf. § 87. It is quite possible that this word is derived from a form in xt, and the same remark applies to preterites of roots in  $z \in$  \*gh:  $awa\gamma d$  'hung up';  $m\bar{u}\gamma d$  'moved';  $l\bar{u}\gamma d$  'milked', and  $tra\gamma d$  'bound'.

Of unknown origin are:  $zu\gamma d$  'poured out';  $m\partial l \bar{o}n-\dot{z}\partial mu\gamma d\partial y$  'hunch-backed', and the place-name  $Yu\gamma d\bar{u}k$  (<\*yuxta-?).

Regarding the later formations yuxt 'learnt' (yuxs-) and  $nu(v)\tilde{u}xt$  'wrote'  $(nuvi\tilde{s}-)$  cf. § 232.  $\tilde{c}axt$  (v. Voc.) is probably borr. from Prs.

91. Ancient ft > vd. Thus: avdo '7'; suvdo 'shoulder';  $x^u\dot{s}uvd$  'sweet'  $ft < x\dot{s}vipta$ -; cf. also a number of preterites in vd < ft, § 231. In roots in -f, however, ft has been reintroduced in the preterite; thus e.g. waft 'wove', v. § 231.

tavdoγo 'n. of a tree' is of unknown origin; żivde-raus 'bat' ('flying-fox'?) possibly contains the original past stem of żib- 'to rise'.

In the ancient lw.  $s\bar{a}vd\bar{e}$  'basket', and in the Pres. 3 sg. forms of the type  $a\gamma d\bar{u}vd$  'he dresses (somebody else)' vd goes back to \*-v(a)t-, cf. § 47.

This tendency towards the sonorization of the ancient groups xt

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.v. tīž-.

and ft is common to all E.Ir. dialects.<sup>1</sup> We find  $\gamma d$ ,  $vd^2$  in Y—M, Sgl.-Ishk., Wkh., Yazgh., Yaghn.<sup>3</sup> and Oss. The Shgh. group has vd  $(v\delta)$ , but  $\gamma d$  has developed further into id, ud (wd). Also Sogd. probably had  $\gamma d$ , vd  $(\beta d)$ ,<sup>4</sup> although it is possible that the intermediate stage  $\gamma t$ ,  $\beta t$ , was still preserved.<sup>5</sup>

Regarding the development of these groups in Saka cf. Konow, Saka Studies, pp. 17, 27, etc., and Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt, 17. The further weakening of vd,  $\gamma d$ , which is characteristic of Saka, takes place also in Psht. with regard to ft, and possibly with regard to xt.

Also in Wanetsi <sup>8</sup> and Ormuri <sup>9</sup> we find further reduction of xt and ft.

Probably in E.Ir. x and f were first sonorized before t, and at a later stage t was assimilated into d.<sup>10</sup> It is remarkable that this sonorization has taken place even in such dialects as Sogd., Yaghn. and Wkh., where intervocalic -t- remains. The groups  $x\tilde{s}$ ,  $f\tilde{s}$  are not affected by this tendency,<sup>11</sup> and Chr. Sogd. even preserves x before the voiced consonant m, while sonorizing it before t.<sup>12</sup> Partial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Including Orm, but not Par., which has xt, ft > t.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In some cases γδ, vδ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Only vd occurs in the material available to me.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  Cf. Tedesco, BSL, 23, 113; Reichelt, Soghd. Handschr. II, 2. Gauthiot, Gramm. Sogd. I, 127 sq., 147 sq.  $\beta t$  but xt; Benveniste II, 17, 21 sq.  $\beta t: xt$  (but 144 \*avd '7').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The forms  $\delta wxth$ ,  $\beta xth$  occur, together with  $w_i tw$ , in Letter No. I which does not clearly distinguish between  $\gamma$  and x (cf. Reichelt, l.c.).

<sup>6</sup> Thus: owo '7'; to 'heat', but tod, f. tauda 'hot', ūdə, wowd 'asleep'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cf. sə 'bnrnt' < \*suxta-; tə 'went' < \*taxta-; tər-lə 'female cousin' < \*trwya-duxtā-. But note sātəl 'to protect', vrīt 'fried' (cf. Saka brījs- 'to fry') with t < xt. It is, however, possible that in this words the past stem was secondary and based upon the present.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. NTS, IV, 160: tåu 'hot'; wā 'washed' < \*wixtaka-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cf. IIFL, I, 333:  $t\bar{o}k$  'hot';  $h\bar{o}$  'seven';  $d\bar{u}(w)a$  'daughter'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cf. Zaza aut < aft (but at < axt).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> But in Badakhshi, etc.  $kau\check{s} = kaf\check{s}$ , etc.

<sup>12</sup> Also Buddh. Sogd. ym ought probably to be interpreted as xm.

<sup>5 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

parallels may be adduced e.g. from French,1 but the E.Ir. phenomenon is difficult to explain.2

No certain examples of ancient xè, fè occur. naxèir 'male ibex' xè, fè 93. is a lw.; laxčio 'small goatskin bag' is possibly derived from \*lack-; it is uncertain whether *laraxčë* or *larafči* 'large conifer' has preserved the original sequence of consonants; and also in naxčë 'it drips'; ixèggo 'husband's brother's wife', and vrexè- (?) 'roasted' xè is probably of secondary origin.

In šifc(ik)o, šīvčā 'waterfall', etc. č belongs to a suffix; kafcio 'spoon' is a lw., and the derivation of kufciliy 'stockings' is unknown.

But x's and f's have been preserved better than in any other x's-94. modern Ir. dialect.3

Examples of xs- are: xsira 'milk'; xusuvd 'sweet'; xosovo 'night': xšēma 'supper'; xšī- 'to weep', and xšileniyo 'reed' (of unknown origin). Reg. xusto 'wet', v. s.v.

Intervocalic -xš- occurs in axšin 'blue'; axšou- 'to chew'; baxš-'to divide' (lw.?); maxšë 'mosquito'; parwaxšë 'broom' (< vaxš-'to sprinkle'?); waxs- 'to grow'. bilaxsa 'a kind of vegetable' and naxš 'song' are of unknown origin (lw.s?). M paxškyo 'wooden tray is probably an older form of Y poško. Note Y Baxšīr in. of a village' ∼ Khow. Bašker.

Ancient xèw- has resulted in uxè-, etc. in uxèo '6'. In the xèwheavy groups xim, xin the x was dropped at an early date,4 and xim, xin

1 V. Grammont, Traité de Phonétique, 203 sq. regarding ait < act.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In Bakhtiari xt, ft become  $d/\delta$ , e.g.  $do^u dan$  'to milk';  $s\bar{o}^u \delta an$  'to burn', rāad/δan, rahdan 'to go', gud/δan 'to tell', etc. (Lorimer). The corresponding forms given by Zhnkovsky are duhd, sohd, raft (lw.?), gu(h)d. and Mann gives Mamässäni duhd/där, dodar 'danghter'; soht-, râ/äht, got. The development here probably went through  $ht > (h)d/\delta$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> With the possible exception of Yaghn., which preserves xš- (x<sup>1</sup>š-), and quite possibly also  $f\check{s}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. Benveniste, BSL 29, 104.

the resulting groups  $\check{s}m$ ,  $\check{s}n$  were further reduced to m, n.<sup>1</sup> Thus imoyo 'moon'  $<*ux\check{s}-m\bar{a}h\cdot k\bar{a}$ ;  $\check{a}run\gamma o$  'light'  $<*\bar{a}-raux\check{s}nak\bar{a}$ -; possibly rin'g'a 'slippery'  $<*rix\check{s}naka$ -.

95. Ir. fš- is preserved in Y fšarm 'shame', but M has šforom, etc.2 fš- In šifē 'husband'; šfīn etc. 'comb' all dialects have metathesis. In fšūv- 'to suck' f- is an ancient prefix, which may also be contained in fšaī 'short-breathed'; fšīi 'very soft'. In Y iščīn, M yīškyuna 'female breast' the original initial fšt- was reduced to št-.3 xoš(u)wān 'shepherd' is probably a lw., cf. Voc. s.v.

Intervocalic -fš- remains in wafšīo 'wasp'; lerəfšo, ləraušo 'awl'.— -fš-kofšë 'shoe' is probably a lw. from Prs., and the etymology of šafšīyän, etc., 'armpit' is unknown. If. trīšp 'acid' is derived from \*trfša-, the metathesis into \*tršpa- must be common Ir.

yuxs- 'to learn' contains ancient xs. But laxsərə, yaxsəriy 'ice' xs is an ancient compound, maxs 'brain' is a late variant of mayz, and raxs 'dance', ruxsat 'leave', etc., are lw.s.

In xafs- 'to descend' fs is ancient, but  $\gamma afs$  'fat' is borrowed, fs and  $fs\bar{a}y$ - 'to stand', fsidro 'spring' contain a prefix f- < upa-.

96. Before nasals x and f become voiced as in most other E.Ir. xm, xn dialects. Thus:  $t\bar{u}\gamma^u m$  'grain';  $y\bar{e}\gamma \partial n$  'liver';  $\gamma'n\bar{\iota}go$  'sneezing'  $< *x(\dot{s})n\bar{\iota}\dot{s}ak\bar{a}$ . Reg.  $va\gamma new$  v. Voc. s.v.

M zoyno (M G zåx'na!?) 'jaw' < \*zanaxā- seems to indicate that also a secondary group xn was sonorized, but in anaxno 'nail' < \*-nāxanā-; zaxmo 'earth' < \*zamaxā-; amaxno 'sloe' < \*āmarnaxā- (?) x has been preserved, owing, perhaps, to a more recent origin of the group in these words.

M, and some speakers of Y, have  $x\bar{u}v\partial n$ ,  $x\bar{o}vun$  'sleep', but also fn  $x\bar{u}bun$  is heard in Y.<sup>5</sup> In M  $x\dot{s}\bar{e}ma$  'supper'  $\langle x\dot{s}\bar{a}fnya \rangle$  we find a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ysh šfarm is prob. a M form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. § 109.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 88, 107.

different treatment after a long vowel, if the word is not an ancient lw.1

97. Initial xr- occurs in xred- (with metathesis x1rd-) 'to scratch' < xr \*xrind-; xurūso 'Cyon alpinus': Sgl. xrēsag, and, possibly, in xurom 'threshing-ground', xeriščē 'n. of a small tree'.

Postvocalic xr is transposed, as in Prs., etc. Thus: surx 'red'; carx 'spinning wheel' (lw.?). The etymology of awarxo 'flame' is uncertain ( $< urv\bar{a}xra$ -?).

Fr., too, remains, with or without svarabhakti. V. Voc. s.vv. fr  $fri\gamma o$  'flea';  $fra\gamma omiy$  'he-goat', etc. Intervocalic fr occurs in warfo 'snow'. The metathesis of -xr- and -fr- is probably previous to the sonorization of x and f before nasals.

98. Initial xw (hw) has lost its labial element, as in most Pamir xw (hw) dialects. But in some words the following vowel has been labialized:  $xo^a r$ -, xur- 'to eat'; Y  $x\tilde{u}l$ , M G xala 'perspiration';  $xur\tilde{\iota}$  'sister's son';  $x\tilde{u}b\partial n$ , etc. 'sleep'; xoy 'self', etc. In several cases it is impossible to decide whether the ancient form of the word had xw-, or x-. Cf. e.g. s.v. xafs-.

The word for 'sister' is irregular as well in Y—M ( $i \mid x \hat{o}$ ,  $\mid y \mid x a$ , etc.), as in Sgl. ( $y \ni x \hat{o} a i$ ) and Shgh. ( $y \mid a x$ ). \* $hw \mid a h \mid a > hahw \mid a$ 

Intervocalic xw occurs in pxuf- 'to get tired' < \*pati-hwafta- (v. Voc. s.v.);  $paix\bar{o}$  'unthreshed grain'  $< *pati-hwah\bar{a}$ - (?). Reg.  $y\bar{u}$ -saxo, loh-saxo, v. Voc. s.v.

# First Component 3.

99. There is no certain example of  $\vartheta$  + nasal. The etymology of  $\vartheta m$   $\check{x}\ddot{u}m\hat{a}n\ddot{e}$  'male ibex' is unknown, and the original initial may have been either \*(a) $\vartheta m$ - or \*(a) $\vartheta i/um$ -.  $pol_{\vartheta m}$  'soft' is probably a lw.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Turki axšām.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In Prs., Par., etc. xr and fr develop along parallel lines, as in Y—M. But in Psht. and Saka xr and  $\theta r$  go together.

<sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.v.

in spite of the apparent possibility of connecting it direct with Sar.  $p\hat{a}\vartheta m$ ,  $p\hat{a}\delta m$ .

100. Initial  $\vartheta r$ - developed on the same lines as xr- and fr-, i.e. a short  $\vartheta r$ vowel was inserted between  $\check{x}$  ( $<\vartheta$ ) and r. The only certain
examples available are  $\check{x}^u roi$  '3' and its derivatives (e.g.  $\check{x}irizen$ 'the day before yesterday'), but possibly also  $\check{x}\ddot{u}rox$ - 'to shy'
( $<*\check{x}^{\ddot{u}}ro\check{x}$ -  $<*\vartheta ra\vartheta$ -  $<\vartheta ra\vartheta$ -?) belongs here.

Reg.  $t^{\nu}rif$  'to steal',  $tr\bar{a}\dot{z}$  'to bind' (\* $t_{r}p$ -, \* $t_{r}rif$ -?) and other words with tr- v. Voc. s.vv.

101. Ir.  $\vartheta$  was a less resistant sound than x and f—in fact it has  $\vartheta r$ -survived unchanged mainly in the Shughni group—and  $\vartheta r$  was more exposed to assimilation than xr and fr. In some languages this applies to the initial as well as to postvocalic position, in another group, to which Y—M belongs, postvocalic  $\vartheta r$ - has been subject to more profound changes than initial  $\vartheta r$ -1 on account of the influence of the surrounding vowels.

In Y—M, and also e.g. in Sgl., Psht. and Saka,  $-\vartheta r$ - was reduced to -hr- which resulted in -r- with lengthening of the preceding vowel.

Thus:  $m\bar{\imath}ra$  'sun'  $< Mi\vartheta ra$ -;  $p\bar{\imath}r$  'son'  $< pu\vartheta ra$ -;  $vr\bar{e}ri$  'brother's son' < braitruya-;  $t\bar{\imath}ro$  'dark'  $< ta\vartheta rya$ -;  $t\bar{\imath}r$  'trap'  $< *ta\vartheta ra$ -; huro,  $\bar{\imath}ra$  'there'  $< ava\vartheta ra$ ;  $y\bar{\imath}riko$  'handmill'  $< *ya\vartheta ra$ -(?);  $p\dot{c}\bar{\imath}rma$  'four days ago'  $< *pati-\dot{c}a\vartheta ruma$ -. With secondary shortening of the vowel:  $\dot{c}orom\bar{\imath}$  'fourth' (lw.?) and  $\dot{z}aro$  'poison'.

A derivation of  $ye\check{x}io$  'small hand-mill' from  $*y_{\bar{q}}\partial ry\bar{a}$ - is improbable (cf.  $t\bar{\imath}ro$  above), and the connection between yaxio, etc. (Z  $y\bar{e}x/\check{x}ya$ ) 'ashes' and the words of other Pamir dialects derived from  $\bar{a}trya$ -,  $*\bar{a}\partial rya$ - is difficult to explain.—Y  $y\bar{u}r$ , M  $y\bar{u}r$  'fire' goes back to  $*\bar{a}rt$ -, with early metathesis of an unusual group <  $<\bar{a}tr$ - which had got its t from the strong stem.

<sup>1</sup> This group includes Saka and Psht. (dr-, but -r-); Sangsari ( $\delta$ -, but -r-); Yaghn. ( $t^i r$ -, but -t-) and various NWIr. dialects ( $h^a r$ -, etc., but -r-). In Shgh. we find, unexpectedy, ar- < \* $h^a r$ - (but only in the numeral '3', which might be a lw.): -c-.

102. Av.  $\check{c}a\vartheta w \bar{a}ro^{-1}$  developed into  $*\check{c}(\vartheta)\check{x}f\bar{u}r$ , from which  $\Upsilon$   $*\check{c}\check{x}\bar{i}r > \vartheta w$   $\check{c}\check{s}\bar{i}r$ , M  $\check{c}f\bar{u}r$  ( $\check{c}\varphi\bar{u}r$ ), etc.

pəlf, pilf 'ford' is probably derived through \*pər $\delta f$ - < \*pər $\partial f$ - < pərə $\partial w\bar{o}$  (acc. pl.).2

Reg. Wulf 'n. of a village in Munjan' ( $< va\theta wa$ ?), v. List of Proper Names, s.v.

Original Y—M thus preserved  $\vartheta w$  as two separate phonemes,<sup>3</sup> while the Northern and Central dialects compared by Gauthiot, have f.

Ancient -\partial y- is possibly contained in p\rac{p}ze\vec{x}i 'young ram'; v\rac{p}z\vec{u}\vec{x}o \cdot\rac{y}{-\partial y}\vec{v}\vec{k}o '\text{duck'} v. Voc. s.v.

## First Component a Sibilant.

103. Ancient sk-, st-, sp- remain, with a tendency towards the sk-, st-, sp-development of a prothetic or epenthetic vowel.

Thus, e.g.  $sk\partial d$ - 'to cut' < skand-; skåvrio 'coal': Psht.  $sk\delta r$ ; M  $s(^{\circ})k\partial n$  'puppy': Wkh.  $s(^{\circ})k\varepsilon n$ , etc., but Y  $ck\partial n$ , etc. Cf. also the names of villages: (I)skutul, Skarzer,  $Sk\partial wo$  (S $\partial kvo$ ). With secondary sk-: sko 'on'  $< usk\bar{a}t$ . Ancient st is preserved in M  $st\delta riy$  'star'; stuno 'post'; stur 'big'; stun(ek) 'throat', cf. Yr, g  $st\bar{a}r\partial$ ,  $st\partial no$ , stur,  $st\bar{u}yo$ , etc. But in Yzh, sh I usually heard a very short, prothetic i or u: ' $st\bar{a}r\partial$ , "stuno, "stur, "stuya, ' $st\delta r$ - 'to sweep', etc. Z writes  $st\delta r\partial y$ , but  $s't\partial r$ ;  $s^{\partial}t\bar{u}r$  'horned cattle'.

Ir. sp- occurs in  $sp\bar{\imath}$  'white'; sporo 'plough';  $sp\bar{\imath}rz\bar{\imath}$  'spleen';  $sp\bar{u}o$  'louse'. But Z has  $s^3p\bar{\imath}$ , etc., cf. Ysh  $s^3p\bar{\imath}$ ,  $s^3p\bar{\imath}o$ .

I am unable to explain the irregularities in the pronunciation of these groups. Probably the variation between st/ist/s<sup>3</sup>t is phonologi-

<sup>1</sup> With fricative "w"!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 128.

Cf. also Yaghn. t'fār, Afridi Psht. calwor '4'.

<sup>4</sup> MSL, XIX, 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. § 155.

<sup>6</sup> Reg. š cf. § 74.

cally irrelevant. It is possible that  $s^2t$ , etc. is due to Prs. influence on M, just as we find e.g.  ${}^3sp^3l$  in Sgh., but  $s^3pul$  in Ishk.

104. No certain example of ancient -sk- is available. Y iščīγ, M yeskīg -sk'roof' is evidently related to Wkh. iskakut, Sgl kiskūδ < \*uska-kata-,
but the phonetic details are unclear.—kosk 'barley' corresponds to
Yazgh. kāsk, but Prs. kašk, Shgh. čūšč. Cf. also s.vv. f³sko, γuskən
and niaskë, all of which probably have secondary sk.

A more common group is -st- which occurs in a number of -st-preterites,<sup>2</sup> e.g. vāst 'bound', and also in last 'hand'; wisto '20'; yastë 'bone'; stīnyo 'supine'; pīstən 'udder'.

Ancient -sp- is found in yasp 'horse'; rīspēn, etc. 'iron', frāspīy -sp- 'rafter', etc.

Original -sč- results in  $\dot{c}$ . Thus  $\dot{s}p\bar{a}\dot{c}$ , 'spač 'behind';  $\check{c}p\bar{a}\dot{c}$  'after, sč back' < 'pasča-. Possibly also M (') $\dot{s}ti$ -va 'something' < \* $\dot{c}(i)sti$  <  $\dot{c}is\dot{c}it$ .

The etymology of  $s^u x u y$ , s x a w 'to slip, slide' is unknown (cf. s x Prs.  $\check{s} a x \bar{\imath} da n$ ).  $u s x \bar{\imath} b v n$  'awake' is an ancient compound.

105. Ancient sr was assimilated into  $\S$  ( $\S$ ), as in several other Ir. sr dialects. Thus:  $\S\bar{u}$  'horn'  $< sr\bar{u}$ -;  $\S\bar{u}$ na,  $\S sno$ , etc. 'podex' < sraoni-;  $\S u\bar{t}ko$  'collar-bone'  $< *srau\S a$ - (?);  $u\S\bar{a}(w)$ - 'to call'  $< *us - sr\bar{a}v$ -;  $xu\S o$  'mother-in-law';  $y\bar{a}\S k$ ,  $yo\S k$  'tear'; possibly also  $u\S \bar{a}n$ - 'to churn'. This change appears to have taken place before the syncopation of u in the suffix -uka-. The reason why sr is assimilated while rs remains may be that s in sr is implosive.

In the recent lw. s²trīšəm 'glue' Prs. sr is rendered by s²tr-.

As is the case in several other Ir. dialects, str  $(s\vartheta r?)$  lost its str dental and shared the fate of original sr. Thus:  $\check{c}\check{e}\check{s}o$  pin of a spindle'  $< *\check{c}astr\bar{\iota}$ :  $\check{s}iyo$  female'  $< str\bar{\iota}$ :  $\check{s}inamia$  girl'  $< str\bar{\iota}$ - $n\bar{u}man$ -;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Except sko.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Tedesco, Dialektologie, MO, 1921, 211 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. Tedesco, l.c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. § 171, 5).

uš, uuš 'grass' < vāstra-. Reg. Y uščeno, etc. 'haystack' < \*wāstradānā, cf. § 109.

- \*\*nati-asmān-. But s is assimilated in voice to the homorganic n.

  Thus: zinio 'daughter-in-law' < \*\*snušā-; zənay- 'to bathe' < snaya-.

  Postvocalic zn may change further into zd: wuzn-, wuzd- 'to wash'.

  The sonorizing of s before n is common to most Pamir dialects, v. Voc. s.v. zinio.
- 107. Ancient sy was assimilated into palatal s as in many other E.Ir. sy dialects. Thus: dis- 'to think' < \*han-disya-; mistor 'king, mehtar' < \*masyah- + tara-; and possibly yersio 'barley', if from \*arpasyā-.

The voiced, dental sibilant remains before voiced stops and zg, zd, zb fricatives in  $z\partial \gamma al$ - 'to run away'  $\langle zgad$ -;  $z\partial \gamma ariy$  'thirsty'  $\langle *uz-garaka$ -(?);  $z\partial \gamma u$ - 'to walk about' ( $\langle ?\rangle$ );  $w\bar{a}zd$  'fat' (with differentiating preservation of d after z);  $z\partial var$ - 'to pour out'  $\langle *uz-bar$ -?

The etymology of  $\gamma uz\gamma ap$  'dirty' is unknown;  $ma\gamma z$  'marrow' is zn, zm borrowed from Prs., and xuzd- 'to send'; m z dira 'the day after tomorrow' may contain ancient zn, sn.  $\dot{c}irg^y izen$ ,  $\dot{x}irizen$  'three, two days ago' go back to \*azana-. The only example of zm is izma 'fire-wood'.

No certain examples are known of zr except  $v\ddot{a}rze\gamma o$  'wing' with zr rz < zr. Reg.  $\dot{z}\bar{o}i$  'lake' v. s.v.— $ra\dot{z}a$  'platform' is possibly derived from \*razya- and  $\dot{z}\bar{u}y$ - 'to sew' < \*uz-(h) $y\bar{u}$ - (??). Cf.  $\dot{s}$  < sy. zy

After z the semivowel w was changed into the fricative v, and zw by some speakers of Y further into b.

Thus: Yzh, p, M  $z\partial^i v \bar{\imath} \gamma$ ,  $z\partial^i v \bar{\imath}$  etc. 'tongue', but Ysh, g  $z I^i b \bar{\imath} \bar{\imath}$  Yzh, etc.  $ze^i v i r \gamma o$ , M  $v\partial z v u r g o$  'birch (-bark)': Ysh  $z^{ij} b i r \gamma o < *b_j z a v \bar{\imath} r a k \bar{\imath}$ . Cf. also M, Ysh, etc. ' $x \bar{\imath} v u u n$ , etc. 'sleep': Yzh, u ' $x \bar{\imath} b u n$ ; M  $l\partial v \bar{\imath} n$ - 'to winnow': Yzh, sh, r  $l\partial b \bar{\imath} n$ -.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Yr zeriy is probably mis-heard or mis-written. Cf. § 96.

- 108. Ir. šk—which as an initial is a sandhi form of sk—remains. čk
  Thus: škōb- 'to raise' < skamb-; škōr- 'to send': Sogd. ³škr-; ušk
  'dry' < huška-; rīško 'nit': Prs. rīšk; p³ške-drī, puško 'dung'. maška
  'inflated skin', pīško 'cat' are lw.s. Cf. also pūškōw- 'to string';
  'čirwašk 'resin, gum'; wūškuj- 'to seek'. Reg. M šk³ui 'neck' cf.
  § 164.
- 109. One of the sound-changes most characteristic of Y—M is the št palatalization of št (i.e. št) into  $*st^y$ , from which M  $šk^y$  and Y  $š\check{c}$ . Cf. the parallel development of  $t > k^y$  (and  $\check{c}$ ) and  $nd > ng^y$  (v. §§ 62, 121).

Thus: Y oguščo, M ūgus'kyo, ågušk'a 'finger'; aščo, os'kyo '8'; iščīn, yīškyuna 'female breast' < fītāna-; čīr-yiščë 'dried apricots': Prs. kišta; M yiška 'fur-coat': Ishk. yušt; Y mišča 'sheaf of corn': Prs. muštī 'handful'; mzšč, mušky 'fist'; parguščë, parguškyiy 'fingerring'; piščan, pīškyen 'thigh' < paitištāna-; pušč, pušky 'flour made of dried apples': Par. pīšt; xeriščë, xriškyïy 'n. of a small tree': Bad. Prs. xarišta; xušči, xuški, xušk'əy 'greater, elder': Sogd. ywyšt, etc. Besides there are a number of preterites in šč/šky < št (and rst), e.g.  $n\partial \gamma u$ šč,  $n\partial \gamma u$ šky 'heard', etc., cf. § 240. M šk from secondary št appears in xišk 'pulls' < \*xaršati, and in uuškyeno, Y uščeno 'hay-stack' < \*vūštāna < \*vāstra-dāna- (cf. Or. vūžtōn). Words of unknown or uncertain origin are: ustušč- 'to jump'

Words of unknown or uncertain origin are: ustušė 'to jump' (v. Voc.); kušėo 'contrivance for carrying hay'; ninamāšė 'spleen';  $v^i$ šėo,  $v^i$ šėo 'steep hillside, ravine';  $\varepsilon^i$ kyūgo 'urine' < \* $\varepsilon^i$ aštākā- (??).

Note M  $wu\dot{s}k^y$  'to rise, fly up';  $w\bar{u}\dot{s}\dot{c}$ ,  $w\bar{\imath}\dot{s}k$  'morning'  $< *u\dot{s}t\bar{a}$ , with early reduction  $< ut-sth\bar{a}$ -, cf. Par.  $u\dot{s}t$ - 'to rise', etc. Reg. M  $\dot{s}k^yuy$ : Y  $\dot{s}il\ddot{e}$  'neck' v. § 164.

Also a number of ancient lw.s have been affected by this sound-change. Thus, e. g.  $dru\dot{s}\dot{\epsilon}$ ,  $d^uri\dot{s}k$  'rough' < Prs.  $duru\dot{s}t$ ;  $^3$   $da\dot{s}k'$  'steppe';  $go\dot{s}\dot{\epsilon}$ ,  $ga\dot{s}k'$  'turned round' (v. s.v. gord-);  $g^y\bar{e}\dot{s}\dot{\epsilon}$ ,  $giya\dot{s}k^y$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Also when derived from rst, ršt, v. §§ 131 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Gauthiot, MSL, 19, 139.

<sup>3</sup> Yr drišto is a recent lw.

'passed, forgave'  $(g^y\bar{e}r)$  < gudašt; narangušč 'thumb'; ¹ cf. probably also Y rešk 'avalanche' < Khow. reṣt, with t > k, not  $> \tilde{c}$ .²

110. In recent lw.s št is preserved. Thus uštu 'brick'; muštī 'silver necklace' < Khow.; laštokum 'saddle-cover' of unknown origin; säštë 'hook': Prs. šast (with assimilation).

In genuine Y—M words št is also of recent origin. Cf. (1)što 'said'  $< *\dot{z}(a)sta$ -; 'sti 'what'  $< *\dot{c}isti$ ; 's  $\dot{s}^it\bar{a}han$  'below'  $< *\dot{c}t$ -  $< *ha\dot{c}a$ -t-. Regarding secondary preterites in št v. § 240.

111. Ir. rst, rst at an early date became st, and shared the fate of rst, rst this group of consonants. For details v. § 131 sq.

One would expect Ir. str to become s just as str. Y 'ški rō, str sikə ro, "ščuro, M skyuro, etc. 'camel' do not go back to ustra- or \*usra- (Psht. ūš), but to \*usturā, or to Prs. ustur. Kati styür, etc. is not necessarily borrowed from early M,4 as the palatalization of t before u may be due to Kati sound-laws.

Regarding sp in trisp 'sour' v. § 95.

sp

112. While s probably remains unchanged before m and is sonorized before n,  $\tilde{s}$  is completely assimilated in both positions.

An example of šn is preserved in  $p \ni n \ddot{a} x ko$  'eyelashes'  $\langle *pa \dot{s}(m) n a x a \rangle + ko$ , cf. Av.  $p a \dot{s} n a \cdot Y$  trushë, tisno, tizno 'thirsty' are lw.s from Khow. and Prs.—Reg.  $x \dot{s} n > n$  and  $r \dot{s} n > n$  v. §§ 94, 133.

Ir. šm is contained in cam 'eye'; pam 'wool'; imar- 'to count' šm < hismar-; maf 'you'; and, possibly, in puma 'avalanche', if < \*pisma-. — s²trīsəm 'glue' is borrowed from Prs., and Y kusm-, M kixmoy- 'to vomit' is of unknown origin.

<sup>1</sup> But Yr, M narangišt, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62.

<sup>8</sup> But cf. § 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gauthiot, 1 c. 189.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. štyñ, štñ 'pillar'; tyus 'straw', etc.

113. It is just possible that noyor 'came out' (ni-) is derived through  $\dot{z}g$ ,  $\dot{z}d$ ,  $\dot{z}b$  \*ni $\gamma$ art- < \*ni $\gamma$ ata- < \*ni $\dot{z}$ -gata-, cf. Par. na $\gamma$  $\ddot{o}$ .\text{On the other hand } nail\bar{o}-: nailevd 'to circumcize' might go back to \*ni $\dot{z}$ -dab-, novor- 'to take out' to  $ni\dot{z}$ -bar-

### First Component h.

114. The only example of a group beginning with original h is hm hm in max 'we'. In a recent lw. we find differentiation:  $maxmudi\gamma o$  'dagger' < Khow.  $mahm\bar{u}d\bar{\iota}$ .

### First Component a Nasal.

115. As in most Ir. languages 2 surd explosives were sonorized after a nasal at an early date, nk coalescing with ng, etc. But the tendency to drop the nasal in such groups is characteristic of Y—M. It is unknown elsewhere in Ir.3 and rare in most IE languages.

There is probably no connection between the Y—M development of e.g. nt > d (or -d, -t in final position) in lad, lod 'tooth' and that of Kafiri  $ant > \bar{a}t > at$ , e.g. in Ashkun dont > Waigeli  $d\tilde{o}t >$  Kati dut, Prasun  $l\ddot{a}t \ni m$ , as supposed by Gauthiot.<sup>4</sup>

In most Kafir dialects ancient nd does not become d, but n, e.g. in Kati  $k \ni n$ -, Waig. kan- corresponding to Yd. xo(u)d- 'to laugh' <\*khand-. But the Prasun change of nd, mb > d, b in  $y\ddot{v}d$ - 'to laugh',  $\ddot{u}$ > $\ddot{k}\ddot{v}\ddot{b}$  'bridge' < skambha- (?) may possibly be connected with the Y—M development.

The sound-change in question must be later than the Y and lower M development of -g- (from -k-)  $> -\gamma$ -, and it has not been carried through to the same extent all over the Y—M territory.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. also Prs. palmarda = pižmurda 'withered'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Including even Wkh., and possibly Yaghn. 'gantum' wheat', but dindak' 'teeth'), but not Bal.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Reg. Wkh.  $\gamma idim$  'wheat' v. Wkh. Voc. Kurd.  $did\bar{a}n$ ,  $dg\bar{a}n$ , dran 'tooth' may be due to dissimilation. Psht., etc. has initial g-, etc. < \*(a)ng-.

<sup>4</sup> MSL, 19, 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. § 29.

In Y it has affected all words except recent lw.s. In M some words exhibit assimilation in all dialects, thus e.g. 'agelera 'grape'; 'āgus'kyo 'finger'; 'agmīn 'honey'; 'parguškyūy 'finger-ring', etc., probably in originally unstressed position.

- 116. In some words Mm, Z, G and LSIm have b, d, etc., while Mg, (g), t, ti preserve the nasal <sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g.: Mm ἀ·kodīy: Mti, (g) 'akondi, etc. 'thorn, bramble'; Mm, G, Z, LSIm lod, etc.: Mg, (g), t, ti lōnd, etc. 'tooth'; Mm, Z, G, LSIm trâj-: Mt t'rōnj 'to tie'; Mm, Z, G yōdiy, etc.: Mg, t, ti yāndiy, etc. 'blind'; Mm zōbo: Mg, t, (ti) zōmbo 'gums'; Mm, Z, G zūk: Mg, t, ti zīng 'knee'. But even Mm (not, however, Z and G) has nd e.g. in pōndo 'road', γōndum 'wheat', and it is not possible to find any phonetic reason for the variation. A curious case is Mg, (sh) bəbər, etc., Y boburë 'wasp', but Mm 'bambur. In some cases Z has nd in the preterites of verbs in n, but these are probably recent, analogical formations.
- 117. Examples of ng (besides those mentioned above) are: Y cognli ng 'hoof'; Y cigāli, M cangōlī 'claw' < Prs. cangāl; Y kyogō, tōk 'pear' < Khow. tong; Y rok, M rang 'colour'; M togo (Z tang) 'narrow'; Y trok 'narrow', 'saddle-girth': Khow. trang, etc.; Y xugor 'sword': Khow. khongor; xur-sago 'mill-stone': Prs. sang; guv- 'to burn', gūy- 'to knead' (cf. â gungay 'dough') < \*han-k/g-; Y yīky 'penis' possibly < \*yīnk, cf. Psht. yēn; zīk, zūnk 'knee' < \*zānnka-. Of unknown origin are cigyerë 'mushroom' and pəcəg- 'to cut'.

In recent lw.s we find ng. Thus, e.g: angāh 'awake'; jangal 'forest'; palang 'leopard', etc. Likewise ng/k remains in secondary contact: M frayingo 'she-goat' < \*fragāmikā-; żinko, °go 'woman' < \*janikā. But note also Υ afsinyo 'ladder'; stinyo 'supine' tovūnyo 'box'.

118. Examples are:  $akad\ddot{e}$ , 'akondi' 'bramble';  $\bar{a}\gamma(u)d$ - 'to dress';  $\bar{\iota}dou$  nd 'fever': Wkh. andav; ida, had $\ddot{e}$  'slave, boy': Wkh. andag; boda

<sup>1</sup> But Mullah Faiz Bakhsh "ankardia".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 17.; Rep. on a lingu. mission to N.W. India, 71.

'dyke': Prs. band; cad- 'to fall' < \*haca-hand- (?); M cad, Y cand (lw.) 'how many'; dā- 'to smear' < \*han-dāw-; Y dīr, M yüdūr 'other' < \*antāra-; diš- 'to think' < \*han-disya-; dīz- 'to bury' < \*han-daiz-; Y yādəm, M yōndvm, etc. 'wheat'; Y hadamə (M andâm) 'limb' < handāman-; hənadiy 'out of breath' < \*an-antika-; lad, lōnd, etc. 'tooth'; pādo, pōndo 'road'; skəd- 'to cut' < skand-; vad-, vōnd- 'to tie'; vədāy- 'to mix' < \*abi-han-tak- (?); xoud- 'to laugh'; x1rd-, xred- 'to shave' < \*xrind-; Idəy, Yidg 'member of the Yidgha tribe' < \*Hinduka-; -et, -at pers. suff. 3 pl. < -anti; ušiyād 'hungry' < \*wrsayanta-.

Of uncertain origin are kuryudə 'bramble' (< kunda? V. Voc.); skut 'wood, stick'; ničôd- 'to moisten'.

In secondary contact we find t from n+t, e.g., in Pres. 3 sg. of roots in n. Thus:  $v \ni t$  'carried' ( $< upa-n \nmid ta-$ );  $k \nmid t$  'he does';  $w \nmid t$  ( $> w \nmid t$ ) 'he sees';  $x \nmid t$  'he laughs', etc. Here the development has been nt > nt > t, cf.  $z \mid k < *z \mid anuk \mid a$ - and the r+t > t.'

The preterite of verbs in n is in most cases derived from secondary formations in  $nt/d^2$  which has either resulted in d, or has in some cases preserved the nasal through the influence of the present stem.

Regarding the possible preservation of nd in the plurals of the demonstratives Yd. mind, ind, wind, v. § 209. nd is also found in recent lw.s, such as andiša 'thought';  $bil\ddot{a}nd$  'high'; sandvq 'box'; zindo 'alive', etc.—kando 'plough-share' may go back to a pres. ptc. \* $kanant(\bar{a})$ -.

119. Verbs in -m have secondary preterites in -md or -nd. We also md find Y kyämder, Mm kamder, but Z kandir 'smaller' from Prs. kamtar. lamdo, lōmadä 'hem, skirt' is probably derived from \*dāmantā-, but cf. also avlānd 'hem of a cloak' < \*abi-dāmanta- (?) with earlier contraction.

It is tempting to derive M  $t\bar{u}ga$  'button' through \*tumga from Y tukmo (< Turki), and Y  $k \partial d\bar{\imath}$  'which' < \*kamday < \*katama'kahya (v. s.v.  $k^y \epsilon m$ ).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 117, 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. 243.

120. Between two n's θ disappears in ləmōn- 'to rub' < \*ni-manθnā-, nθn cf. Av. manā-. There is no example of nθ. pado 'road' goes back to \*pantāh. We have no reason to assume that nθ has become nt in Av. pantā. The different treatment of nt and nθ is testified by Par. panān 'road': menth- 'to smear'; Saka pande: maṃth-; Oss. fändag: zmāntin, Sogd. pnt 'near' (?): mnδ-.

Examples are: å'būya 'moraine': Ishk. ambol; boburë. bambur mb 'bumble-bee'; bār- 'to be satisfied' < \*ham-parta-; baxš- 'to divide' < \*ham-baxš- (or lw.?); čapë 'door-frame': Prs. čamba 'large bar'; debāl 'behind' < Prs. dumbāl;  $g^yib$  'lost' < Prs. \*gumb; kob/p 'little' < \*kamb; lib- 'to card wool': Sgl. d > mb-; n > b/p 'dew' < \*namb; k > b- 'to raise' < skamb-; tub = ub = ub = ub- 'to fell' < \*xamb- (v. s.v. xafs-); u > ub = ub- 'earth-quake' < \*zambin)um; u > ub- 'gombo 'goms'.

Of unknown origin are  $c\ddot{e}b$ - 'to pinch' (cf. Wkh.  $\ddot{c}ip$ - 'to pick');  $s\bar{o}br\bar{\iota}m$  'boiled fat';  $y\bar{o}ba$  'dance';  $\dot{z}ib$ - 'to rise';  $sab\bar{\sigma}ran$ ) 'neck-rope of the yoke' ( $\langle sami\text{-}barana\dot{c}\bar{\iota}\text{-}\dot{z}\rangle$ ).

In modern lw.s mb is common: amburo 'forceps'; sumb 'hoof'; paiyumbar 'prophet'; grambešu 'neighbour', etc.

Y—M  $l \ni m$  'tail' < duma - < \*dumbma -, not \*dumba -, from which <math>mbm Prs. dum(b).

Initial mr- develops a transitional b and results in br. Thus: mr  $br\ddot{a}\gamma iko$  'sparrow'  $<*mr\ddot{a}\gamma$ -;  $Br\ddot{a}\gamma \epsilon yo$  'Munjan' (v. s.v.). Similarly  $abr\ddot{u}o$  'pear' and the lw.  $ambr\ddot{o}z < *amr\ddot{o}t$ .  $m^{o}r\epsilon \ddot{c}$  'mulberry' is borrowed from Khow., and also pilamru 'cloak' is probably a lw. Cf. also Y  $bl\ddot{a}im$ ,  $m\partial l\ddot{a}im$  'soft' < Ar. Prs.  $mul\ddot{a}im$ .

121. Examples are:  $ava\dot{z}$  'to hang up' < \*ava-han)-;  $tr\dot{a}\dot{z}$ -,  $t^{2}r\dot{o}n$ )- 'to tie': Prs.  $taran)\bar{\imath}dan$ ; Y  $s\partial z\bar{\imath}yo$ , M  $si\ddot{\jmath}i\ddot{a}$  'jujube-tree': Prs. sin)id; Y  $vro\dot{c}$ - 'to roast': Khow.  $vren)\dot{e}$ -;  $\check{z}a\check{z}iro$  'chain': Khow.  $jan,\bar{j}\bar{e}r$ ; zibijim 'earthquake' < \* $zamb\bar{\imath}n$ jum; M  $r\partial \check{c}$  'difficult': Prs. ran); M Ajum $\partial no$ , Y Anju $m\bar{a}n$  'Anjuman'. But in all dialects we find n in  $p\bar{a}n$ ),  $p\bar{a}n\dot{c}$ .  $pon\dot{z}$  etc. '5', probably through the influence of Prs.— $p\bar{o}nzda$  '15' is a lw.

In lw.s n) is retained: an)ām 'dress' < Khow.; ban) 'holly-oak' < Khow.; burin) 'rice'; kun) 'corner'; Munjan 'Munjan', etc.—sabəran) 'neckrope of yoke' < sami-barana- $c\bar{\iota}$ - (?);  $\sin$ 0 <  $\sin$ 2 needle'; pren1i0 'she-goat, one y. old' < \*parana- $c\bar{\iota}$ 1 all have secondary n). M  $y\bar{a}n\check{c}il\gamma\bar{a}$  'lizard' is of unknown origin.

In  $m\ddot{a}g^{y}$  'to rub'  $n\dot{q}$  has become \* $ng^{y} > g^{y}$ . Similarly Y  $yeik^{y}$ ,  $n\dot{q}$  Z  $y\bar{e}n'g'$  'he grinds'  $< *y\bar{e}n\dot{t} < *arnati$  (cf. the secondary preterite Y  $y\ddot{a}g^{y} < *an + d$ ). In recent lw.s  $n\dot{q}$  remains.<sup>2</sup>

## First Component a Rolled Consonant

- 122. On the whole surd occlusives in Ir. dialects are treated in the same way after r as after a vowel. Those dialects which sonorize e.g. ata, do the same with arta, and wherever ata is kept distinct from ada, the same is the case with regard to arta and arda.<sup>3</sup>
- 123. Accordingly Ir. -rk- shares the fate of -k-: It results in Mm, Z rk and G rg, but changes further to ry in other M dialects and in Y.

  Thus: Y (h)ory, M Ary, org, etc. 'work': Phl. ark; wury, wurg/k

'wolf';  $kar\gamma \partial z$ , kargas 'vulture'. In lw.s and recent compounds rk remains. E.g. in harko 'upper part of the back';  $narkir\ddot{e}$  'cock'.

Ancient rg occurs in  $m\bar{\imath}r\gamma o$  'meadow'; cf., with early metathesis, rg  $br\ddot{a}\gamma iko$  'sparrow';  $Br\ddot{a}\gamma \epsilon yo$  'Munjan'.

No example is available. p = rx, p = rx 'dew' is of uncertain origin. rx In  $p = rx\bar{a}u$ - 'to eat with a spoon' rx is of secondary origin.

In view of this word, and of the maintenance of  $rx < xr,^5$  the derivation of  $x\bar{a}xo$  'thistle'  $< *x\bar{a}rxo^6 < *x\bar{a}ra\cdot x\bar{a}$  is very doubtful.

124. Ir. rt resulted in Y r, probably through the stages \*rd > \*rd > \*d. rt In M, which lies further removed from the IA sphere of influence,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sgl. mand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62.

<sup>3</sup> In Wanetsi, however, arta and arda coalesce, although ata and ada do not.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. § 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. secondary rt > rt > t.

ordinary r has been substituted for r. The reason for the special treatment of rt as compared with rk, rp is not connected with the general weakness of -t-, but is due to the similarity of articulation between r and the dentals, which in Ir., as well as in many other languages, favours assimilation.

Examples of rt are: Y  $b\bar{a}r$ - 'to be satisfied' < \*ham-parta-; Y  $caro\gamma o$  'bustard': Bad. Prs.  $\check{c}arda$ ; Y  $k\bar{\epsilon}ro$ , M  $k\bar{\epsilon}ro$  'knife';  $m\bar{\epsilon}r$ ,  $m\bar{\epsilon}r$  'man'; Y  $nuw\bar{a}r\bar{e}$  'excuse' < \*ni-wartaka-(?);  $w\bar{a}ro$ ,  $w\bar{o}r\bar{a}$  'summer': Psht.  $w\bar{o}rai$ ;  $w\bar{a}r$ ,  $w\bar{o}r$  'roof-beam' < \*warta-; wor-, wur- 'to knit', etc. < vart-;  $w\bar{o}ro$ ,  $w\bar{\epsilon}ro$  'trousers';  $^2$   $wor\gamma o$ , warga 'quail' < \* $wartak\bar{a}$ -;  $y\bar{a}r\bar{e}$ ,  $y\bar{o}riy$  'flour': Prs.  $\bar{a}rd$ , etc.

Besides we find r/r in many preterites of roots in r. Thus, e.g., mur, mur 'died'; xur, xur 'ate'; etc. With secondary d: k rd 'cut down'.

125. In Y r occurs also in a number of lw.s, usually corresponding to Khow. l. Thus, e.g., boriko 'small basket' < Khow. belu 'reed' (?); brok 'knuckle, bud' <  $bl\bar{o}r$ ;  $\gamma oribombur$  'large wasp' <  $\gamma \bar{o}lib\bar{u}mbur$ ; hork 'scar' < hol/lk;  $ker\bar{e}$  'shield' <  $kh\bar{e}li$ ;  $k\bar{u}riak$  'yoke-peg' <  $k\bar{u}ri$ ;  $kr\bar{u}nsar$  'pickaxe' <  $kl\bar{u}nsar$ ; krox 'scab' < klok (?);  $(loh)r\bar{u}n$ ) 'double' < (ju)rinj;  $kir\bar{u}r$  'cheese' < IA (but not Khow.). Note Y pakoro 'cap': Khow.  $phak\bar{o}l$ , M  $pak\bar{u}lo$ .

Of unknown origin are: areyevde 'wood-carving'; čūrwa 'unripe apricot'; yuričā- 'to swallow'; yurp 'deep'; kurə 'numb'; pokor 'rung of a ladder'; Urak 'n. of a vill. in Lutkoh'.

In modern lw.s from Prs. and Khow. we find rt, rd. Thus:  $g\bar{u}gurt$  'sulphur'; gord- 'to walk about'; kortus 'cartridge';  $\bar{a}rdi$  'part of the floor' < Khow., etc. In native Y words rd reappears through recent sound-changes in xird- < xrid- 'to shave' and  $\gamma urd$  < \* $\gamma urvd$  'seized'.

The voiceless Khow. rt is heard in Y in the place-names Wart

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. above, § 46,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> warwaden 'trouser-string' < \*war-vaden.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. § 238.

and Guṛtio (besides Guợti). In secondary contact r+t became at an early date \*ṛt, from which subsequently \*ht > t. Thus: zīt 'yellow' < \*zir̄t < zairita- (cf. Par. zītö); xūt 'he eats' < \*xwarati, and other 3 sg. forms of verbs in -r; 1 lat 'held'  $< *d\bar{a}rita$ -, etc. This development is parallel to that of n+t > t.

126. Ancient rd  $(r\delta)$  must have moved towards the stage l, l before rd ancient rt resulted in r. It does not seem probable that the development passed through the stages  $*r\delta > *r\delta > *rl > l$ .

Examples are: Y  $al\bar{\imath}xa$  (only MFB!) 'ribs'  $< ar\partial\delta a$ -;  $k^y\epsilon malyo$  'skull'  $< kam \partial a$ -; milyo 'elay': Skr. myd-; pil- 'to fart'  $< par\partial d$ -;  $s\bar{a}l$ ,  $s\bar{o}l$  'year', not necessarily lw., cf.  $as\bar{a}l$  'this year',  $pras\bar{a}l$  'last year',  $prasilan\ddot{e}$  'belonging to last year';  $t\bar{a}l$ - 'to whittle': Skr. tyd-; zil,  $z\ddot{\imath}l^{yy}$ , etc. 'heart';  $z\bar{\imath}lo$  'hail'  $< x\bar{\imath}ard\bar{a}$ -. The derivation of  $wulye\gamma o$  'small shrub' from  $x^yda$ - is very doubtful. wulya 'kidney' may go back to  $x^y\partial k\bar{a}$ , or to  $x^y\partial k\bar{a}$  ( $x^y\partial k\bar{a}$ ). The etymology of  $x\partial laryo$  'wet clay' is unknown.

- 127. In secondary contact, and in a few early lw.s, rd  $(r\delta)$  is changed into \*δr. Y fsidro 'spring' (season) cannot be separated from Psht. psarlai, etc. and must go back, through \*fsūðrå < \*βsōrða, to \*upa-sāradā-. Similarly \*angurðā 'grape' (early lw., cf. Prs. dial. angurda, etc.) became \*anguðrå, from which, with differentiation, Y agrdro, but M \*agelro > aglero. Cf. also Y mə(n)drayë, M mulrägi 'necklace' < \*muðraka(ka)- (borr. with rð or ðr? v. Voc. s v.). Also Y padreško 'small wooden bowl' may possibly go back to a form in \*pari-do. The relation between Y cinur/ryo, and M cənurgo, cindərya 'starling' is unknown. Y afsirnë 'summer-wheat' < \*abi-sāradnaka-, or osardanaka-.
- 128. Ir.  $r\vartheta$  occurs in pilf 'ford'  $, and possibly in <math>wul\gamma a r\vartheta$  'kidney'. Cf. also Wulf 'n. of a vill. in Munjan'. It is also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 227 sq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 238.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. § 118.

<sup>4</sup> V. above § 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> With ancient  $r\vartheta w$  or  $a\vartheta w$ ? Cf. §

<sup>6 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

possible to derive xalifān, oōn 'flour-bag'  $< *xwar\vartheta f\bar{u}n < *xwar\vartheta a\beta\bar{a}n < *hwar\vartheta a-p\bar{a}na-;¹$  but scarcely woro, etc. 'trousers'  $< *war\vartheta a- < *war\vartheta ra-, *wr\vartheta ra-.$ 

129. There is no certain example of ancient rp. M karvaša, kawuŋ<sup>ny</sup>iy rp 'lizard' and Y karvasë 'cotton' may be lw.s, just as well as Y karbasa 'lizard' and M karbōs 'cotton'.

Ir. rb results in rv in  $\gamma urv$ - 'to seize', frequently reduced to  $\gamma ur$ -. rb (w)urw-, vurb- 'to boil' must go back to \*varb- (Par.  $\gamma arw$ -) < \*barw-. Reg. skavrio, skarviyo, skarbiya 'coal' (< \*skarbata?) and yurv 'mouth' v. s.vv.

In  $k^y irf$  'to sneeze' it is impossible to tell whether rf goes back rf to rf or fr. The word may quite well be a recent, onomatopoetic formation.

Rè, rj occur only in lw.s and in composition. Thus, e.g., èarè rè 'spindle'; parèam 'hairlock'; narèan 'he-goat', etc.

130. Ancient rs and rz remain unassimilated.<sup>2</sup> Thus: lirs, lurs 'goat's rs hair': Wkh. δirs, etc.; prs-, purs- 'to ask'; pərsəγë 'rib' < pərəsu-; γavarso 'millet': Prs. gāvarsa; yovurso 'juniper' < hapərəsī-. The derivation of pārsë 'roof-beam' and of fərs-, fris- 'to spit' is unknown.

In alarsinë, yūvərsən 'lower, upper door-sill' the contact between r and s is secondary (v. Voc. s.vv.). (w)ušīyo 'hungry' has got its  $\dot{s}$  from the old, now lost, word for 'thirsty', cf. Prs. gušna with  $\dot{s}$  from  $ti\dot{s}na$ , and parallel phenomena in other Ir. dialects. Reg.  $xa\dot{s}/skan$  'dung', v. s.v.

Examples of rz are:  $urzu\gamma$  'straight'  $< \partial r\partial zu$ -;  $larz\ddot{e}$  'sheaf' < rz  $dar\partial z$ -;  $p\partial larz$ - 'to wrap up' < \*pati-darz-;  $sp\partial rz\partial$  'spleen' (lw.?);

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reg.  $-\bar{a}/\bar{o}n > -\bar{a}na$ - cf. § 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Similarly rs in Oss., Wkh. and Shgh. (?), but  $sr > Oss. *\check{s} > s$ , Wkh., Shgh.  $\check{s}$  (§?). In Par. and Sgl. we find  $\check{s}$ .  $\check{s} < rs$  and sr. Psht. has  $\check{s} < sr$  also in intervocalic position, while -rs- apparently becomes  $-\check{z}$ - ( $wz\check{z}ai$  'hungry'), as the result of earlier assimilation.

Y virzanë 'pillow' < \*bṛzanaka-1 Reg. Y zeviryo, M vəzvurgo 'birch (bark)' with dissimilation < \*vərz-vūrgo, v. s.v. The etymology of Y yurzuyo 'handmill' is unknown, and Birzin 'n. of a village in Lutkuh' may be of foreign origin.

131. Between r and t the articulation of s was weaker and less rst resistant, and at an early date rst was assimilated into st, from which Y sc, M  $sk^{y}$ . Thus: pisc,  $pisk^{y}$  'farted'; patisc 'broke'; wusc, wusk 'knitted', preterites of pil-, wor-. gosc, gask' 'turned',  $g^{y}esc$ , gyask' 'passed' have probably been borrowed from Prs. forms in st, not from more ancient forms in st-, st-

Similarly rzn was assimilated into zn, from which n, in Y  $v\ddot{u}n$ , rzn M  $v\ddot{a}n'^{gy}$  'long' <\*barzn-, \*barzn-, ef. Av. barzn-.

132. Ir.  $r\ddot{s}$  remains in  $yar\dot{s}$  'bear'. In this word the  $\dot{s}$  may, however,  $r\dot{s}$  have been long or geminated, and the same is possibly the case with regard to  $yar\ddot{s}iyo$  'barley' (with  $\dot{s} < sy$ ?) and  $por\dot{s}ik$  'lip' (if  $\dot{s} < IE \hat{k}s$ ).4—In  $f\partial r\dot{s}\partial m\ddot{c}$  'silk' and  $fir\dot{s}\partial n$ - 'to shake' r and  $\dot{s}$  are in secondary contact, while the etymology of  $k\partial r\ddot{s}av$ - 'to stir soup' is unknown.

It is tempting to derive  $ki\bar{o}$  'hard work, ploughing' from  $k_i k\bar{a}$ , and to compare also  $q\bar{v}\bar{a}v$  (with secondary  $q\bar{s}$ ),  $ki\bar{a}v$  'bull'.

In that case  $f \ni rmo$ ,  $f \ni rmiy$  'to forget' might also be derived from \*fra- $mr\mathring{s}$ , as is semantically probable, and  $g\bar{u}y$  'to knead' might go back to \*ham- $gr\mathring{s}$ . It does not seem improbable that  $r\mathring{s}$  ( $\langle rs \rangle$ ) became - $\vartheta \mathring{s}$ -, - $u\mathring{s}$ - early enough to develop further into - $\vartheta y$ -,

¹ But M  $viz/žn\bar{\imath} < *brzniya-?$  Cf. Oss. baz 'pillow'  $< *bazn < brzna\cdot$ , but ämbärzän 'coverlet'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 109.

<sup>\*</sup> pist 'asked' is a secondary formation, cf. § 229 sq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. the treatment of -š- § 75, and v. also Meyer Lübke, Roman. Sprachwiss.<sup>3</sup>, 169. O. French sus < sursum, but ours < urs(s)us < \*urcsus.

<sup>5</sup> V. S.V

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In spite of Henning, ZII, 9, 185, who points out the phonetic difficulty in deriving Phl.  $fr\bar{a}m\bar{o}\bar{s}$  < \* $fr\bar{a}$ - $my\bar{s}$ .

etc.¹  $xo\check{s}$ - 'to pull' appears to be a lw., since it appears in the same form in several Pamir dialects; but \* $ar\check{s} > a\check{s}$  (\* $rs > u\check{s} > uy$ , and \* $ar\check{s} > ar\check{s}$ ) is perhaps conceivable.

Ir. ršt was assimilated into \*št, just as was the case with rst. ršt Examples are: piščo, piškyo 'back': Y lišč 'saw' (wīn-); pəlišč 'wrapped' (pəlarz-); kišč, kišky 'ploughed' (kūr-), xišč-, xišky (lw.?).

Ir.  $r\ddot{z}$  ( $< r\hat{g}h + s$ ) occurs in wirz, wurz 'thread'. In yarzo 'beard' rz the group is of secondary origin, and zarzo 'partridge' is either a lw., or has  $r\ddot{z} < r + \dot{c}$ . Arzīiko 'n. of a vill. in Lutkoh' is borrowed from Khow.

133. Ir. rn was assimilated into n (as in Sgl. and Psht.), which remained rn, rsn (or became n) in Y, while in M, which has an aversion to cerebral sounds, it became n'g' (n'g'', n'g'', etc.) through segmentation after the change of ng > g and of nd > g'' (through ng''). Also n'sn resulted in n's, n's, n's.

Examples are:

Yg a muno, Yzh, sh, r å muno: M aming o, etc. 'apple': Psht. mana, etc.

M ågu $\eta^{gy}$ ,  $\partial^{\cdot}gun\check{\jmath}$  'dough'  $< *ha\eta - g\check{\jmath}\check{s}(a)na$ -;

Yzh, g kuṇ-yastë, sh, r kun-: M kūn'g', etc. 'deaf' < kar $\partial$ na-.

Yzh  $k^y unyo$ , sh, g, r  $ky \bar{u} nyo$ : M  $kung^y uvgo$  'magpie'  $< *k_T \hat{s} nak \bar{a}$ - (?).

Yzh, g pūṇä, sh, r pïnə: M pūŋơy, etc. 'feather' < parəna-.

Yzh, etc.  $p \ni n \in k$ , r, p  $p \ni n \ni k$  'leaf'  $< *p \mid na$  (?).

Yzh, g pänio, sh panio: M pāngyo, etc. 'heel' < \*pāršni-.4

Yzh, sh wūṇ, g, r wŭn: M wīng 'marmot': Sgl. yūnek < \*ārna-?

Yzh, g yāṇ-, sh yān-: M yâŋgy-, etc. 'to grind' < \*arna-.

Yzh, r żunayë, sh zuno: M zingyigo, etc. 'small boy': Psht. z/żanai.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. §§ 62, 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> šn (Av. pāšna) would have resulted in n, v. § 112.

In the words given above Yzh, g n in most cases corresponds to Ysh, r n. There is probably a real difference of pronunciation, and the isolated instances of Yzh n, and vice versa, may be due to inexact notation.

At a very early date Ir.  $k_{l}n$ - became kun-, from which Y-M ken- 'to do'. Also peno, etc. 'palm of the hand' goes back to a form with Ir. n, not rn cf., e.g., Wkh.  $p\bar{u}n$  (but mur 'apple'). Note that Skt., too, has an irregular form, and v. Voc. s.v.

In  $x\bar{o}^a n$ -, etc. 'to buy' we find Y and M n.¹ Here \*rn (\* $x \ni rn$ -) is of secondary origin, and the same is the case in xun 'raven' ( $< *xw\bar{a}rana$ -), ' $zi\bar{a}n\ddot{e}$  'afternoon' < uzayeirina- + ka, and possibly in  $y\ddot{s}ton$  'felt' (if < \*wi-starana-) and raz-sin 'elbow' (< -arani-??). Apparently r had no 'cerebralizing' power at a later date (cf. secondary rt > t, § 124), and the result was a complete, regressive assimilation. At a still later date rn (< \*radn)² remained intact. Regarding n < rn in secondary contact with t cf. § 121.

134. Ir. rm remains in yārmë, etc. 'foreleg, shoulder' < arəma-. Y rm kurmo 'scorpion', M kurm(o), kərm 'insect, worm' may be genuine, but Yzh kırəm 'bug' is probably borrowed from Prs.

Ancient ry occurs only in pargušče, etc. 'finger-ring' < \*pary-ry anguštaka.

#### Assimilation.

135. A great number of cases of assimilation in contact have been mentioned above in the paragraphs describing the development of intervocalic stops and of groups of consonants. Cf also e.g. pəcəg-/pəzg- 'to break'; niaskë/niazye 'mucus', etc. And note the simplification of specially heavy groups, e.g in Y pəško 'tray' < M paxšk³o; ἀżurγο ~ ἀżurżγο 'ember'; čk³ūgo, skūgo 'urine' < \*ċašk³-(?); što 'said' < \*žsta; kafdūz < kovzdūz 'cobbler', etc.

pir 'full' is borrowed from Prs.

<sup>1</sup> Except, perhaps, in Yg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 127.

Assimilation at a distance—called *dilation* by Grammont <sup>1</sup>—is mainly of two types, both of which are common also in other Ir. dialects.

A voiced fricative or liquid has been assimilated to a homorganic nasal in  $ag^im\bar{\imath}n$  'honey'  $<*ang^ib/v\bar{\imath}n;$   $n\bar{a}no\gamma o$  'grain'  $<*l\bar{a}no\gamma o;$   $n = mal \in n$  'half-full'  $< l = mal \in n$ .

The only instance available of a type of perseveration of an initial nasal common to many Ir. and NW. I.A. languages is Y  $m \ni ndra\gamma\ddot{e} < m \ni dra\gamma\ddot{e}$  'neck-ring'.

A dental sibilant is assimilated to a palatal or dorsal one. Thus:  $\dot{s}in\dot{j}o$ ,  $\dot{s}i\dot{z}no$  'needle'  $<*su\dot{z}n$ -, etc.;  $\dot{s}\ddot{a}\dot{s}t\ddot{e}$  'hook': Prs.  $\dot{s}ast$ ;  $\dot{s}ay\bar{u}r\dot{s}$   $<say\bar{u}r\dot{z}$  'hawk';  $\dot{s}p\bar{u}o = sp\bar{u}o$  'flea'  $<*sp\bar{i}\dot{s}\bar{a}$ -;  $\dot{z}\bar{o}r\dot{z}o < zarzo$  'partridge'. Y  $\dot{z}a\dot{z}\bar{i}ro$  'chain': Prs.  $zan\dot{j}ir$ , but cf. also Khow.  $\dot{j}\Delta n\dot{j}\bar{e}r$ .

An isolated case is sarbargo < sabargo 'trefoil' < Prs. sihbarga. Cf. also warwaden 'trouser-string' < \*war-vaden.

## Dissimilation and Differentiation.

136. The most frequent type of dissimilation is that which affects one of two nasals. Thus: l∂γan- < n∂γἄn- 'to throw away'; loγn- < naγon- 'to lie down'; l∂mōn- 'to rub' < \*n∂mon-;² lażīno 'woodpile' << \*niżīno. Cf. also śaklām 'dew' < Khow., Shgh., etc śagnām < \*šabnam; blāim 'soft' < m∂lāim.

When an l follows after the second nasal, the dissimilation does not take place. E.g.:  $n \partial m \bar{a} l \gamma o$  'salt', not  $*l \partial m^o$ . But the principles regulating the assimilation and dissimilation of nasals are far from being clear.

Dissimilation of a liquid occurs in:  $ha \, l\bar{a}r < ha' l\bar{a}l$  'lawful';  $zir \, m\ddot{a}l(\bar{e}) < zilm\ddot{a}l$  'kernel';  $vul'\gamma\bar{o}r < wul\gamma\ddot{a}r$  'shoulder-blade' (or vice versa?);  $T\ddot{a}la\dot{s} \, M\bar{i}r < Khow. \, Teri\dot{c} \, M\bar{e}r$ ;  $kala'k\partial_T i$  'wrinkles' <

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But the term dissimilation is reserved by him for the changes taking place in contact!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Shgh. δemān-.

Khow.  $k \triangle lak \triangle li$ .  $\gamma arbil$  and  $\gamma albil$  'sieve' may both have been borrowed from Prs.

Loss of r is entailed in kadrənə 'earring' < Khow. karidreni; fāru 'mill-broom' < \*frāruv; fri- 'melted' < \*frari-; awarxo 'flame' < urvāxra- (?).

Regarding the preventive dissimilation in  $d\ddot{a}l$ - 'to give'  $< *\delta a\delta a$ -, cf. also § 56.

The development of  $x\dot{s}usta > xusto$  'wet' is paralleled in other Ir. dialects, and so is  $\dot{c}i\dot{x} > t\bar{i}\dot{x}$ - 'to sit down', cf. also Voc. s.v. 'šti. Dissimilation of  $\dot{s}-\dot{s}>s-\dot{s}$  has taken place in  $spa\dot{c}<\dot{s}pa\dot{c}$  'behind', and possibly at an early date in  $afsin\gamma o$  'ladder' < \*afsisn-<\*upa-srišnakā-. Cf. also wujuzgo 'frog' < \*wuzuzgo (v. s.v.  $azuz\gamma o$ ).

The change of t-db > t-gb in  $tagb\bar{\imath}r < tadb\bar{\imath}r$  'plan' is not confined to Y-M, and probably belongs to the Prs. dialect from which the word has been borrowed.

Generally speaking, the examples of dissimilation mentioned above fit in with the rules laid down by Grammont. There are, however, exceptions (such as  $ha'l\bar{a}r < ha'l\bar{a}l$ ) which may be due to special causes.

A segmentization of l', r' > lg(y), rg(y) occurs in Mg, etc.,  $wulg^y ig^{\varphi}$ , wulgiy 'kidney';  $zil^{gy}$  'heart'; Mt  $storg\bar{\imath}$  'stars' (sg.  $st\tilde{\imath}riy$ ).

#### Metathesis and Interversion.

137. Metathesis is quite frequent in Y—M. Examples are: M kupôr < Y p'korë 'mouth'; nəliv- 'to lie down' < \*nəvil-; lur- 'to run away' < \*rul-; ¹ plār- 'to sell' < \*prāl-; laγafči ~ ləvaxċë 'torch'; zə gārmyo < zəmargire 'lizard'; xəsmānek < səxmānek 'pellet-bow'; ərγūγ < ἀγurγ 'egg'; krabərë 'wool of lambs' < Khow. kābraili, karberi; azuzyo ~ wuyzəga 'frog'; yaržo 'beard' < \*raiżo; oy mīno 'podex' < γu mino; nišāż- < nijāš- 'to show'; warwaden 'trouser-¹ Cf. Psht. r-l > l-r in lār 'road', lara 'for'.

string' <\*warvadɛn; bräyiko 'sparrow' <\*mary-; pəšgirdio < pəškədrī 'dung'; Y xird- (but xrist!) < M xred- 'to shave'.

Regarding interversion in groups of consonants v. § 97 (rf, rx < fr, xr); § 127 (secondary rd > dr); § 119 (md, mg < dm, gm).

Cf. also alvosto < avlasto 'sleeve';  $v\ddot{a}rze\gamma o < *vazra\gamma o (vəzər\gamma o)$  'wing';  $\dot{s}in\dot{j}o < \ddot{s}i\ddot{z}no$  'needle';  $p\ddot{a}zg\bar{o} < p\ddot{a}gzo$  'clean'; ' $\dot{s}f\bar{i}n < *f\ddot{s}\bar{u}n$  'comb';  $\dot{s}farm < f\dot{s}arm$  'shame';  $\dot{s}'f\ddot{v} < *f\ddot{s}uy\ddot{v}$  'husband'.

But note:  $n\ddot{v}zo < (?)$   $nez\gamma o$  'mucus';  $sk\dot{a}vrio < skarviyo$  'coal'; zaxmo 'field' < \*zamxa;  $zo\gamma no$  'chin'  $< *zan\gamma a$ ;  $wu\gamma z \ni ga$  'frog'  $< *waz\gamma aga$  (v.  $azuz\gamma o$ ). In these words an apparently easier sequel of consonants has changed into a more difficult one.

#### Vowels.

138. Any attempt to reconstruct the development of Ir. vowels in Y—M is beset with many dangers, and the results must of necessity be much more uncertain than those we can arrive at with regard to many of the consonants. In most languages, and certainly to a marked degree in Y—M and some other E.Ir. dialects, the vowels are more variable and more subject to complicated influences from neighbouring sounds than the consonants.

A glance at the Vocabulary will show that, while the consonants generally agree in Y and M, or present only two different forms, the vowels often appear to vary with the speaker. No doubt some of the variations may be due to faulty notation. It takes much longer time to penetrate the vowel system of a language, than to ascertain the number of consonant phonemes. But there really appears to be a certain instability in the articulation, especially of short vowels, in Y—M. They often tend towards a neutral  $\theta$ , and  $\theta$  and  $\theta$  may interchange in the same word and with the same speaker according to the phonetic context.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But also Khow. pazgā, pagzā.

Without the knowledge of older forms of these dialects the task of tracing in detail the vowel changes, which have taken place at different periods and under varying conditions, is just as hopeless as the fixation of the sound-laws which have changed Germanic a, au, ai, e,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$ , and iu into Modern English ii, would be, if we knew nothing about Anglo-Saxon, or the older stages of English.

a

139. In the majority of cases Ir. "a" (whatever its exact phonetic value) is represented, in stressed syllables by Y \( \tilde{a}\). It is doubtful whether the difference of quantity has any historical or phonological significance.\( ^2\)

To give an exhaustive survey of the development of ancient a would entail a repetition of the majority of the words contained in the Vocabulary, and I must therefore restrict myself to quoting some selected examples.

Before a nasal, also when derived from an earlier group of consonants (e.g.  $\dot{s}m$ , rn), we find Y  $\ddot{a}$ , M  $\ddot{o}$ , e.g. in:  $l^bb\bar{a}n$ -:  $l^bv\bar{o}n$ -'to winnow';  $l^b\gamma\bar{a}n$ -:  $l^b\gamma\bar{o}n$  'to throw away';  $\dot{s}am$ -:  $\dot{s}\bar{o}m$ - 'to drink';  $y\bar{a}n$ -:  $y\bar{a}ng^{gy}$ - 'to grind';  $p\bar{a}m$ :  $p\bar{o}m$  'wool';  $c\bar{a}m$ :  $c\bar{o}m$  'eye';  $p\bar{a}do$ :  $p\bar{o}ndo$  'road';  $p\bar{a}n\dot{s}$ :  $p\bar{o}n\dot{c}$  '5';  $\gamma\bar{a}d\partial m$ :  $\gamma\bar{o}ndvm$  'wheat'; lad: lod,  $l\bar{o}nd$  (but LSIm  $l\bar{a}d$ , MFB  $l\dot{a}nd$ ) 'tooth'; vad-:  $v\bar{o}nd$  'to tie';  $tr\bar{a}\dot{z}$ -:  $t^br\bar{o}n\dot{f}$ -,  $tr\hat{a}$ )- 'to bind';  $akad\ddot{e}$ :  $akad\ddot{e}$ :  $akad\ddot{e}$ ;  $akad\ddot{e}$ ;  $akad\ddot{e}$ :  $akad\ddot{e}$ ;  $akad\ddot{$ 

Before r, l: Y  $f\~{s}arm$ : M  $\~{s}for³m$  'shame';  $\gamma ar\gamma$ :  $\gamma or\gamma$  'heavy';  $larz\ddot{v}$ :  $lorz\ddot{v}$  'sheaf';  $\gamma alv$ :  $\gamma \bar{o}lv$  (but LSIm  $\gamma \bar{u}lf$ ) 'dog';  $p \ni larz$ -:  $p \ni l\~{o}rz$ - 'to wrap';  $par\gamma$ :  $por\gamma$  'mouse'.

Before s: niāst: niŏst 'sat down'; karāst: kərost 'hide'; last: lost

1 E.g. in heel, leaf, heal, steal, eel, feel, creep. 2 Cf. § 35.

'hand'; aščo: ošk<sup>y</sup>o, etc. (but G, LSIm ă-) '8'; yasp: yosp 'horse'; òást: čōst 'fell'; vāst: vŏst 'tied'; yašk: yošk 'tear'.—Note Y xāstë 'straw', but xosto 'grain' (with assimilation to -o?).

Before other consonants: Y  $m\bar{a}g^{y}$ : M  $m\bar{o}g^{y}$ - 'to rub';  $parwax\dot{s}\ddot{e}$ :  $parwax\dot{s}\ddot{e}$ ' broom';  $max\dot{s}\ddot{e}$ :  $m\bar{o}x\dot{s}i$  'mosquito'; max:  $m\bar{o}x$  'we';  $s\bar{a}vd\ddot{e}$ :  $s\bar{o}vd\ddot{e}y$  'basket'; avdo:  $ovd\bar{o}$  '7'; maf:  $m\bar{o}f$  'you', etc.

140. One group of exceptions to this rule are the cases with Y o: M a in the proximity of x and the labials. But we do not always find Y o, M a in such positions (v. above), and it is impossible to tell what has really taken place in such words, assimilation in Y or dissimilation in M.

Examples with x- are: Y xof: M xaf 'scum'; xof: xaf-, xef- 'to cough';  $xo\check{s}$ -:  $xa\check{s}$ -,  $xe\check{s}$ - 'to pull'; xoro: xara,  $x\check{s}$ rå 'ass';  $xo(^u)d$ -: xad- (Z  $x\check{a}d$ -) 'to laugh';  $x\check{o}(^a)n$ -: xan- 'to buy'. But note Y—M  $x\check{a}fs$ - 'to descend' (pret. Y  $x\check{a}vd$ , M  $x\check{o}/\bar{a}vd$ ).

Before x: Y yox: M yax 'cold'; Y xurox: M xirex, kirax 'to shy'; kutox: kutax 'sour milk'.

After w- the development is more troubled. Cf. e.g.: Y wof šīo: M wafšiyo 'wasp'; woryo: wargå 'quail'; wor-: war- 'to knit'; but also Y waly 'wedding'; wor, war 'oath'; wo/arfo: M worfo 'snow'; Y wāzd: M wōzd 'fat'.

Before labials we find Y o in: Y kofšë: M kafšo 'shoe'; nov: năv- 'to rain'; skåvrio: skarviyo 'coal'; xºšovo: xºšavo 'night'; yovurso: yavurso, yð-, ye- 'juniper'. But Y yavo (sh yowo): M yŏwa 'cow'.

But the hopelessness of finding some principle or principles to explain all the variations in the development of a in Y—M is demonstrated by Y poləm: M palum 'soft'; Y sŏro: M sara 'dung'; Y la/oso: M lāsa 'rope'; Y moyuso: M maguso, må, məo 'fly'; Y xurom: M xuram 'threshing-ground', etc. Cf. also e.g. Y los '10'; rok 'colour'; kob (= M) 'little'; Y—M nayən 'bread', etc.

141. After initial  $k^{y}$  Y a has been palatalized in  $k^{y} \epsilon l$  'baldheaded';  $k^{y} \ddot{a} m der$  'younger';  $k^{y} \epsilon m a l \gamma o$  'skull': Mj.  $k^{y} \tilde{a} l$ , k a m der. But in other cases Y has k a-, k o-. Reg.  $\ddot{a} x < a x$  (?), cf. § 153.

<sup>1</sup> V. § 41.

After x < hw- ancient a has been labialized in Y—M xun,  $x\bar{o}n$  'raven'; M  $xur\bar{i}$  'sister's son', etc. Cf. also (w)urv- 'to boil' with u < a between two labials (but Y  $wof\bar{s}\bar{i}o$  'wasp').

Y  $p\bar{u}n\ddot{a}$ , M  $p\bar{u}n^{gy}$ , etc. may go back to a form in  $\bar{u}$ , or have early compensatory lengthening, cf.  $x\bar{u}t$  'he eats';  $z\bar{u}t$  'he speaks' and other syncopated 3 sg. forms with early lengthening.

Very difficult to explain are the M preterites in  $\tilde{c}$ , such as Z  $\tilde{s}\tilde{e}md$  'drank',  $fx\tilde{e}vd$  'sheared', etc.<sup>1</sup>

142. Before the accent a usually remains. Thus, e.g.: Y—M a'larsinë 'threshold'; av'lasto, etc. 'sleeve'; aspəlan 'stable'; par guščë: par guškyïy 'finger-ring'; ag'mīn 'honey'; 'agidro, 'aglero 'grape' (with shift of accent?). But note Y o guščo: M 'oguškya, 'āo', ə-'finger'. After the accent we find u in mo yuso, 'mayəsa 'fly' < \*'makasū-, and possibly in av'yuš, 'yivguš < \* upakaša-(?).

Note Y—M 'ida 'slave' < \*hantaka- (but hadë); Y  $\bar{\imath}$  dou; M yëdou 'fever' < \*han-tapa-; Y  $d\bar{\imath}r$ : M yë d $\bar{\imath}r$  'other' < \*antāra-with unexplained i, etc.

### $Ir. \bar{a}.$

143. Ancient Ir.  $\bar{a}$  'normally' results in Mm, Z, G  $\bar{u}$ , Y, and some a forms of M  $\bar{i}$ , in some cases with secondary shortening. This M  $\bar{u}$  appears to be identical with that which arises from ancient  $\bar{u}$  and au; but the fact that in the latter cases  $\bar{u}$  remains in Y proves that the common Y—M sound derived from  $\bar{a}$  was not identical with  $\bar{u} < \bar{u}$  (and au), but was probably of a palatal type. Thus perhaps:

Ir 
$$\tilde{a} > \tilde{o} > \tilde{o}$$
  $\langle \overline{i} \rangle > \begin{cases} \tilde{i} \text{ (Y, Mg, t, etc.)} \\ \tilde{u} \text{ (Mm, etc.)} \end{cases}$ 

$$\begin{array}{c} au > \rho u \\ \tilde{u} > \tilde{u} > \tilde{u} \end{cases} > \tilde{u}$$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 159.

Examples of  $\bar{a} > M$   $\bar{u}$ , M—Y  $\hat{\imath}$  are: Mm, Z, G, LSIm  $\hat{c}f\bar{u}r$ : Y  $\hat{c}\hat{s}\bar{\imath}r$ , Mt, ti, g, (sh)  $\hat{c}f\bar{\imath}r$  'four' Mm, Z, G  $n\bar{u}fa$ : Y, Mg, t, ti  $n\hat{\imath}f$  'navel'. The same distribution of  $\hat{\imath}$  and  $\bar{u}$  appears in Y  $asm\bar{\imath}no$  'sky';  $i\check{s}\check{c}\bar{\imath}n$  'female breast';  $d\bar{\imath}r$  'other';  $f\check{\imath}z$  'breast'; 1  $now\bar{\imath}sa$  'grandson';  $pr\bar{\imath}st$  'sold'  $(pl\bar{u}r)$ ;  $p\bar{\imath}\check{x}$  'arrow';  $r\bar{\imath}vo$  'vein';  $r\bar{\imath}v$  'rhubarb';  $s\bar{\imath}br\bar{\imath}m$  'fat' (of unknown etymology);  $\hat{s}f\bar{\imath}n$  'comb';  $\check{s}\bar{\imath}\check{z}$  'vulture';  $t\bar{\imath}ro$  'darkness';  $\hat{\imath}$  " $\bar{\imath}zv\bar{\imath}vo$  'arm';  $v\bar{\imath}ra$  'burden';  $z\bar{\imath}k$  'knee';  $z\bar{\imath}v\bar{\imath}vo$  (and  $z\bar{\imath}ob\bar{\imath}e\bar{\jmath}vo$ ) 'tongue', as compared with the forms in Mm, etc. Possibly also Mti  $niv\bar{\imath}lo$ : Z navulo 'bedding' < \*ni- $p\bar{\imath}dd\bar{\imath}e$ -; Y  $m\bar{\imath}rvo$ , Mg  $m\bar{\imath}rva$ : Mm murvo 'meadow' < \* $m\bar{\imath}rg\bar{\imath}e$ -.

Words with ancient  $\bar{a}$  found only in Y are:  $s\bar{\imath}\gamma$  'hare';  $s\bar{\imath}s\bar{\imath}n\gamma\sigma$  'supine';  $t\bar{\imath}\gamma\sigma$  'rope made of willow bark';  $t\bar{\imath}l\sigma$  'hail'. Cf. also Voc. s.vv.  $t\bar{\imath}e'r\bar{\imath}\gamma$  (amp';  $p\bar{\imath}\gamma$  'onion';  $pilo\gamma\sigma$  'cup'.  $t\bar{\imath}s\bar{\imath}k\bar{\imath}r$  'shooting';  $p\bar{\imath}z\bar{\imath}r$  'falcon' ( $t\bar{\imath}r\bar{\imath}r$ ), and possibly  $t\bar{\imath}rl\sigma$  'rice pillau' must have been borrowed too late to join the development of ancient  $t\bar{\imath}r$ .

Special M words are:  $cir\bar{u}\gamma$  'lantern' (early lw.);  $t\bar{u}r$  'trap'; 'xuri 'itching';  $xu'r\bar{\imath}$ , 'x $\bar{u}r\partial ya$  'sister's son'; ' $av\bar{\imath}$  'p $\partial r\bar{\imath}vur$  'cow-house'.

144. Most of the exceptions to this rule can be explained. Thus after x- and w- Y  $\bar{u}$  remains in Y—M  $wu\check{s}$ ,  $u\check{s}$  'grass'  $\overset{\circ}{\circ} < v\bar{a}stra$ - (cf. Y  $u\check{s}\check{c}eno$ , M  $wu\check{s}k^yeno$  'hay-stack'); Y—M  $x\bar{u}yo$ ,  $x\bar{u}go$  'spring, well';  $w\bar{u}i$  'wind' (but Mt, g, etc.  $w\bar{i}y$ ,  $w\bar{i}y$ ); Y  $x\bar{u}no$  'lid of a tray'; Y  $h\bar{u}\gamma$  ( $<*w\bar{u}\gamma$ ?) 'money'. Possibly also after m, cf. Y mux (Biddulph 'moogh') 'month'; and cf. s.v.  $mun\gamma o$  'sheep-skin bag'. But, on the other hand, cf.  $now\bar{i}sa$  and  $asm\bar{i}no$  above.

After y- we find Y  $\bar{u}$ , possibly retained through preventive differentiation, in: Y  $y\bar{u}r$ : M  $y\bar{u}r$  'fire'  $<*\bar{a}rt$ ;  $^6$   $y\bar{u}rzvn$ , etc. 'millet' (prob.  $<*\bar{a}rz$ -, v. Voc. s.v.);  $yurzu\gamma o$  'grindstone' (if  $<*y\bar{a}hr$ -<

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Biddulphs's fuz can scarcely be an older Y form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> With \* $\bar{a}r < *a\vartheta r$ .

<sup>8</sup> With \*ā < aha. Cf. Psht. soe, etc.

<sup>4</sup> With \* $\tilde{a}r < *ahr$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> But Mt wiš.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 101.

\* $ya\partial ra$ -). But corresponding to M  $y\bar{u}r$ - 'ground' (< \* $\bar{a}rta$ -) we find Yg  $y\bar{i}r$ -.¹ Reg. is-,  $y\bar{i}s$  v. below. Mm, Z, G  $y\bar{u}sp\partial n$ , Mt, g  $y\bar{i}sp\partial n$  'iron' goes back to \* $\bar{o}span$  < \* $\bar{a}spana$ -, and the vocalism of Y  $rsp\partial n$  seems to show that the mysterious r- was introduced at an early date in \* $\bar{o}span$  > \* $r\bar{o}span$  > \* $r\bar{u}span$ , etc.

Also before -y- < -t- we find  $\bar{u}$  in  $s\bar{u}\bar{i}$  'slate' ( $< *s\bar{a}ta-$ ). But I am unable to explain the varying development of  $*-\bar{a}ta-$  in Y, Mm, Z, G  $w\bar{u}i$  ( $w\bar{u}y$ ): Mt, ti, g  $w\bar{i}(y)$ ,  $w\bar{i}(y)$ ,  $w\bar{i}y$  'wind'; Y  $l\bar{i}$ ,  $l\bar{i}\bar{i}$ : Mm  $l\bar{i}i\bar{i}y$ , Mt, Z, G  $l\bar{i}y$ , ( $l\partial y$ ) 'gave'; Mm  $y\bar{u}i$ : Mg  $y\bar{i}y$  'brother-in-law', etc. Cf. also Y  $l^3r\bar{u}-\gamma us$ : Mt, g, etc.  $l^3r\bar{i}-\gamma us$ , but Mm  $l^3r\bar{e}-gus$  (possibly  $< *dr\bar{u}t\bar{i}$  with epenthesis of i?).

There are no examples of ancient, unshortened  $-\bar{a}y$ - in Y, but in M this group has been subject to early palatalization. Thus: Mm  $nvs\bar{\imath}y$ , g  $n\ddot{\imath}s\ddot{\imath}y$  'shadow'  $<*nis\bar{a}ya$ ; Z  $z\bar{\imath}y$ - 'to bear' (but  $z\bar{u}y$ - $<z\bar{a}ta$ -); cf.  $\dot{c}\bar{\imath}y$ -: ' $\dot{c}\bar{u}y$ - 'to freeze'.

145. In a great number of words  $\bar{a}$  has been shortened at an early date and has shared the fate of ancient a. This shortening has taken place before some nominal suffixes, in the first hand  $-0/-a < -\bar{a}$  and  $-\bar{e}/-\bar{v}y < -aka$ , in nominal compounds, and in the present tense of the verbs.<sup>3</sup> It is not necessary to assume that all of these suffixes have once carried the stress; the shortening may be due to rhytmical tendencies.

Examples are, e.g.: Y a'lāno 'pome-granate' < \*ha-dānā-; Y lāmo, M lōmo 'village' < \*dāmā-; M lōmago 'snare' < \*dāmakā-; Y mayo yo, M mōyaya, etc. 'mare' < \*mātakā-; Y nāno 'yo 'grain' < \*dānakā-; Y palo, polo, M pālo 'foot' < pādā-; Y wāriyo 'rain' < \*wārikā-; Y wāro, M wōro 'summer' < \*wāhṛtā-; Y yåuyo, M yougo, etc. 'water' < \*āpakā; Y no woso, M nawəso 'granddaughter' (but Y nowīsa, nowis m.).

Y fer γāmə, -ë, M frayomiy 'he-goat' < \*fragāmaka-; Y môžë:

<sup>1</sup> Other Y informants gave the remade form yägyi-, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But  $y\bar{a}i$  'brought' (is-,  $yreve{i}s$ - 'to bring'  $< y\bar{a}s$ -).

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the early syncopated 3g. in-ati.

M mažiy 'stick' < \*māθaka-; Y stārë, M stōriy 'star'; Y yārë, M yōˈrïy 'flour' etc.

In such words as  $asm\bar{n}no$  'sky';  $r\bar{\imath}\gamma o$  'vein';  $\check{z}\bar{\imath}lo$  'hail';  $x\bar{u}\gamma o$  'well';  $p\bar{u}z\bar{e}$  'hawk', etc., the suffix may have been added at a later date.

Y vrai, M  $v^3r\tilde{a}i$  'brother'; Y zamai, M  $zam\bar{o}i$  'son-in-law', which apparently have shortening without suffigation, may perhaps be derived from  $vr\bar{a}y\bar{\partial}y < vrac^2br\bar{a}taka$ , etc.

In compounds we find shortening of  $*\bar{a}$  in poruylan 'key-hole' and other words in ancient \*-dāna-; 'aspəlan 'stable'; aw lān 'bridle'; Y 'piščan, -ɛn, M pīškyen 'thigh' (< paitistāna-); məlān 'waist' (< maidyāna-); pīstän 'udder' (< \*payah-stāna-); Y xallfān, M 'xalifōn 'skin bag for flour' (< \*hwarda-pāna-). iščīn, asmīno, stīnyo, xūno, zīk, etc., mentioned above, show that the shortening can not have been caused by the nasal which follows the \*ā.

Among the present forms cf., e.g., Y  $a\gamma d\bar{a}um$ , M (Z)  $a\gamma d\bar{o}v\partial m$  'I dress' (and other causatives); Y  $pl\bar{a}r$ -, M  $pl\bar{o}r$ - 'to sell' ( $<*par\bar{a}-d\bar{a}$ -),  $l\bar{a}r$ - 'to hold';  $v\partial z\bar{a}n$ - 'to know';  $v\bar{a}f$ -, etc. 'to weave' (Prs.  $b\bar{a}f$ -);  $z\partial nay$ - 'to wash', etc. But Z  $z\bar{i}y$ - 'to bear', etc., may have been influenced by the 3 sg. Cf. Z  $a\gamma d\bar{u}vd$  'he dresses', etc. with regular  $\bar{u}<\bar{a}.$ 3

The verbs in  $\bar{a}$  and those in a have thus to a large extent, if not completely, coalesced through the shortening of  $\bar{a}$  in most forms, and the lengthening of a in Pres. 3rd sg.

Also the prefix  $\bar{a}$  has been shortened, or has at any rate not taken part in the development towards  $\bar{u}$ . Thus Y  $\bar{u}\gamma d\bar{e}m$ , M  $\bar{u}\gamma udem$ , etc. 'I dress': Y  $a\gamma'd\bar{u}um$  'I dress (somebody else)';  $\bar{u}\gamma oi$  (or with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. vraya 'younger brother', with a from vrai. Other words in -a have unshortened \*ā, cf. § 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. above § 144.

<sup>\*</sup> Reg. Z nigēvd 'bites'; wēft 'weaves'; firšēd 'shakes' (firšōn-); bispēt 'entrusts' (bispōr-); pilēr- 'sells' (pəlōr-) cf. the Morphology. The phonetic development is not clear.

assimilation Y  $\bar{o}\gamma o i$ ) 'came';  $a run\gamma o$  'light'  $< *\bar{a}$ -raux'snak $\bar{a}$ -, etc. But in M  $y \bar{u} s p \bar{\sigma} n$  'iron', etc.,  $\bar{a}$ - has not been felt as a prefix.

Final  $-\bar{a}$  was shortened at an early date, but did not coalesce with original -a.

146. In Prs. lw.s, except possibly in the very early borrowing  $p\bar{u}z\bar{v}$  'falcon', we find  $\check{a}$ ,  $\check{o}$ ,  $\check{\bar{a}}$ , varying very much in the same manner as in genuine Y—M words with ancient a. Thus, e.g.:  $z \ni mist\bar{a}n$ ,  $-\bar{o}n$  'winter'; Y  $\check{s}\check{a}m$ : M  $\check{s}\bar{o}m$  'evening'; Y  $x\check{a}m$ : M  $x\bar{o}m$  'raw'; Y  $b\check{a}ya$  'garden'; Y  $s\bar{a}l$ : M  $s\bar{o}l$  'year' (if borrowed), etc.

### Ir. i.

147. As has already been pointed out by Gauthiot, i and u have a i tendency to lose their specific articulation in Y—M, and to become mixed vowels of the type  $\theta$ , i. This tendency is shared also by Psht. and some other E.Ir. dialects.

Examples of i in Y—M are:  $c\ddot{e}$ , ci 'what';  $c\ddot{e}b$ -, cob- 'to pinch';  $di\ddot{s}$ - 'to know'; ind 'so much' < \*imanta-; Y imar-, M yumar- 'to count' <  $hi\ddot{s}mar$ -; lizo, lozo 'fort';  $rI\ddot{s}ko$  'nit';  $s\ddot{e}\gamma io$ ,  $s\ddot{i}g^y o$  'sand' < \* $sikat\ddot{a}$ -;  $sIl\gamma o$  'cream' < \* $sidak\ddot{a}$ -;  $soz\bar{i}yo$  'jujube tree' < \*sin) $\bar{i}t\ddot{a}$ -;  $tIr\gamma$ ,  $t\ddot{i}o$ , too 'sharp'; xIrd-, xord- 'to shave' < \*xrind-; yimsal 'this year'  $< ima^o$ .

After w- ancient i has been labialized in wul: wust 'to throw' < \*wid;  $wul\bar{e}yo$  'span'  $< *wid\bar{a}ti$ ;  $x^u\dot{s}uvd$  'sweet'  $< x\dot{s}vipta$ ; Z parwoyd 'sifted'  $(parw\bar{i}\dot{z}$ -); possibly  $ur\bar{i}z$ - 'to spread dung' (vi- or ava-). Between a labial and ancient  $\dot{s}$  we find  $\ddot{u}$  in  $sp\bar{u}o$  'louse'  $< spi\dot{s}$ -;  $pu\dot{s}\dot{c}$ ,  $pu\dot{s}\dot{k}^y$  'flour made from dried apples'; puma 'avalanche' <

Unstressed i is still more exposed to assimilation. Cf. e.g. noliv:  $nuv\bar{o}st$  'to lie down';  $nuy\bar{o}z$ :  $niy\bar{e}zd$  'to swallow'; ni(y): noyoy 'to go out', etc. Note also  $Undust\bar{o}n$  'Hindustan'.

Before  $hr < \vartheta r$  i has been lengthened in mira 'sun'.

\*pišmā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 142.

#### Ir. ī.

148. Ancient  $\bar{\imath}$  is retained in  $x \hat{s} \bar{\imath} r a$  'milk';  $\tilde{s} \bar{\imath} y o$  'woman';  $\hat{z} \bar{\imath} o$  'bowstring';  $w \bar{\imath} s t (o)$  '20';  $n \bar{\imath} y a$  'sour milk'. With constant shortening:  $\hat{s} i - n \bar{a} m i a$  'girl'  $< s t r \bar{\imath} - n \bar{a} m a n - i$ ;  $t \bar{\imath} - i$  'to enter'  $< * a t \bar{\imath} - i$ .

The relation between yurvo, yirwa, etc. 'throat' and Av. grīvā-'neck' is uncertain.

#### Ir. u.

149. In most cases Ir. u remains, or becomes  $\partial$ ,  $\ddot{v}$ . Thus, e.g.: luydo,  $l\partial^o$  'daughter';  $v\partial zo$ ,  $vv^o$ ,  $v\ddot{v}^o$  'she-goat'; surx,  $s\partial^o$ ,  $s\ddot{v}^o$  'red'; suvdo,  $s\partial^o$ ,  $s\ddot{v}^o$  'shoulder'; surv 'hole';  $ogu\breve{s}\breve{v}o$ , etc. 'finger';  $(w)u\breve{s}k$  'dry'; poruv 'lock, bolt'; yuxs- 'to learn'; tu,  $t\partial$  'thou' (Psht.  $t\partial$  points to \* $t\breve{u}$ );  $v\partial n$  'bottom, root'; rust 'fled', etc. Note Y  $\breve{s}^if\ddot{e}$ , M  $\breve{s}^of\ddot{v}y$ .  $\breve{s}fu\ddot{t}$ , etc. 'husband' < \* $f\ddot{s}\partial y\partial y$  < \* $f\ddot{s}uyaka$ -.

In zinio 'daughter-in-law' (<\*snušā-) and frīyo 'flea' (<\*frušikā-) u has resulted in i before  $y < \S$ . In  $g^yib$  'lost' (<\*gumb); lib-'to card wool' (\*dumb-), and lim, lom, etc. 'tail' u has become i before a labial. I cannot explain the reasons for the development in Y 'agidro, M 'aglero 'grape' (\*angurdā-?); 'škiro, etc. 'camel';  $fr\bar{a}i\gamma o$  etc., 'yoke-rope' (<\*frayugā-).

In  $p\bar{u}r$  'son' the lengthening has been caused by the loss of  $h < \vartheta$ . But note the lengthening also in other monosyllabies, such as  $y\bar{u}\gamma$ ,  $y\bar{u}\gamma$  'yoke';  $st\bar{u}\gamma$  'long hair',  $s\bar{u}i$  'went'.

Initial u is preserved in  $usx\bar{u}bvn$  'sleepless';  $ustu\dot{s}\dot{c}$ - 'to jump', but lost in the atonic word sko 'on'  $< usk\hat{u}\dot{t}$ . Corresponding to Y  $il\bar{u}r$  'belly' (\*udarya-?) M has  $\Delta^o$ ,  $yi^o$ , etc.; cf. Y imoyo, M  $yu^o$ ,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. above regarding i.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The statement § 74 is hardly correct. But cf. above  $i > \bar{u}$  between labial and  $-\delta$ -!

<sup>3</sup> Through differentiation?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 181.

 $y\ddot{v}^{o}$ , i- 'moon'  $<*ux\dot{s}m^{o}$ . Y  $\bar{a}^{o}veli$ . M  $a^{o}$ ,  $z^{o}$  'both' may have suffered a very early reduction of the initial vowel, cf. Av. uva-, ava-, va-. Regarding upa, upa- cf. § 165.

Also in lw.s u is rendered by  $\partial$ ,  $\ddot{v}$ . E.g.  $k\partial lf$ , kvlf 'lock';  $p\ddot{v}r$ ,  $p\partial r$ , pur 'full';  $\ddot{sind}$ ,  $s\partial n\dot{d}$  'two-storied house'  $\ll$  Khow.  $sun\dot{d}$ .

### Ir. ū.

150. Ancient  $\bar{u}$  retains its quality in Y—M  $k\bar{u}$  'where'; Y—M  $\gamma \bar{u}(w)$   $\bar{u}$  'excrements' (but also Y  $\gamma \bar{b}(h)$ ); Y—M (")stuno (and Y "stono) 'post'; M  $t\bar{u}i$  'mulberry'. M shows a tendency to palatalization in  $l\bar{v}y$ ,  $l\bar{u}y$ ,  $l\bar{u}$  'smoke'; lvra,  $l\bar{v}^o$ ,  $l\bar{u}$  'far'; stur,  $s^ot\bar{v}r$ ,  $s^ot\bar{u}r$  'big': Y  $l\bar{u}i$ ,  $l\bar{u}ro$ , "stur. In Y  $p\bar{u}o$ , M  $p\bar{u}oy$  'rotten';  $v\bar{u}o$ , etc., 'was' and Y  $ast\bar{u}o$  'abuse' (if  $<*a-st\bar{u}t\bar{u}$ -) this tendency has prevailed completely (before y < t) in both dialects. Also Y—M  $vr\bar{u}yo$ , etc. (G  $vr\bar{e}ga$ ) has an unexplained  $\bar{\imath}$ .

Y—M  $\S\bar{u}$  'horn' may go back to  $sr\bar{u}$ - or \*srau- (cf. the Wkh. form). Y  $v^{3}r\tilde{u}t$ , M  $br\bar{u}t$  'moustache' are lw.s.

## Ir. r.

151. In view of the general instability of short vowels in Y—M it is r not surprising that the very short vocalic element which developed in original r should show a wide scope of variation, which cannot be explained in all particulars.

In the neighbourhood of a labial r usually results in u. Thus:  $wul\gamma a$  'kidney';  $wur\gamma$  'wolf';  $(w)u\dot{s}iyo$  'hungry'; xur 'ate';  $\gamma urv\cdot(\gamma irv\cdot)$  'to seize'; yovurso 'juniper' ( $\langle hap\partial r\partial s\bar{i}\cdot\rangle$ ); Y  $n\partial vur$ ,  $^o\partial r$ , M  $n\varepsilon v\varepsilon r$  'took out'; mur 'died'; imur 'counted'; urzur 'straight'; M  $purs\partial go$  (but Y  $p\partial rs\partial y\bar{e}$ ) 'rib'; M  $purs\partial go$ ,  $p\partial rs\partial go$  (but Y  $p\partial rs\partial go$ ) 'rib'; M  $purs\partial go$ ,  $p\partial rs\partial go$  'pillow'  $\langle *brz\partial go$ , 'to ask';  $w\ddot{u}r\dot{z}$ ,  $w\ddot{u}r\dot{z}$  'thread';  $virzan\partial go$ ,  $viz\partial go$ , 'pillow'  $\langle *brz\partial go$ .

Before Y šč, M  $\hat{s}k^y$  the vocalic element became palatal:  $li\hat{s}\hat{c}$ :  $li\hat{s}k^y$  'saw';  $ki\hat{s}\hat{c}$ :  $ki\hat{s}k^y$ ,  $ki\hat{s}k$  'ploughed';  $p\partial li\hat{s}\hat{c}$  'wrapped' ( $p\partial larz$ -);

<sup>7 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

 $piš\check{c}: piš\check{k}^y$  'farted'  $(pil-); piš\check{c}o: piš\check{k}^yo$ , but also  $p\bar{\imath}^o, pi^o, pi^o$  'back'. To the same conflicting influences of an initial labial and a following palatal is due the vacillation in Y  $wu\check{s}\check{c}, wi\check{s}\check{c}: M wu\check{s}k$  'knitted' (wor-), etc. It is doubtful whether  $f \ni rmi\check{s}\check{c}$  'forgot' has ancient g.

An l appears to have prevented the development of a labial vowel in Y  $mil\gamma o$ : M  $m\bar{\imath}^o$ ,  $m\bar{\imath}^o$ ,  $m\bar{\imath}^o$  'clay' ( $<*m_{\bar{\imath}}d$ -); Y pil- 'to fart'; Y pilf.  $p\bar{\imath}lf$  'ford'.

Other examples with i,  $\partial$ , are: Y lirs: M lirs, lurs 'goat's hair' (< \*drsa- or  $*d\tilde{u}rsa$ -?); Y  $prasilan\ddot{e}$  'belonging to last year' (< \*para-srd-anaka-?); Y zil,  $z\ddot{e}l$ : M  $z\ddot{e}l^{yy}$ ,  $z\ddot{u}l^{y}$ , etc. 'heart'; Y fsidro 'spring' ( $< *upa-srd\tilde{a}$ -, or  $osard\tilde{a}$ -); kirio, etc. 'hen'; Y  $k\partial r$ : M  $k\partial r$  'made', etc.

Note Y mur 'died' (v. above), but  $m \ni r$ - 'to die' with the usual reduction in the present.

Initial r is found only in Y yarš, cf. Av. arəša-.

Reg. M vəzvurgo, Y zeviryo 'birch'; Y kurmo 'scorpion, insect' (but kırəm 'bug');  $\gamma i k^y$  'penis' v. Voc. s.vv. Note kənəm 'I do', k i t 'he does'  $< kun \bar{a} m i$ , kunati with early change of  $\gamma$  into u, as in Prs, Shgh. etc.

# Diphthongs.

152. In most cases ancient ai results in  $\bar{\imath}$  (i), the older stage  $\bar{e}$  being ai preserved in a few words without any apparent reason.

Examples are:  $ag^im\bar{\imath}n$  (rarely  $^oin$ ,  $^oin$ ) 'honey';  $an\bar{\imath}mof$  'half' (adv., cf.  $n\bar{\imath}mop\ddot{\imath}r$  'half full');  $ax\check{s}in$ ,  $^o\bar{e}n$ ,  $-\partial n$  'blue'; Y  $iz^ima$ , M  $(y)\bar{\imath}^o$ , yi, yi. 'firewood';  $d\bar{\imath}z$ -, diz- 'to bury';  $\gamma\bar{\imath}s$  'goat's hair thread';  $\gamma\bar{\imath}(w)$ - 'to spin';  $l\bar{\imath}u$  'rotten, bad';  $m\bar{\imath}y$ ,  $m\bar{e}y$  'cloud'; Yzh miz-, Ysh, Mm  $m\bar{e}z$ - 'to urinate';  $ner\bar{\imath}z$ - 'to lick';  $p\partial rw\bar{\imath}z$ - 'to sieve';  $p\bar{\imath}x$  'span' (Sgl.  $p\bar{e}x$ );  $sp\bar{\imath}$  'white';  $vr\bar{\imath}$ - 'to break' (Sgl.  $vr\bar{e}l$ -);  $w\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to see',  $w\bar{\imath}ya$  'willow'.

In Y—M  $y\varepsilon^{i}ya$ ,  $y\overline{\varepsilon}^{o}$ , Z  $^{i}y\overline{a}ya$  'bridge' (< haētu-) the development of initial (h)ai- differs from that found in izma. The difference is perhaps conditioned by the following y. In  $y\overline{u}$  'one' the development  $^{i}$  V. § 132.

appears to have passed through the stages aiw > yau.¹ M yax lən,  $yi^o$  'cold' might be explained in the same manner, but this word is probably borrowed from or influenced by Prs. (cf. M yaxsəriy, Y laxsərə 'ice'), genuine \*aix- occurring in Y ax!len. Cf. Y max: M  $m\bar{o}x$  'peg' (Prs.  $m\bar{e}x$ ); Y woxo: M  $w\bar{a}xo$  'root' (Prs.  $b\bar{e}x$ ), with loss of the palatal element before x.² Y  $x\bar{u}l$ : M xala 'perspiration' is difficult to explain. Possibly i has been absorbed into the l (<\*l').³

Between a labial and ancient  $\dot{s}$  we find  $\bar{u}$ , etc. < ai in Y ' $m\bar{u}o$ : M  $m\ddot{v}yo$ ,  $mv^o$ ,  $mv^o$  'sheep', and possibly in Y  $\dot{a}b\bar{u}ya$ : M  $\dot{a}b\ddot{v}y$  'moraine'. Cf. above regarding the treatment of i in similar positions.

Y yaržo: M yōržo 'beard' may be derived through \*raižā- < \*raišā-.

The pronoun yo 'this' (half proximate) probably goes back to  $*ayo < a\bar{e}ta$ - (or nom.  $a\bar{e}\check{s}a$ ), cf. mo < ima-, etc. Loss of ai- is also recorded in Y  $fkyi\gamma iko$  (Biddulph still  $ifk\bar{\iota}go$ ) 'alone'  $< *\bar{e}w + k^{\circ}$ , cf. Sar. iw).

In the lw. qiza|gi 'bridle' < Prs. qaiza the foreign sound ai has been reduced in unstressed syllable.

The actual diphthongs in Y  $n\ddot{a}il\bar{a}$ - 'to make sit down';  $n\ddot{a}il\bar{a}$ - 'to circumcize' are probably derived from  $*n\partial y < *ni\dot{s}/\dot{z}$ -.

paitawo 'puttees' is a lw., and the etymologies of paifar 'steep hill side', paixō 'unthreshed grain' are unknown. pai- may go back to pati-. Cf. also § 46.

au

153. The development of au into  $\bar{u}$   $(u, \, ii)$  is parallel to that of  $ai > \bar{\iota}$ . au As mentioned above,  $^4$  this  $\bar{u}$  did not coalesce with the sound resulting from  $\bar{a}$  in common Y—M. In Y  $\bar{u} < au$  is palatalized before -y - < -t -, cf.  $\bar{\iota}y < \bar{u}ta$ , § 150.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Cf. Psht. yau, Par. ž $\bar{u}$ , etc. But v. also Junker, SHAW. phil. hist. Kl. 1914, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> But cf. pix above!

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psht. xwala, but also wala 'willow': Y wiya.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 143.

Examples are: Y å brūo 'pear' (<\*hamrautā-); Y o'yūzo 'walnut'; å runyo 'light' (<\*ā-rauxšnakā-); drūv- 'to dance' (Sogd.  $\delta r'w\beta$ -);  $\gamma \bar{u}$  ( $\gamma \bar{o} i$ ), etc. 'ear';  $\gamma \bar{u} nia$  'hair';  $\gamma \bar{u} \bar{s}$  'meat'; Y 'kyıfo, kyūo, M kyīo 'hump' (<\*kaufyā-? kūfân 'camel's hump' may be a lw.); M kūiko 'stone'; Y korīo, kōviyo: M kouyo, köwūya 'pigeon'; lūż- 'to milk'; nəyūy- 'to hear'; rūī, etc. 'bowels'; Y Rūi 'n. of a village' (cf. Prs.  $r\bar{o} d$ ?); Y rufo 'small broom' (\*au or u?);  $r\bar{u}\gamma$ ən 'clarified butter'; Y rūso: M 'raūso 'fox'; rūžen'smoke-hole'; M sətūr 'horned cattle'; tūyum 'grain'; xūlo 'cap'; M yōruya 'eructation' (\*ā-raugā-); yūya 'ear of wheat' (Prs. xoša).

Of unknown or uncertain derivation are: Y  $\mathring{a}'\gamma ur\gamma$ : M  $ar'\gamma ug$  'egg';  $\gamma uv\bar{e}$  'wooden trough'; kuso 'maize-straw';  $m\bar{u}\dot{z}$ - 'to move'; Y  $s\bar{u}\gamma iko$ : M  $s\bar{u}go$  (M(g)  $s\bar{u}\gamma k\ddot{a}$ !) 'tale'; Y " $stu\gamma n\bar{u}l$  'dripping'; yursiliko 'shoe-string'. V. Voc. s.vv.

Note Y pisto: M pūsto 'bark' (Prs. pōst), possibly < \*paustā, cf. Av. pasta-.—Reg. -awa- (e.g. in tō 'thy', etc.), cf. § 85.

## Umlaut.

- 154. Umlaut caused by a following i or y is common in Y—M as in most other Ir. languages, but it is not easy to determine the exact conditions under which this assimilation takes place, nor are the results always the same.
- 155. Before a following y an ancient a results in ĕ or ĩ. Thus, e.g., y mēr: M mēr, mär 'man' < \*mart(i)ya- (but Y mara, M mēra < \*martyaka-); Y keṣo, kəo, koo: M kēro, kēo 'knife' < \*kart(i)yā-; Y γuˈrex, oōx 'knot' < \*graθyā-; Y yexio: M yōxo 'hand-mill' < \*yaθriyā- (?). Reg. vəzäxo 'pregnant', zäxko 'child-bearing'; pəzexi, pəzäxē 'male sheep, 1—2 y. old' < ozaθya- or ozaθa-, v. §§ 66, 155. But ĭ occurs in M nəliv-, nīlv- 'to lie down' < ni-paiðya-; Y mištor 'prince' < \*masyah-tara-; ilīr, etc. 'belly' < \*udarya-; Y siri 'upper' < \*sariya- (?). There is no epenthesis or umlaut in the unstressed first syllable of m²lān 'waist'.

156. Before i we find umlaut in:  $i\dot{z}$  'snake'  $< a\dot{z}i$ -;  $z\bar{i}t$  'yellow'  $< a^{-i}$  zairita-;  $\dot{z}ina$ ,  $\dot{z}inko$  'woman' < jaini-;  $\dot{c}\dot{\epsilon}\dot{s}o$  'pin of a spindle' <\* $\dot{c}astr\dot{t}$ -; M  $w\bar{\epsilon}lo$ : Y wolo 'irrigation-channel'  $< vai\delta i$ -; 1 possibly also in Y sporo: Mm sparo, Z  $s^{o}p\bar{e}ra$  'plough-share'; Y woro: M  $w\bar{\epsilon}ro$ , etc. 'trousers'; Y  $p\bar{\epsilon}ro$ : M  $p\bar{e}ro$ , etc. 'hip'; Y loso,  $l\epsilon^{o}$ : M  $l\bar{\epsilon}so$  'wild oats' (Sgl.  $d\bar{\sigma}sin$ ).

The absence of umlaut in  $\gamma ar$  'stone' < gairi may be due to early transfer into the a-stems of masculines in -i.

157. Examples of  $\bar{a}$ — $^y$  are: Y  $pe\check{x}iko$  'snare'  $< *p\bar{a}\vartheta y\bar{a}$ - (v. s.v.);  $\bar{a}$ - $^y$  M  $vr\bar{e}ri$  'nephew' ( $< *br\bar{a}\vartheta ryaka$ -); M  $x\dot{s}\bar{e}ma$  'supper'  $< x\dot{s}\bar{a}fnya$ (if a lw., of very early date); Y  $y\check{e}\check{x}ko$  'duck'  $< *\bar{a}\vartheta ya$ - (?);  $m\check{t}\check{x}$ 'day' ( $< *m\bar{a}\vartheta ya$ - $^2$ ). Reg. the various forms of yaxio 'ashes' ( $<\bar{a}trya$ - $^2$ ), v. Voc. s v.

wulēyo 'span' < \*wi-dāti; <sup>3</sup> M frayingo, frayengo 'she-goat, 1 y.  $\ddot{u}$ -'old' < \*fragāmīkā-; Mm l'rē-gus 'sickle' < \*drāti- (?); Y päṇio: M pāng³o 'heel' < \*pāršni-.

158. Umlaut of ă seems to be regular in Pres. 3rd sg. before syncopated -ati. Thus Y nəvīt 'he takes out' < \*nibar(a)ti, but 1sg. nəvorum; M kēd 'he digs': 'kanəm; M xišk 'he pulls out': 'xašəm; M gi'yīt 'he passes': gi'yarəm. From stems in \*ā: M gi'yēt 'he lets pass': gi'yōrəm; Y lät, M lēt 'he has': lārəm, lōrəm; M wēft (Y waft) 'he weaves': wōfəm. Cf. also Y kīt, M kēd 'he does' < \*kunati: ke/ənəm. The umlaut possibly also took place in the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. Cf. § 167.

The majority of the exceptions are due to the neighbourhood of a labial. Thus M  $a\gamma d\bar{u}vd$  'dresses' (caus.); M  $\bar{u}v\bar{u}d$  'brings'  $(\bar{u}v\partial r\partial m)$ ; Y xut, M  $x\bar{u}t$  'eats'. In Y—M  $z\bar{u}t$  'he speaks' the double tt in  $(z\bar{u}ti <)*zatti <*jatati$  may have prevented the umlaut. But note also M  $y\bar{u}st$  'he carries':  $(y)\bar{u}s\partial m$ .

<sup>1</sup> Or \*wādi- as indicated by some of the forms in the Shgh. group.

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  As rendered probable by Sar. \* $m\bar{a}\vartheta$ .

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Čitrēyo 'Chitral', which is, however, a lw. of uncertain date.

<sup>4</sup> Y  $av\bar{\imath}t$  with  $\bar{\imath} < \bar{u}$ ? Cf. nəv $\bar{\imath}t$  above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> But  $x\bar{\imath}t$  'he buys'.

159. In several cases we find, especially in M, a palatal vowel in the preterite. Thus, e.g. Y aγdavd: Z aγdēvd 'dressed' (caus.); Y ava/εzd: Z avēzd 'brought'; Z, Mm kēd 'dug'; Y ləbad: Mt l²νεy, Mm l²νε̄d 'winnowed'; Mm nijašt: Z niješt 'showed'; Y vəzad, vzɛnd: Mm, t, Z v²zē(n)d 'knew'; Y waft: Mt, Z wēft 'wove', etc. It is possible that these formes have been influenced by ancient verbal nouns in -ti.¹

There are some traces of epenthesis caused by a following -aya-in present stems. Thus, e.g., Y uriz- 'to spread dung' (<\*ui-razaya-);  $r\bar{\imath}m$ -,  $r\bar{\imath}m$ - 'to please' ( $<*r\bar{\imath}maya$ -); Z  $st\bar{\imath}v$ -, but Mm, Y 'stōr- 'to sweep'; Z  $t\bar{\imath}u$ - 'to stir' (soup, etc.)  $<*t\bar{\imath}u$ -u-razaya- (?); M  $t\bar{\imath}z$ -,  $t\bar{\imath}z$ - 'to cut'  $<*t\bar{\imath}u$ -u-razaya-; Z u-r $\bar{\imath}m$ - 'to stand' <\*u-razamaya- (?). But most of these etymologies are doubtful, and we find no umlaut in  $l\bar{\imath}u$ - 'to have' and  $u\bar{\imath}u$ - 'to call'  $< d\bar{\imath}u$ -aya- and \*u-s-rauaya-. Cf., however, Parachi  $m\bar{\imath}v$ - 'to kill'  $<*m\bar{\imath}u$ -raya-, etc.<sup>2</sup>

- 160. It is impossible to decide whether r in Y mršč (M  $mvšk^y$ , etc.) u-' 'first' is due to umlaut or to the influence of šc (cf. above § 149). But most dialects have suvdo,  $sp^o$ ,  $si^o$  'shoulder', without any trace of umlaut. Likewise we find Y šino (Yg šuno): M šino 'vulva, au-' podex' < sraoni- and Y šinjo (Yr  $šu^o$ ): M šlino 'needle' < saučanī- (or  $*su^o$ ?), but  $l\bar{u}\dot{z}d$  'he milks',  $l\bar{u}rd$  'he flies' < \*raudati.—(y) $\bar{i}no$  'blood' and related words in other Ir. dialects present special difficulties, not altogether surprising in a word which may have been subject to taboo. But  $*wahuni > (w)\bar{u}ni > \bar{i}n$  seems possible.\(^3  $p\bar{i}ro$  'before' may be derived from paurvya- (\*prwya-) and reg. r-' pist 'he asks', cf. above.
- 161. Epenthesis of u, or u- umlaut, is comparatively rare in Ir.<sup>4</sup> The  $a^n$  only possible examples in Y—M are wulo 'wife'  $< va\delta \bar{u}$ -,  $urzu\gamma$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Henning, ZII, 9, 216: «Auch ti-Bildungen mögen gelegentlich die Form des P.P.P. beeinflusst haben, wahrscheinlich bei [Turfan Phl.]  $\delta \beta ist$  'fiel herab'».

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> IIFL, I. p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Scarcely with Henning, ZII, 9, 226 \*win- < \*whūn- < \*wohún-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. the development in Swedish and E. Norw. where the *i*- umlaut is much more important than the *u*- umlaut.

'straight'  $< \partial r \partial z u + k a$ , and muryo 'ant'  $< *marwi- + k \tilde{a}$ . It should be remembered, however, that unstressed u was dropped at a very early date.

#### Accent and Contraction.

- 162. It is impossible to derive the present accentuation from any ancient system, either of the 'Vedic' or of the 'Latin' type. If we want to reconstruct the pre-Y—M accent, we must try to trace it from its effects on modern Y—M vocalism. But it is by no means certain that all vowel-changes due to stress date from the same period, or are even due to the same system of accentuation. Thus a and u have been elided at an early date in e.g. xun 'raven'  $< *xux \ddot{a}rana$ ,  $\gamma ar\gamma$  'heavy' < \*garuka, but quite recently, and owing to the modern accent, in 'lamdo  $< l\bar{o}mad\ddot{a}$  'hem';  $\bar{a}\gamma d$ - $< \bar{a}\gamma ud$  'to dress'. Reg. the interchange between stressed and unstressed initial vowels in certain words v. § 84.
- 163. The majority of Y—M words are of the accent types  $\stackrel{\smile}{\smile}$   $\stackrel{\smile}{\smile}$  and  $\stackrel{\smile}{\smile}$   $\stackrel{\smile}{\smile}$ .

Thus, e.g., with - : o'guščo 'finger' < an'guštā; ag'mīn 'honey' < \*anka'paina-; āyəst 'dressed' < \*ā'gusta-; ċšīr, čfūr '4' < ċa' $\vartheta$ uārō; dīr, yü'dūr 'other' < an'tūra-; dram 'inside' < \*anta'rahmi; ax'szn 'blue' < ax'šaēna-; uu'lēyo 'span' < \*wi'dāti (+ o); zəvīy 'tongue' < \*hiz'wāka-, etc.

 $\gamma u \bar{s} k \partial n$  'cow-dung' may be a remnant of the ancient type  $\dot{} = \dot{} \cup \dot{} = \dot{},^2$ 

¹ Or \*stā¹rakahya, ef. Orm. st∆r¹rak. V. § 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Parachi, IIFL, I, 32.

or perhaps more probably, the form may be due to the tendencies determining the vocalism of compounds. Orm. (3)skan warns us that we do not know all factors regulating Ir. accentuation.

164. Regarding the shortening of  $\bar{a}$  in ancient stems in  $-\bar{a}$ - and -akacf. § 145. In the case of -aka- it might be presumed that the
accentuation of the oblique -akahya had caused the shortening,<sup>2</sup>
but it is hardly probable that the f. suffix  $-\bar{a}$  normally carried the
stress. But cf. also in Psht. e.g.  $\dot{s}pa$  'night',  $ml\bar{a}$  'waist', sra f.
of  $s\bar{u}r$  'red', etc.

The opposition between  $ky \in m$ , kiyam 'who' (adj.) and  $k \ni d\bar{\iota}$  'who, which' (subst.), and between Y ' $\bar{\imath} \bar{\imath} l \bar{e}$ : M  $\bar{\imath} k \not = i$  'neck' is probably due to accent shift:  $kiyam < *ka \mid tamahya$  and  $k \ni d\bar{\iota} < *kand \ni y < *kad mag'i < *kata \mid makahya$ ;  $\bar{\imath} i \bar{l} \bar{e} < *u \mid \bar{\imath} adakah$  and  $\bar{\imath} k \not = i$  ' $u \mid \bar{\imath} adakah$  and  $\bar{\imath} k \not = i$  ' $u \mid \bar{\imath} adakahya$ .

With the secondary deplacement of accent in lamdo 'hem' and in  $\div a \gamma(u) d \partial m$  'I dress'  $< * \bar{a} \div g u n d \bar{a} m i$  mentioned above, cf. also ind 'so much'  $< * i manta - (?); \ av \div a n d 'hem' <math>< * abi - \div d \bar{a} m a n t a - (?); \ 'you go$  'flood'  $< * \bar{a} f v a n t a k \bar{a} - t$ 

Short a appears to have been more resisting against contraction than u. While -aka(hya) resulted in Y  $-\ddot{e}$ : M  $-\ddot{e}y$ , -uka- was contracted except after a group of consonants ( $v\bar{z}z\gamma < *b\bar{a}zuka$ -, but  $urzu\gamma < *zuka$ -).

165. The prefix upa- (and abi-, possibly also apa- and api-) appears in the forms av- (af-) and v(a)- (f-). It is possible that this double development is due to presence or absence of a secondary accent, but we cannot explain all the examples according to this rule without resorting to artificial and improbable constructions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Orm., IIFL, I, 327 and 360 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> § 162.

<sup>4</sup> kando 'plough share', prob. from Prs. kanand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 162, 175.

Cf., on the one hand,  $a v \bar{a}z \partial m$  'I fetch' (3rd sg.  $a v \bar{i}z d$ ) < \* $up \bar{a} z \bar{a}mi$ ; av | lasto 'sleeve' < \* $up a | dast \bar{a}$ ; av | zino 'first irrigation' < \* $up a | zay an \bar{a}$ ; av | zano 'ladle' < \* $up a | zaw an \bar{a}$  (?); Y  $| afs \in no$ , M  $| yuf se^u no$  'whetstone' < \* $abi | s \bar{a}ny \bar{a}$  (or \*up a-, \* $\bar{a}bi$ -?);  $aw | l \bar{a}n$  'bridle' < \* $| abi | d \bar{a}na$ -; | af | siny o 'ladder' < \*| up a | sri | sin |

But several of the derivations tentatively suggested above are quite hypothetical.  $av\gamma u\check{s}$  'lap' cannot be fitted into the rule without assuming an original form \* $upa'k\bar{a}\dot{s}\dot{s}a$ -, and fsidro 'spring' < \* $upas\bar{a}rad\bar{a}$ -(?) remains altogether unexplained.¹ The theory cannot therefore be proved.

166. Initial unstressed *i*- has been dropped in  $l^2ro\gamma o$  'clear sky'  $< *idrak\bar{a}_-$ .

But also a is frequently contracted before the accent. Thus, e.g.:  $\dot{c}\dot{s}\bar{i}r$  '4',  $pl\bar{a}r$ - 'to sell';  $prasilan\ddot{e}$  'lamb, one y. old'. And initial (h)a- is lost in  $\check{z}a$  'from'; zo 'I';  $t\bar{i}$ - 'to enter'; max 'we' yo 'this', just as well as u- in sko 'on',  $\dot{s}il\ddot{e}$  'neck'.

I am unable to explain the reason for the different treatment of (h)an, (h)am in Y  $d\bar{\imath}r$  and M  $yud\bar{\imath}ur$  'other', and in the verbs  $di\dot{s}$ - 'to think';  $d\bar{\imath}z$ - 'to bury';  $bax\dot{s}$ - 'to divide';  $g\bar{\imath}y$ - 'to knead' as compared with the nouns  $abr\bar{\imath}u$  'pear';  $ab\bar{\imath}ya$  'moraine';  $agung^y$  'dough';  $hadam\bar{\imath}$  'limb', etc.

167. The accentuation of the present tense may be explained in the following manner:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The same is the case with Psht. psarlai < \*upasaradaka-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. Reg. što 'said' ef. § 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gen. amax, cf. § 204.

Yzh

1st sg.  $ke'n\bar{e}m < *k\partial'n\bar{e}m < *ku'n\bar{a}'m < *ku'n\bar{a}mi$ 2nd »  $ken\bar{e} < *k\partial'n\bar{e} < *kunai < *kunahi$ 3rd »  $kit < *k\bar{i}nt < *ku'nt < *ku'nt < *ku'nati$ 1st Pl.  $ke'nam < *k\partial'n\bar{a}m < *ku'n\bar{a}m < *ku'n\bar{a}mah$ 3rd »  $ke'net < *k\partial'n\bar{e}nt < *ku'na'nt < *ku'nanti$ 

Similarly, e.g.: \*nipa dāmi > \*nivlēm > nīlvəm; but \*nipadati >  $niv\bar{e}ld > n\bar{u}ld$ , etc.

Cf. Konow's reconstruction of the development in Saka.1

### Ancient Final Consonants and Vowels.

168. The only Y—M words which may go back to forms in final consonants (other than nom. -h and acc. -m) are sko 'on' < uskāt, uxšo 'six' < xšvaš; 2 zo < azəm, and possibly yo < aētat (and aēša), etc.

All short vowels (including masc. nom. sg. in -ah,  $-\bar{b}$ ) are dropped, the only exceptions being bisyllabic words which have become oxytones at an early date: zo 'I', yo, mo 'this' and possibly  $v\bar{\imath}o$  'was'.  $z\bar{\imath}a$  'from' and lo 'with' may rest on forms in  $-\bar{a}$ . Likewise  $-\bar{a}vdo$  '7'  $<*haft\bar{a}$  with  $-\bar{a}$  from  $*aht\bar{a}$ . Cf. Psht.  $\bar{o}w\bar{\partial}$ , at $\bar{\partial}$ .

Final  $-\bar{a}$  normally remains as -o or -a. But vrai 'brother', zamai 'son-in-law', lad 'tooth indicate an early shortening of  $-\bar{a}$  in masculines.

In Pres. 2 sg.  $-\ddot{e}$  goes back to -ahi, cf. also 3 sg. -e,  $-\ddot{i} < -ayati$ . Reg.  $-\ddot{e}$ ,  $-\ddot{i}y < -aka(hya)$  and plurals in  $-\ddot{e} < *-\ddot{a}h$ , cf. §§ 182, 198.

#### Prothetic Vowels.

- 169. An unexplained prothetic vowel appears in Y akadë, etc. 'thorn, bramble': Sgl.  $kand\bar{a}k$  and in anaxno, etc. 'nail'. The existence of a prefix  $\bar{a}$  in these words is conceivable, but not probable.
  - <sup>1</sup> NTS, VII, p. 41.
  - <sup>2</sup> Not with Gauthiot < \*xśwaša.
  - <sup>2</sup> Acc. to Tedesco, ZII, IV, 156.

# Relative Chronology of Sound-Changes.

- 170. There is no material available which enables us to date the various stages in the phonetic development of Y—M. But it seems possible, at any rate in some instances, to establish the chronological sequence between different sound-changes. A number of such cases have been mentioned above, but it may be useful to give here a synoptical review of the more important ones.
- 171. 1) The transition of b, d,  $g > \beta$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\gamma$  and of ft, xt into vd,  $\gamma d$  are pre-Y—M, and probably common E.Ir.
  - 2) rst, ršt must have become \*št before št changed into  $šk^y$ , etc. (cf. § 110).
  - 3)  $\dot{s}ta/o$  'said'  $< *\dot{z}asta$  is later than  $\dot{s}t > \dot{s}k^y$ .
  - 4) str became  $\check{s}$ , and  $-\check{s}at$  was syncopated, before  $\check{s}t$  became  $\check{s}k^y$  (cf. Y uščeno, §§ 105, 110).
  - 5) sr became s before the syncope took place in  $y\bar{u}$  sk 'tear' < \*asruka-.
  - 6) k > g before  $g > \gamma$  in Y etc., the partial change of ng > g being still later.
  - 7) Syncope of nat (e.g. in  $w\bar{\imath}t$  'sees', § 118), and of rat, rit (e.g. in  $x\bar{\imath}t$  'eats',  $z\bar{\imath}t$  'yellow', § 125) into \*yt, yt (from which t) before sonorization of intervocalic t, but after change of ancient rt into \*rd (from which \*d > r > M r).

But after an occlusive the contraction has been delayed, evidently in order to avoid the development of a heavy group of consonants. Thus e.g. \* $\delta au\check{c}ati$  'milks' > \* $\delta \check{o}\check{c}^a t$  > \* $\delta \check{o}\check{c}^a d$  \* \* $\delta \check{o}\check{c}^a d$ 

¹ The relative chronology in Saka is quite different. Cf. Saka Studies, p. 27 (pīttä 'falls' < \*padati, but hvīḍā 'eats' < \*hwarati, and pasūste 'burns' < \*pati-saučatai, etc.).

- 8)  $\delta > l$ , and possibly  $r\delta > l$ , after  $\delta w > \delta v > d^2v$ , and  $\delta r > \delta^2 r$ , but before syncope of  $r \delta$ , from which \* $\delta r$  (cf. § 127).
- 9) Syncope of  $hi\delta > h\delta$ , from which  $\vartheta$ , before  $\delta > l$  (8), and  $\vartheta > \check{x}$ .
- 10)  $a\vartheta r > ahr$  (from which  $\tilde{a}r$ ) before  $\vartheta > \check{x}$ .
- 11)  $ahr > \bar{a}r$ ,  $aha > \bar{a}$ ,  $arn > \bar{a}n$  before  $\bar{a} > \dot{\bar{a}} > \bar{b}$  (cf. § 143).
- 12) Possibly - $\dot{r}\dot{s}$ -> \*- $\dot{s}$  before - $\dot{s}$ -> - $\dot{z}$  (cf. §§ 74, 151), and metathesis of \* $rai\dot{z}a$ >>  $yar\dot{z}o$  'beard' before - $\dot{z}$ -> -y-.
- 13) Prefixed  $ha\check{c}a > \check{c}a$  (§ 50) and ati > ti- (§ 46) before  $-\check{c}$ -, -t-  $-\check{z}$ -, \*-d-. But loss of initial vowel in  $\dot{z}a$  after  $-\check{c}$   $\dot{z}$  (cf. § 50).
- 14)  $xn > \gamma n$  before xan > xn (cf. § 96).
- 15)  $x \tilde{s} m$ ,  $x \tilde{s} n > \tilde{z} m$ ,  $\tilde{z} n > z$ , m, n before nasal influenced preceding a (cf. § 139).
- 16)  $r \tilde{s} n$ , r z n, r n > n (§§ 130, 133) before secondary r n > n (§ 133) and r d n > r n.
- 17) rn-t > nt before  $nt > nk^y$  (> Y  $k^y$ ) cf. §§ 62, 132.
- 18) m-d > nd before nd > d (§ 119).
- 19) mr > mbr before mb > b (§ 120).
- 20)  $nd > ng^y > g^y$  (§ 121) before M  $n > n^{gy}$ .
- 21) Prothesis of y- before  $\bar{a} > \bar{o} > \bar{u}$  (e.g.  $y\bar{u}r$  'fire', § 144).

In the following table the chronological sequence runs from the left to the right. Phonetic changes which are approximately of the same age, are put in the same vertical column. The sign  $\parallel$  has been employed to separate two series of changes, which in order to save space have been placed on the same line, but which are not connected with each other.

172. Synoptic Table of the Relative Chronology of Y-M Sound-Changes.

2) st > M sk $^y$  > Y sč; 3) \*zasta > \*zsta, šta M < (02) $\begin{array}{c} yg \\ nd \\ \vee d \\ mb \\ \vee b \end{array}$ g > Y  $\gamma$  18) md > nd, > M  $r \parallel 19$ ) mr > mbr $\parallel 20 \rangle \ \dot{n}\dot{q} > \eta g^y$  $\ddot{a} > \ddot{a} > y\ddot{a} - > y\ddot{a} - > y\ddot{a}$   $\left. \begin{array}{c} \dot{a} > 3\ddot{a} \\ \dot{a} > \ddot{a} \end{array} \right.$ 13) hařa->  $\dot{c}a$ - hařa >  $a\dot{z}a$ >  $\dot{z}a$ 13) ati-> ti- $\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\delta v} > \delta v > \delta^{2}v \\ \sqrt{\delta v} > \delta^{2}v \\ \sqrt{\delta^{2}v} > \delta^{2}v > \delta^{2}v \\ \sqrt{\delta^{2}v} > \delta^{2}v > \delta^{2}v > \delta^{2}v \end{array}$ 16) r s n > r z n > v16) r n > v16) r n > v16)  $r \cdot n > n$ 16)  $r \cdot n > n$ 12)

## MORPHOLOGY

#### Nonns.

### Stem-Formation.

## I. Primary Stems.

- 173. Ancient stems in -a are numerous in Y—M. As a matter of fact, most genuine Y—M nouns ending in a consonant go back to, or may go back to, stems in a. Thus, e.g. awlān 'bridle'; iščīn 'female breast'; fšarm 'shame'; γū(i) 'ear'; γūl 'thief'; γūδοm 'wheat'; γalv 'dog'; γīs 'goat's hair thread'; lum 'tail'; last 'arm'; mīγ 'cloud'; mer 'man'; nīf 'navel'; M pūngy 'feather'; pūr 'son'; piščan 'thigh'; rūγon 'ghee'; rūžen 'smoke-hole'; ron 'bottom'; wūi 'wind'; wuš 'grass'; xul 'perspiration'; xusur 'father-in-law'; xūbun 'sleep'; yōu 'grain'; yarš 'bear'; yasp 'horse'; zīt 'yellow', and past participles, such as kər, mur, etc. All of these words correspond to Av. stems in a. Also a number of other words lacking in Av. and Old Prs., are probably original a-stems. E.g. aspəlan 'stable'; lūi 'smoke'; surv 'hole'; yurzun 'millet'; zəvīγ 'tongue', and many others
- 174. Ancient t-stems are comparatively rare, and most of those surviving are feminines which have been enlarged with the secondary suffix -o. Unenlarged words are iż m. 'snake' < ażi-; γar m. 'stone, hill' < gairi-; mīšċ 'first' < mūšti-; γατεκ 'knot' < \*graθi-(?),¹ but scarcely wirż 'thread', v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 66, 156.

Enlarged  $\bar{\imath}$ -stems are: suvdo 'shoulder' < supti-;  $\bar{\imath}$ -zino 'vulva, podex' < sraoni-; wolo,  $w\bar{\imath}lo$  'irrigation-channel'  $< va\delta i$ -;  $\bar{\imath}$ -zina,  woman' < zina-zina, 'pisčo 'back' < paršti-; zina 'pourso 'juniper' < zina-zina-; zina-zina

muryo, məryika 'ant' < maurri-; frīyo 'flea' < \*fruŝi- (?); frayingo 'she-goat' < \*fragāmī(kā-).

maxšē 'fly' < maxšī- f.; hənadiy 'out of breath' < \*an-anti-; but yastē 'bone' probably < ast-, not -asti-. Note wīya m 'willow' < vaēti- f.

Cf. Psht.  $\S{na}$  'hip-bone';  $w\bar{a}la$  'irrigation-channel';  $w\bar{i}na$  'blood';  $\S{\partial}ja$  'woman'  $< *str\check{i}\check{c}i + \hat{a}$ , etc.

- 175. Ancient stems in  $\bar{u}$  are:  $\bar{s}\bar{u}$  'horn'  $< sr\bar{u}$ -; wulo 'wife'  $< va\delta\bar{u}$ -,  $x^u\bar{s}o$  'mother-in-law'  $< *hwasr\bar{u} + \bar{a}$ ; cf.  $vr\bar{\imath}\gamma o$  'eyebrows'. In most cases -ka has been added at an early date, and u has been elided after a single consonant. Thus:  $urzu\gamma$  'straight'  $< \bar{\sigma}r\bar{\sigma}zu$ -;  $\gamma ar\gamma$  'heavy' < gouru-;  $ya\bar{s}k$  'tear'  $< asr\bar{u}^o$ ;  $z\bar{\imath}k$  'knee'  $< z\bar{u}nu$ -;  $v\bar{\imath}z\gamma(a)$  'upper arm'  $< b\bar{a}zu$ -; yuvg 'arrow'  $< i\bar{s}u$ -;  $p\bar{\sigma}r\bar{\sigma}zv\bar{\sigma}$  'rib' (pl.?)  $< p\bar{\sigma}r\bar{\sigma}su$ -. Probably also:  $par\gamma$  'mouse' < \*paru-;  $Id\bar{\sigma}\gamma$ , Yidg < \*Hindu-ka-;  $url\gamma$  'feast' < \*vadu-(?);  $\gamma\bar{\imath}k$  'penis'  $< *g_{\bar{\imath}}\bar{s}nu$ -. But  $y\bar{\imath}ya$  'bridge'  $< ha\bar{e}tu$  seems to have -a added at a comparatively recent date.
- 176. Ancient stems in diphthongs are  $\gamma avo$  'cow' and possibly also  $\dot{z}\bar{u}(u)$ ,  $\dot{z}u\bar{g}$  'leather' (<\*)au-ka-?).

Vrai 'brother' and zamai 'son-in-law', are ancient nominatives of r-stems, with \*-ah instead of  $-\bar{a}$ , which looked like a feminine ending. To this group has also been added  $y\bar{u}i$  'husband's brother'.  $l \partial \gamma do$  'daughter' goes back to  $dug \partial d\bar{a}$ ,  $du\gamma da$  (or  $*duxt\bar{a}$ ), and similarly  $ix\bar{o}$  'sister' may be derived from  $<*(y)ahw\bar{a}<*hahw\bar{a}<*hahw\bar{a}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Or, with Psht. mač, meć m., < \*maxši-(2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 149.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.

 $y\bar{u}r$ ,  $y\bar{u}r$  'fire' point to a secondary stem \* $\bar{a}rta$ -, and also  $l^2vor$  'door' may have become thematic at a very early date.

cam 'eye';  $p\bar{a}m$  'wool',  $tu\gamma^u m$  'grain' are ancient neutral nominatives of stems in n. Probably also lad 'tooth' goes back to \*dantah (<\*dantā, v. § 108).  $l\bar{a}mo$  'village' may rest on the pl.  $d\bar{a}man$ ;  $l\bar{o}mago$  'snare' and šinamio 'girl' (<  $str\bar{i}$ - $n\bar{a}man$ -) have had secondary suffixes added to the original n stem, and  $\gamma \bar{u}sk \partial n$  'cow dung' is derived from a thematic \* $\sigma$ sakana-. Note  $y\bar{e}\gamma\partial n$  'liver' < \*yaxnya-, a form based on the oblique stem.

The small number of nouns which go back to stems in other consonants than r and n have probably become thematic at an early date. Cf. wor 'oath' < varah-;  $sp\bar{u}o$  'louse'  $< spi\dot{s}$ ; zil heart'  $< z\partial r\partial d(aya)$ .

## II. Feminines in -o (-a).

- Ancient Ir. nom. fem. -ā (and acc. -ām) becomes Y, Mm -o; Mg, and occasionally Zar.² -å; G, Z, LSIm, Mti, (t), (sh), and occasionally g, -a; Mt palatal -a and M(g) -ä. Mg, (sh), ti and LSIm also have -e, -ε in a few words. Some of these forms may be plurals, thus e.g. Mg pālε, pāŋ³yε; Mti pālē, pāŋ²gye 'foot', 'heel', or Mti yīne, wōrfe: Mg yīnε, but worfo 'blood', 'snow'.³ But this explanation can hardly apply to e.g. Mg, sh yōwɛ 'cow', LSIm feske 'nose', yelke 'duck', etc., and we have to admit the existence of unexplained variants in these dialects of M.
- 178. Some of the words in -o/a correspond direct to Av. feminines in -ā. Thus: x³šovo 'night'; żīo 'bow-string'; γurvo 'throat'; xoro 'ass'; 'ŝkiro 'camel': Av. xŝapā-, jyā-, grīvā-, xarā-, uštrā-. In other cases, too, the -ā is probably ancient. Cf. sĕγio 'sand', vəzo 'she-goat'; riško 'nit'; tīro 'darkness'; yaržo 'beard' with Psht. s̄əga, wuza, riča, tyāra, žīra, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But pado 'road' < pantå is not an ancient stems in n.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Z's informants probably belonged to different villages.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psht. wine, wawre, pl. in common use.

sōro 'dung';  $\gamma avo$  'cow'; šino 'podex'; īno 'blood'; warfo 'snow' correspond to Av. sairya-; gav-; sraoni-;  $vohun\bar{\imath}$ -; vafra-, and zinio 'daughter-in-law' was originally a stem in -a-. But Psht. has  $sar\bar{u}$ , šna,  $w\bar{\imath}na$ ,  $w\bar{\imath}wra$  as fem., and Shgh.  $z\partial na\bar{z}$  goes back to \* $snus\bar{a}$ -. It is, of course, possible that in some cases the formation in - $\bar{u}$  has been made independently in the various dialects, and Y  $m\bar{u}o$  'sheep' < \* $mais\bar{a}$  differs not only from Av.  $ma\bar{e}s\bar{\imath}$ -, but also from Psht.  $m\bar{e}z$  (Shgh. maz is doubtful in this respect).

179. Forms in -0/a may of course denote the female animal (cf. Voc. s.vv.  $m\bar{u}o$ ,  $v^2zo$ , kirio). But in many cases the fem. form in -0 is epicene. Besides xoro and  $i\bar{s}kir\bar{o}$  mentioned above, we have also  $r\bar{u}so$  'fox';  $\bar{z}$   $kov\bar{z}o$  'pigeon';  $k^yun\gamma o$  'magpie';  $wof\bar{s}\bar{z}o$  'wasp';  $w\bar{u}ro$  'duck';  $xur\bar{u}so$  'weasel', etc.

The ā-stem is ancient in âmuno 'apple' (Psht. maṇa), and probably also in some other names of plants and fruits. But the use of the suffix -o/a has been extended to the majority of such words. V. Voc. s.vv. åbrūo; agɪdro; ογυzο; alǎno; imoyō; amaxno; âričo; irγογο; ašasto; axrīo; azīto, etc.

A separate f. form in -o of adjectives is still in use.3

180. Many Prs. lw.s in -a have been included among the Y—M words in -o/a. Thus, e.g. aftōvo 'bucket'; xarbuzo 'melon'; banafšo 'violet'; âino 'mirror'; amsāyo 'neighbour'; bīwo 'widow'; Y paisō (but Mm paisa) 'money'. This suffix has also been added to other lw s. E.g., rōγ(o) 'deodar' < Khow. rōγ; amburo 'pincers' < Prs. ambūr; qaċio 'scissors' < qaiċī. Note kuċīo 'street' < Prs. kūċa.

Also Psht. nžör, Bal. našār presuppose an earlier \*nušā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Lidén, Namn och Bygd, 19, 87 sq. about other epicene names of the fox, and Meillet BSL, 32, 7.—Note Mm škyuro f. and epicene: nar-škyur m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. § 195.

<sup>8 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

## Ancient Suffixes in k.

## III. Nouns in -y, -g.

181. The ancient suffix -ka remains as a velar after u, after original or secondary  $\bar{a}$  (Y  $z \partial v \bar{\imath} v$ , M  $z \partial v \bar{u}$  'tongue'  $< *hizw \bar{a}ka$ -;  $p \bar{\imath} v$  'onion'  $< *pit \bar{a}ka$ - (?);  $s \bar{\imath} v$  'hare'  $< *s \bar{a}k < *s \bar{a}haka$ ), after au and  $\bar{u}$  (' $st \bar{u} v$  'lock of hair'  $< *st \bar{u}ka$ -;  $c^2 rou v$  'markhor';  $z \bar{u}(g)$  'hide' < \*)auka-), and after a consonant (m Mti  $w \bar{\imath} lx : w \bar{\imath} lv$  'kidney'  $< v \partial r \partial t ka$ -). But this  $\gamma / g$  is not a productive suffix in Y—M, and from a synchronic point of view there is no difference between the  $\gamma$ 's e.g. in Y wurv 'wolf'; horv 'work';  $v \partial v$  'heavy';  $v \partial v$  'yoke';  $v \partial v$  'hare'.

## IV. Masculines in Y -ë, M -ïy.

182. A still living and productive suffix is Y -ē (-ə), Mm. g -ïy, t, (t) -iy, (g), ti, (sh) -i, Z -əy, G, -ė(y) < -akah.² Cf. the similar development in Psht.: Y stārē (Yr stārə), Mm, g stōrïy, t, (g) stōri(y), Z stōrəy: Psht. stōrai 'star'.

The suffix appears to be ancient in this word and also in feryāmə, frayomiy 'young he-goat': Psht. waryūmai; Mm nūwiy 'new': Psht. nawai, Sgl. nuwōk; M rūyei 'bowels': Prs. rūda; warē 'lamb': Psht. wrai, etc.; yastē 'bone': Sgl. ostōk, Sogd. 'stk; yārē 'flour': Shgh. yåuž), etc.

In a number of other genuine Y—M nouns and adjectives it is impossible to decide whether the suffix -ē/-iy is ancient or not. Thus, e.g.: mōxē, maxiy 'stick'; vrēri, v²rērəy 'brother's son'; yārmē 'foreleg', etc., corresponding to Shgh. mâv; Av. brātūirya-, Psht. wrārə; Prs. arm, etc.

This suffix serves to denote male animals, to form certain adjectives, and to derive secondary nouns, e.g. lastë 'handle' from last 'hand', and  $\gamma \bar{\imath} s \bar{e}$  'plaited bottom of a bed' from  $\gamma \bar{\imath} s$  'rope of goat's hair'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 148.

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  Or < \*-akahya? Cf. a < -akah (in mara, etc.), cf. § 186?

hadë 'slave' (\*han-taka-); M ābiy 'moraine' (\*ham-paiša-?) and M kaləy 'soot' (\*kata-dūta-?) do not belong here originally.

- 183. In many lw.s -ē/īy renders Prs. and Khow. -ī. Thus, e.g.: Y čugurē (M cik³rī) 'rhubarb'; cīnē, cīnī 'cup'; našpotīy 'pear'; pšānē (M pišânī) 'forehead'; xālē 'empty' from Prs.; acardīnē, oni 'wedge for fastening the plough-share'; calandurē 'window'; puīnē 'bellows'; vrazīdīnē 'pillow', etc. from Khow. Sometimes -ē varies with -ī. V. above, and cf. Y virzanē: M viznī 'pillow'; Y cīrē: Y, M cīrī 'apricot'; Y pargušcē, M par-guškyīy but also oškyī 'fingerring'.
- 184. A variation between -ē and -(y)a (<-yaka-?) occurs in: Y izē: M yijya, etc. 'goatskin bag'; Y γuvē: M γuvya 'wooden trough'; Y pɔzäxē, M pizäxiy: Z pizaxya 'male sheep'; but also Y muškoya: M muškayi, mɔškayi 'calf'.</p>

A double suffix, theoretically < \*ka-ka- appears in Y  $\ge una\gamma\bar{e}$  'small boy', and possibly in Z  $duna\gamma\partial y$  'distressed'.

## V. Nouns in -a (-o).

- 185. The apparently masc. suffix Y, Mm, Z, G, LSI -a: Mg, (g), t, ti -o (Z also -â) appears in the following groups of words.
  - 1) A number of words which have no variants without -a and no corresponding feminines:  $m\bar{\imath}ra$  'sun';  $v\bar{\imath}ra$  'burden';  $x\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}ra$  'milk';  $n\bar{\imath}ya$ ,  $p\bar{\imath}ya$  'sour milk'; vazda 'fat';  $l^*vaza$  'dough';  $f\bar{\imath}(y)a$  'shovel, shoulderblade'; izma 'firewood';  $w\bar{\imath}ya$  'willow';  $y\epsilon ya$  'bridge'. Probably also Mti  $niv\bar{\imath}lo$  'bedding' and  $n\bar{\imath}amyo$  'felt' are m.
  - 2) Names of animals, chiefly worms and insects: ustada 'spider'; Mg cal-kirmo 'an insect'; kac-kurma 'silk-worm'; Mm fusfesīya, yaspa 'locust'; karbəsa, etc. 'lizard'; kautīa, rawa 'butterfly'; xowiza 'bug'; mig<sup>y</sup>a 'ring-dove'; tažīa 'heron'.
  - 3) In a few cases I have noted m. forms in -a corresponding to f. forms in -o: vuza 'he-goat'; miya 'male oorial'.

<sup>1</sup> Mm maska, but Y masko 'butter'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 175.

4) The majority of words in -a are derived from still surviving forms without this suffix. In many cases the addition of -a does not seem to change the meaning of the word, but the suffix may perhaps have a diminutive force. Cf. Voc. s.vv. ἀbūya (ābīy); iščīn (yīškyuna); bubuka, būγa (bāγ); c²kena; čula; čana; maška; nif (nūfa); nowīsa; mara, mɛṛ; rūγ²n (rūγna); surv(a); tōlo; taya; vīzγa; wulγa; wāzd (wazda).

But note on the other hand: åyurya 'scrotum': åyury 'egg'; ilīra 'calf of the leg': ilīr 'belly'; ustada 'spider': ustāt 'carpenter' (\*'weawer'?); mišča 'sheaf of corn': mišč 'fist'; pukara 'leather strap of pellet-bow': p²korē, pukōr 'mouth'; yūɛn polma 'lobe of the ear': polm 'soft'; pūsura 'part of the spinning-wheel': pusur 'head'; šfīna 'instep': šfīn 'comb'; yaspa 'locust': yasp 'horse'.

5) In lw.s Prs. -a is frequently rendered by Y -a. Thus: arra 'saw'; Yzh kāfīla (but Ysh kōfīlē) 'caravan'; mīwa 'fruit'; kūza 'jar'; qala 'fort'; Yg bāša (but Mm bāšo) 'falcon', etc. I have not found any rule for the rendering of Prs. -a with Y -a or -o.

186. It appears from Z's material that the numerous M lw.s from Prs words in -a(h), pl. -agān have stressed -a' and pl. -agi. Cf. Y pl. -aγē e.g. in miwaγē 'fruit-trees'; degazaγē 'fork of breech-loader' < Prs. \*dō-gaza.

According to Z, genuine M words and a few early lw.s in -a have stressed penultimate and pl. in  $-aki = Y - ak\bar{e}$  in  $a\gamma ur\gamma ak\bar{e}$  'testicles';  $wul'^1\gamma\bar{a}k\bar{\sigma}$  'kidneys'  $(wul^1\gamma a)$ .

M -'a has evidently been borrowed from Prs., and pl. -'agi, Y -a $\gamma \bar{e}$  has been formed on the pattern of Prs. -agān at a comparatively recent date, but before the change of -g->- $\gamma$ - in Y. Also -a: -aki, -akē has probably been borrowed, but at a much earlier date, when -k- was still preserved in Prs., but had already been sonorized in Y—M. The -k- of the pl. renders a derivation from a genuine pre-Y—M suffix -akah uncertain.

But note that the pl. of Y mara is marë, and of Z  $x\bar{u}r\partial ya$  'sister's son':  $x\bar{u}'rii$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 45.

#### VI. Nouns in -k.

187. A suffix -(e)k occurs in Prs. lw.s (e.g. xūk, pušāk, xurāk, etc) and as a secondary suffix in fərγōmček 'female calf, 1 y. old'; rīzaγak 'goats and sheep'; pə nek 'leaf'; poršik 'lip'; stunek 'throat'; kāriak 'yoke-peg'.

## VII. Nouns in -γo/go.

188. Anc. Ir.  $-ak\bar{a}$ , the f. equivalent of -akah survives in Y  $-\gamma o$ , M -go, -ga,  $-\gamma a$ . Cf. e.g. Y  $vr\bar{\imath}\gamma o$ , Mm  ${}^o go$ , Mg  ${}^o\gamma a$ , M(g)  ${}^o\gamma \ddot{a}$ , Mt  ${}^o\gamma a$ , Z, G  ${}^o ga$  'eyebrow'.

But words in  $-\gamma o$  are not now used as f. of masculines in  $-\ddot{e}$ , except in the case of Mm  $vr\bar{e}rigo$ ,  $xur\bar{i}go$  'brother's, sister's daughter':  $xur\bar{i}$ ,  $x\bar{u}r\partial ya$ ;  $vr\bar{e}ri$ ,  $v^{i}r\bar{e}r\partial y$  m., and perhaps Yg  $u\bar{v}r\gamma o$  'she-lamb, 1—2 y. old': Ysh  $w\Delta r\ddot{e}$  'male new-born lamb'.

Only a small number of words in  $-\gamma o$  have exact parallels in other Ir. languages. Examples are:  $n \ni m\bar{a}l\gamma o$  'salt': Psht.  $m\bar{a}lga$ ;  $s\bar{a}\gamma o$  'shade': Sogd. sy''k';  $wor\gamma o$  'quail': Phl vartak, Skr.  $vartak\bar{a}$ -;  $x\bar{u}\gamma o$  'fountain': Orm.  $x\bar{a}ko$ , and possibly  $y\dot{a}u\gamma o$  'water': Wkh. yupk (but Orm.  $w\bar{o}k$  is m.); poss.  $vr\bar{i}\gamma o$  'eyebrow': Oss.  $\ddot{a}rf\bar{i}g$ .

But also other words of this type may be ancient. E.g.  $fri\gamma o$  'flea'  $< *fru\dot{s}ik\bar{a}$ ;  $orun\gamma o$  'light'  $< *\bar{a}$ -raux $\bar{s}nak\bar{a}$ -;  $fra\gamma ingo$  'shegoat' < \*fra-g $\bar{a}m\bar{i}$ - $k\bar{a}$ ;  $l^2ro\gamma o$  'clear sky'  $< *idrak\bar{a}$ -;  $x\bar{i}r\gamma o$  'watermill';  $zevir\gamma o$  'birch-tree'. Note the adjectives  $st\bar{i}n\gamma o$  'supine';  $y\bar{u}\gamma o$  'one of several'.

As a secondary suffix we find -γο, -go in M bīwogo 'widow' < Prs. bīwa; piloγο, piōlega 'cup' < Prs. piyāla; tavdoγο 'n. of a tree' < Prs. \*tafta (?); maxmudiγο 'dagger', etc.

# VIII. Nouns in -ko (-iko).

189. The fem. suffix -ko (-ka) is common. Thus, e.g. Z yark'a 'small egg' (cf. s.v. åyury); M kužke 'hair'; Y padreško 'small wooden bowl'; prško 'cat'; poško 'tray'; toško 'adze'; yäžko, yälko 'duck';

zäžko 'child-bearing'; żinko 'woman'. This last-mentioned word is a derivative of M žina, but apart from that -ko does not seem to be productive any longer, and after surd consonants it may simply be a phonetic variant of -go.

The enlarged form -iko is still largely used to form diminutives, etc., from words in -o. Only a few examples of this numerous group can be given here: oguščiko 'finger' (oguščo); luydiko 'daughter'; mīryiko 'meadow'; xūyiko 'spring'; suvdiko 'end of a bow' (suvdo 'shoulder'); wēliko 'small irrigation-channel', etc., etc.

From words in - $\gamma o$ , -ko are formed deminutives in - $\gamma iko$ , -kiko. Thus, e.g.:  $p \partial l \bar{o} \gamma iko$  'small cup';  $w \ddot{a} r \gamma iko$  'lamb';  $\dot{z} i \eta kiko$  'woman';  $f \bar{v} \gamma iko$  'small spade';  $posti \gamma iki$  (pl.?) 'bark of a tree', either from unrecorded or disappeared forms \* $f \bar{v} \gamma o$ , \* $p \bar{o} s t i \gamma o$ , or direct from forms in -o.

## IX. Nouns in -ya, -ga.

190. The masc. suffix Y -γa, M -ga, -γo, theoretically from \*-kaka-(cf. Psht. -gai, etc.) is comparatively rare and includes forms of different origin.

In Y: vīzγa 'upper arm' (in reality vīzγ + a); təplāγa 'drum'; stūγa 'throat'; kitaγa 'almond' (Kafiri lw.); šafšīγā(n) 'armpit'. In M we find čānογο m. 'male kid, one year old' (čano 'new-born kid'); čūžīογο m. 'chicken' (čużiya f.); fräγōmiογο 'he-goat, one year old' (fraγοmīy); juānογο 'male calf, one to two years old' (juûna); wəryoγο 'male lamb' (worya); zingyigo 'small boy' (Y žunaγē). In Mm -ga has been added to lw.s in aftōvaga 'bucket'; amsāyaga 'neighbour'; fâxtaga 'dove'.

Mg  $k\hat{a}\gamma\partial ko$  'throat' (interior) corresponds to Sogd.  $k'\gamma k$  'palate', but the k cannot be direct derived from ancient -k.

Regarding the fem. suffix M  $-g\mathring{a}g\mathring{a}$  (of masculine participles in  $-g\mathring{a}$ ) cf. Z p. 122.

#### X. Nouns in -î.

191. As mentioned above, -ē/-īy has been substituted for -ī in most lw.s, but in recent borrowings -ī remains. Thus, e.g. from Khow.: ārdi 'middle of the floor'; piċilī 'n. of a plant'; madiri 'hem'; kiṭorī 'dried mulberries', etc. From Prs.: Y naharī 'breakfast'; M čarpoyī 'bed'.—čaulī 'stirrup'; kafċī 'hollow below sternum'; qīzagī 'bridle'; čōpī 'lie' are of Prs. origin, but the suffix seems to have been added in Y—M.

Also some genuine words end in -i: froi 'chip';  $f\check{s}a\bar{i}$  'out of breath';  $f\check{s}ii$  'very ripe and soft';  $par\dot{z}in\bar{i}$  'hedge';  $\dot{c}orom\bar{i}$  'the fourth (finger)'.

#### XI. Nouns in -x-.

192. Several Y—M words have preserved the ancient suffix  $-x\tilde{a}$ , but they do not form a group, and the suffix is not productive any longer.

Examples are: malax 'locust' (lw.?); mux 'month' (<\* $m\bar{a}haxa$ -); max 'peg' ( $m\bar{i}x$  'nail' < Prs.); uoxo 'root-fibre' (Prs.  $b\bar{e}x$ );  $r\bar{o}x$ ' 'cheek' (lw.?);  $x\bar{a}xo$  'thistle' (\* $x\bar{a}ra$ - $x\bar{a}$ -?);  $psn\ddot{a}xko$  'eyelashes' (\* $pa\dot{s}naxa$ -); selxiko 'sorrel'; Y  $al\bar{i}xa$  'ribs' (only MFB). Also amaxno 'sloe'; zaxmo 'field' and M zoyno 'chin' probably contain an ancient  $x\bar{a}$ .¹ But awarxo 'flame' goes back to  $urr\bar{a}xra$ -, and Y corox 'spark'; nax 'floor' are probably lw.s. krox 'scab' may be an adaptation of Khow.  $kol\bar{u}k$ , and in bandox 'a kind of handmill' an Ir. suffix has been added to a stem which must be of IA. origin.

# XII. Nouns with Other Suffixes.

193. Traces of an ending in -z appear in bayaz 'bleating', milyuz 'red clay'; cf. dorz-kuryuz 'weaver'; kiščyuz 'cultivator'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. donas, khânas, Pashai γānas 'bellowing'.

In  $\gamma admin$  'wheaten bread' and  $k\bar{o}sk\bar{i}n$  'barley bread' we find a suffix  $-\bar{i}n < -aina$ , which has also been transferred to  $arz \partial min$  (for \*arzanin) 'millet-bread' and  $ma\gamma mun$  'pea-bread'  $(mu\gamma o)$ .

# Noun-Inflexion.

#### The Article.

194. The numeral  $y\bar{u}$  'one' is sometimes used nearly in the sense of our indefinite article, but I do not think it would be correct to call it an article from the point of view of the Y—M linguistic system. E.g.  $y\bar{u}$  'ver noyor Mm 'a door appeared'; no  $y\bar{u}$  kua'tinen 'with a rich man'.

In Ysh  $\gamma urd$  wo maraken 'the man took it', etc. the function of wo approaches that of a definite article. Cf. wo  $\bar{a}dam$  'the man'; wo vira  $\gamma urah$  'seize the burden', etc.

### Gender.

195. Y—M is one of the few modern Ir. dialects which still preserve, at any rate to some extent, the ancient distinction between the masculine and the feminine.

In Y the f. of adjectives has a separate form, e.g. in  $x^u \check{s}uvdo$  f. 'sweet'; muro f. 'dead';  $z\bar{o}ro$  f. 'old'; Yzh  $umidv\bar{a}ro$  (but Ysh  $um\bar{u}dv\bar{a}r$ ) 'pregnant'; yauyo axleno  $\check{s}\bar{u}i$  'the water became cold'; mun wulo  $\check{s}iloxo$   $\check{s}\bar{u}i$  'my wife became destitute'; Yzh, sh  $usturo-gu\check{s}\check{c}o$ , Yg stro  $ogu\check{s}\check{c}iko$  'thumb'. For examples from M ef. Z, p. 125.

In Y adjectives in  $-\bar{e}$  do not change in the fem. Thus: Yp  $m\bar{e}r$   $yad\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{z}ingo$   $yad\bar{e}$  'the man, the woman is blind'; Yg malane  $ogu\dot{s}\dot{c}o$  (Yr malanogu $\dot{s}\dot{c}o$  = malan'  $og^o$  or malano ' $g^o\bar{e}$ ') 'middle finger'. But Mm malanigo  $\bar{a}gu\dot{s}k^yo$  (m. \*malaniy); M(t)  $y\bar{u}$  mär 'yandiy:  $\bar{z}injkika$  yan'diya; cf. Z  $y\bar{a}d\bar{e}y$  m.:  $y\bar{a}diga$  f., etc., v. Z pp. 122 sqq.

In the past tense no distinction is made in Y. Thus Ysh  $y\bar{u}$   $ak\bar{a}bur$   $ni\bar{u}sto$  'an old man was sitting':  $\dot{z}inkiko$   $ni\bar{u}sto$  'a woman was sitting';  $v\bar{\imath}o$  m., f. 'was', etc. Regarding the situation in M ef. Z p. 125.

In the nouns the ancient suffixes denoting gender are still in use. Thus we find Y—M nar-kirë 'cock', but kirio 'hen'; nowis, nowisa 'nephew', 'grandson', but nowoso, nowasiko, 'niece' etc.; Y 'ida m.: idiko f. 'slave'; warë m., but wōryo f. 'lamb'. But it is worthy of notice that the pairs mīya: mīyo 'male and female oorial; vuza: vuzo 'he- and she-goat'; frayomīy: frayingo 'male and female kid'; xurī: xurīgo 'sister's son and daughter'; vrēri: vrērigo 'brother's son and daughter' have only been found in M. The corresponding Y forms are: frayāmo or narboz: vozo; nar can: pran jīo. while no'wīsa: nowasiko are used both for 'grandchild' and for 'nephew', 'niece'.'

Evidently the feeling for grammatical gender has been weakened in Y, possibly under the influence of Khow. In Sgl. the development has proceeded still further, and the only traces left of the ancient distinction are the suffixes denoting males and females of a few animals.

### Number.

196. The pl. suffix is normally -ë, ž in Y and -ī in M.

Thus from stems in consonants: Y yaspë 'horses'; kāriakë 'yokepegs'; ādamë 'men'; pūrë 'sons'; yaškë 'tears'; ladɛ 'teeth'; Idyē 'Yidghas'; zəmonɛ 'children'; livdani (Yp) 'fireplaces'; šilaxɛ 'naked'; Mm âdami, pūri, lodi, Yīdəgī, čārwoyi 'cattle'; Mg nāršī 'songs'; Mt miži 'days'; Mti wīlye, (wīlx) 'kidneys'.

From stems in Y  $-\bar{e}$ , M  $-\bar{i}y$ , etc.: Y  $st\bar{a}ri$  'stars';  $ru\bar{i}$  'bowels'; larzi 'sheaf' (pl. of  $larz\bar{e}$  'sheaf-band');  $max\dot{s}e^{i\bar{i}}$  'mosquitoes';  $\dot{c}api\bar{i}$  'door-frame'. M(g)  $stori\bar{i}$ , t  $story\bar{i}$ ;  $r\bar{u}$ ' $i\bar{i}$  'bowels' (Mm  $r\bar{u}y\bar{i}y$  sg). Ysh  $wari\bar{a}n$  'lambs' (wa' $r\bar{e}$ ) is probably a persianized, incorrect form.

From f. stems in Y -o: Y ləydē 'daughters'; wulë (Ysh wuli avəzde 'brought wives'); coguli 'hoofs'; agmīn-kurmīki 'bees'; spūū (?) 'lice' (sg. spūo); niāsti 'sitting' (f. pl.). M luydi; asosti 'shrubs'.

From stems in Y -a: Y marë 'men'; muško ī 'calves' (muško ya);

<sup>1</sup> Yr employed nuwoso both for the m. and for the f.

šināmiī 'girls' (šinamia). Regarding Y mīwayē 'fruit-trees'; MZ wīyaki 'willows', etc. cf. above § 186.

From stems in -i: Y  $\dot{c}aulii$  'stirrups'; M Munjiyi 'Munjis' (Munji). From stems in -ai, -oi: Ysh  $k^y\ddot{a}yi$ , Yr, Bidd.  $ky\bar{e}i$ , M kyai, Mg  $ky\ddot{a}yi$  'houses'; Mg  $v^{o}roi$  'brothers' (sg.  $v^{o}roi$ ).

197. After numerals we find the sg. in certain phrases. Thus: Y cīr mix, M xirāi mix 'four, three days'. But M yu cad mīxi 'some days'; Y cīr wulē 'four wives'; loh (xiroi) pūrē 'two (three) sons'; M lu luydi 'two daughters'; Y hazār rupāyī (and rupāyo) 'one thousand rupees'. The sg. forms cannot have a purely phonetic explanation, as is the case in Prs., but must either be due to influence from Prs, or to general syntactical tendencies common to many languages. LSIy gives mer and ādam 'men' as pl. forms.

Note Z marduman stat 'people said' with the collective subject in sg. and the verb in pl.

198. Tedesco<sup>2</sup> derives the pl. suffix  $-\bar{e}$ , etc., from  $-\bar{a}h$  and, as far as Y—M is concerned, I believe he is right. It might be argued that if f. sg.  $-\bar{a}$  and f. pl.  $-\bar{a}h$  both resulted in Y -o, the pl. of ancient stems in  $i^3$  could be extended to the stems in  $\bar{a}$ , in order to establish a clear distinction between sg. and pl. Thus:

Sg. \* $vuz\bar{a}$  \* $suvd + \bar{a}$  changed into vuzo suvdo Pl. \* $vuz\bar{a}$  \* $suvd\bar{e}$  changed into  $vuz\bar{e}$  suvd $\bar{e}$ .

It might also be possible to derive the pl. of ancient stems in -aka-from \*- $ak\bar{a}h$  (> \* $\ddot{a}yo$ >  $e\bar{i}$ ,  $i\bar{i}$ ) without assuming a change of  $-\bar{a}h$ >- $\bar{e}$ .

But it is difficult to see how the type  $p\bar{u}r\bar{e}$  can be explained, except as a direct phonetic outcome of  $pu\partial r\bar{a}h$ . There would have been no reason to substitute the pl. of the rare masc. *i*-stems for a phonetically developed form  $p\bar{u}r\bar{a} > y$ 

If we accept Tedesco's theory we must, however, give up the derivation of Y pado 'road' direct from \*pantāh (Av. pantā), and we cannot explain warfo 'snow' as an ancient plural.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ZII, IV, p. 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Which were often transferred into the  $\bar{a}$ -group, cf. above § 174.

#### Case.

199. The Vocative is expressed by the particle Y äi, Z ē. Thus, e.g.: äi vrāī, äi pūrε; but äi luγdeo (?) 'O daughters'; äi Parvardigāra 'O Creator' (prob. from Prs.).

The suffix of the obl. sg. is Y - $\epsilon n$ , or, with vowel harmony, -an. Thus, e.g.:  $v \ni r a y \epsilon n$  'brother';  $\dot{\epsilon} i \bar{j} f \epsilon n$  'husband';  $m \bar{\epsilon} x \epsilon n$  'day';  $s \bar{a} h a r \epsilon n$  'desert';  $g a l a v \bar{a} n \epsilon n$  'cowherd';  $k i y \bar{\epsilon} n$ ,  $k y \bar{\epsilon} i n$  'house';  $d a r y \bar{a} h a n$  'river';  $p \bar{a} d \dot{s} \bar{a} a n$  'king';  $\dot{s} \bar{a} h a r a n$  'town'; l u r a r a n 'from a far';  $m i \dot{s} t \bar{\epsilon} r \bar{a} n$  'prince';  $M h \hat{a} d a m \epsilon n$  'man'. The only f. forms noted in Y are:  $\dot{z} i \eta k i k \bar{i}$  (= i n ?) 'woman';  $w u l \epsilon(n)$  'wife';  $\check{C} i t r \bar{a} y \bar{i}$ ,  $\check{C} i t r \bar{e} y e n$  'Chitral'. They do not suffice to decide whether Y distinguishes between obl. m. and f. as is the case in M according to Z.¹ LSIy gives loy d a 'daughter' as nom. and obl.

Regarding the derivation of the oblique from \*-aina cf. Tedesco, ZII, IV, p. 156.² Konow's objection ³ to a derivation of Khotan Saka -äna (Maral Bashi -ena) < \*-aina does not necessarily affect Y—M. But the vocalism and the difference between the m. and f. forms in M render Tedesco's derivation uncertain in details. The m. form might go back to \*-ana and the f. to \*-ina, based upon it and belonging originally to the stems in i.

The obl. pl. suffix is Y -∂f (-ef, af), M -af.<sup>4</sup> E.g. Y pūr∂f 'sons'; čīrief 'apricots'; zink∂f 'women'; Idgef 'Lutkoh', Hartef, Tuγakaf names of villages. The derivation < \*-abis 5 seems obvious.

An ancient gen. pl. has been preserved in Mm  $Y\bar{\imath}dy\bar{\imath}n$  'Lutkoh', cf. also  $Y\bar{\imath}dy\bar{\imath}n + r\bar{\imath}n$  'Yidgha'.  $Mun\bar{\jmath}n$  is a Prs. form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P 126, m. -an, f. ·in.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A different view is expressed by Z (p. 126), who compares the Shgh. loc. (or gen. abs.) in -and, Sar. -an.

<sup>3</sup> Saka Studies, p. 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Tedesco's -ew, -aw (l. c. p. 156) are miswritings or misprints.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Tedesco, 1, c.

# Composition.

200. Y—M possesses a number of ancient nominal compounds. Some of these contain ancient prefixes, such as  $\bar{a}$ , an, us, ham, abi, upa, pati, pari, parā, fra, hada, wi, etc. Thus, e.g.: årunyo 'light'; hənadīy 'out of breath'; usxūbun 'awake'; hadamə 'limb' and åbūya 'moraine'; avlāsto 'sleeve' and awlān 'bridle'; vəzäxo 'womb'; piščan 'thigh'; paržīn 'enclosure' and parguščë 'finger-ring'; prasāl 'last year'; feryāmə 'he-goat'; lomalen 'half-full'; wulēyo 'span'.

Other ancient compounds, regarding which see Voc. s.vv., are e.g.  $ag^im\bar{\imath}n$  'honey';  $u\ddot{s}\dot{c}eno$  'hay-stack';  $asp\bar{\imath}lan$  'stable';  $\gamma u\ddot{a}\dot{r}ik\ddot{e}$  'ear-ring';  $\ddot{s}inamia$  'girl';  $p\bar{\imath}st\ddot{a}n$  'udder'; yurzuyo (?) 'crushing-stone'; yursiliko 'shoe-string', etc.

Compounds of a more modern type are numerous, and new ones are constantly being formed. The principles of formation are similar to those found in other Ir. languages, and examples will easily be found in the Vocabulary.

Note the adverbs do-kučo 'out' and da-dram 'inside, in'. Also the type foskaf-surv 'nostril', lasten-bot 'wrist' must be considered as a kind of compound.

# Adjectives.

201. Regarding the inflexion of adjectives for gender and number cf. § 195.

Luro 'far, distant' appears to be inflexible: Yzh yo 'ādam lur'o, yäi 'ādame lu'ro; Mg wə kyäi ləre, wai kyäyī lə're. But luro is probably derived from the Av. abl. dūrāt.

I have come across no comparative or superlative forms, but the LSI. gives Y kemder 'younger', and M že yexa-iš sterder 'he is taller than his sister' (Y že wen ixa blend astet). I heard e.g. Y zo že-yen (žo-won) u stur 'I am bigger than he'; mən vərai žə tō vərayen ustūr.¹ Cf. also Bidd. eyen kugoren man kugor yašē astet ¹ Cf. § 217.

'my sword is better than his'; zo eyen tīz  $\gamma az \Delta m$  'I can run faster than he can' (without  $\check{z}o$ ).

The suffix -der is possibly borrowed from Prs. The genuine Y form may have been preserved in mistor 'mehtar, prince'.

## Numerals.

202. The typical forms of the numerals (for details see Voc. s.vv.) are:

	of broad roums or a	no namoram (ror actains soc
	$\mathbf{Yzh}$	$\mathbf{Mm}$
1.	$yar{u}$	$y\dot{ar{u}}$
2.	$lo^h$	lu
3.	$\check{x}^u$ roi	$\v{x}^{i}\cdot roi$
4.	č $\dot{s}$ ī $r$	$\grave{c}far{u}r$
5.	pānš (Ysh pānj)	ponž
6.	ux'šo	ox'so
7.	¹avdo	lovdo
8.	aščo	$^{phantom{s}k^{y}o}$
9.	nōu	nāu
10.	los	da
11.	$los y ar{u}$	yōzda (Mg)
	losilo	divōzda (Mg)
13.	$los \check{x}^{\iota} r \bar{a} i$	sêzda (Mg)
14.	$losi\grave{c}$ o $\check{s}\~{i}r$	corda (Mg)
15.		pōnzda (Mg)
16.		šōnzda (Mg)
17.		arda
18.		ažda (Mg)
19.		nūzda (Mg)
20.	wisto	bīst (G wīst)
30.	yū̃wistolos	$sar{\imath}~(s^{\dot{u}}ar{\imath})$
<b>40</b> .	lu'wist	čel
50.	luicisto los (Yr)	
60.	<i>x</i> <sup><i>u</i> </sup> roiwist (Yr)	
100.	pānžwist (Yr), yušon	r (Yg) sad
200.		00. azōr (Yp), hazār (Yzh)
	•	· -· ·

Apart from the fact that Y has preserved the genuine forms los and wisto, and that it has borrowed from, or been influenced by <sup>1</sup> Khow. in cases where M adopted Prs. forms, the differences between the two dialects are only of a phonetic nature.

It will be observed that Y and Mm distinguish as regards accentuation between  $ux \, \check{so}$ ,  $ox \, \check{so}$  '6' on the one hand, and avdo,  $a\check{s}\check{co}$  etc. on the other. This distinction is no doubt of ancient origin  $(ux)\check{so} < x\check{s}va\check{s}$ , and  $avdo < haft\bar{a}$ , with  $-\bar{a}$  from  $a\check{s}t\bar{a}$ ), but it has been obliterated in most M dialects. Thus e.g. M(sh) has  $ox)\check{so}$ , ov)do,  $os \, k^y\partial$ , with the same accentuation in all three numerals.

Ancient numerals are preserved in žirizen 'three days ago'; žirasāl 'two years ago' and in čurmo, pčūrma 'four days ago'. Cf. also s.v. čirgyīzen 'four days ago'. čoromī 'fourth' is probably a Prs. lw.

Other numeral forms to be noted are:  $y\bar{u}\gamma o$  'one of several';  $lohr\bar{\iota}n\check{\jmath}$  'double'; lohsaxo 'a period of two years' (cf.  $y\ddot{u}saxo$ );  $lu\ddot{u}ni$ ,  $lu\ddot{a}nek\ddot{e}$  (pl.) 'twins', and, possibly, Y aveli, Z 'aveliyi 'both' < ubaya duye (?).

### Pronouns.

## Personal Pronouns.

203.

1st Prs. Sg.

 $\mathbf{Y}$ 

Nom. zo zh, sh, g, p, zo sh, r, u, g. Obl., Gen. mon zh, sh, g, u, r, mun sh, u. Predic. Gen. mon-kăn zh, sh.

Acc. va men zh, ve men zh, r, vo (vo) men sh, vo mun u.

Dat. 'nā-mən zh, sh, 'nā-mun, -man sh. Abl. ża 'mun zh, żō, ża mən sh. Comit. 'lǎ-mən sh.

m 21 ---

za (zo?) m, zə t, zå, zə Z. mun, mun t, (t), mən Z. 'mə-kån, 'mənå Z.

 $\mathbf{M}$ 

və mən m, 'va-mən Z. nō-mən g, 'na-mən Z. żu mun m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The vigesimal system of Y is of Khow. origin.

## 1st Prs. Pl.

#### $\mathbf{Y}$

Nom. max zh, sh, māx g, r, mōx r.

Obl. māx g, r, mox r.

Gen. amax zh, sh, max sh (?)

Acc. va max zh.

Dat. 'nā-max zh, sh, na-, nə-max sh,

nomāx Bidd.

Abl.

#### $\mathbf{M}$

 $mox m, m\bar{o}x Z.$ 

'a-mõx Z. va-mõx Z.

 $n\bar{a}$ -moy (!) g, na-mox Z.  $\dot{z}a$ -mox m.

# 2nd Prs. Sg.

Nom. tu zh, sh, r, g, p, tə sh. Obl., Gen. tō zh, sh, g, r, u, ta zh (?), sh. Predic. Gen. ta-'kōn zh, sh, u. Acc. və 'to zh, r, g, vuto u, vto zh, u, g, fto sh.

Dat. 'nā-to zh, na-tŏ sh, r. Abl. 'ž-tō sh, (žo-to denied by zh). Comit. lo to r.

Adess. do to sh.

tu, tə m, Z. to, tə m, ta<sup>w</sup>, tå, tə Z. tə-kån, tə wå Z.

fto m, fta (t), ftə t, Z. na-to m, na-tå Z.

# 2nd Prs. Pl.

Nom. mấf zh, sh, r, g, mọf r.

Obl.  $m\bar{a}f$  g.

Gen. amaf zh, sh.

Predic. Gen. amaf kan zh, sh.

Acc. va maf zh.

Dat.  $n\bar{a}$ -maf zh, sh, na-, no-m $\bar{a}f$  sh.

Abl.

mof m, mốf Z.

 $^{1}a$ - $m\tilde{o}f$  Z.

a mõfå, ža-mõf Z.

vaha-mof (!) m, va-mof Z.

na-mof Z.

żā-, żaha-mof m.

204. The inflexion of the sg. of the Personal Pronouns is based on the two-case system <sup>1</sup> Thus  $zo < az \partial m$ ,  $m \partial n < mana$ ,  $tu < tv \bar{\partial} m$ <sup>1</sup> Cf. Gauthiot, MSL, XX, 61 sqq.

(or  $t\bar{u}$ );  $t\delta$ ,  $ta^{v} < tav\check{a}$ . (a)max < Old Prs. amāxam, with preservation of the initial vowel in the stressed, genitive form <sup>1</sup> ta, in ta- $k\check{a}n$  (LSIm to- $k\bar{a}n$ ), is probably a shortened form of  $t\delta$ . Cf. also Yzh zo  $v\partial$  ta gap  $\gamma\bar{u}$   $l\bar{a}r\partial m$  'I listen to thy word'.

The frequent phonetic coalescence of \*ahmāxam and \*(yu)smāxam in Ir. has caused an embarrasment from which the different dialects have extricated themselves in various ways. But in every case it is the 2nd pl. which has had to give way to the more frequently used 1st pl., just as it is the 2nd pl. termination of the verb which is changed in case of collision with the 3rd sg.<sup>2</sup> A neighbouring Dardic language, Kalasha, which constantly employs a copula with personal inflexion, tolerates a complete homogenity between the nominatives of the Pers. Pron. 1st and 2nd pl.<sup>3</sup> In the Pamir dialects, where the construction without a copula is very widely used, this would not be possible.

In Psht. and Orm. the distinction between the Pers. Pron. 1st and 2nd pl. has been effected through the introduction of an entirely different, possibly borrowed, stem for the 2nd pl.<sup>4</sup> Parachi has utilized a base \* $u\dot{s}\bar{a}$  which has become  $w\hat{a}$ , and Wkh. has completely remodelled the pl. of the Pers. Pronouns. In the Shgh. and Sgl.—Ishk. groups the 2nd pl. has been differentiated by the prefigation of ta-,  $t\bar{o}$ -, etc., taken over from the sg.<sup>7</sup> In Ishk. this has been deemed a sufficient distinction ( $mvx:t \rightarrow m o / vx$ ), but Sgl. has differentiated the vowels, too ( $amax:t \rightarrow mux$ ), and the obl. form of the 1st pl. is  $m \rightarrow \tilde{c}$ ,  $mi\dot{c} < *ahma\dot{c}iya$ -, while the nom. is used also as an obl. in the 2nd pl.

In Sar. there exists, according to Shaw and the LSI., an unexplained

<sup>1</sup> amaf has got its a- from amax.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Rep. on a lingu. miss. Afgh., 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Indian Linguistics, V, 361.

<sup>4</sup> tāsū, tus, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This explanation is preferable to that given IIFL, I, 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. Rep. Afgh., p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. IA. \*tuşma-.

difference of quantity between 1 pl.  $ma\dot{s}$  ( $<*ahma\dot{s}ya$ -), and 2 pl.  $tam\bar{a}\dot{s}$ , while Shgh. opposes  $m\bar{a}\dot{s}$  to  $tam\bar{a}$  ( $<*ta+\dot{s}m\bar{a}k$ ?).

Y—M agrees with W. Ir. dialects in employing neither the prefix t- in the 2nd pl., nor the adjective base in \*-i(i)ya- for the 1st pl. It utilizes the difference between the ancient gen. \* $m\bar{a}x < *ahm\bar{a}xam$  (and \*(yu)  $\dot{s}m\bar{a}xam$ ), and the instr. \* $m\bar{a}\beta < *ahm\bar{a}bi\dot{s}$ , etc., to distinguish the two persons. It is, of course, possible that a form  $m\bar{a}x$  (with -x from the 1st pl.) has never existed in pre. Y—M, but that \* $m\dot{a}\beta$  has been substituted for \* $m\bar{a}k$ .

The assignment of the form in  $-f < -\beta$  to the 2nd pl. was facilitated by the existence of a verbal ending (originally an enclitic pronoun) 2 pl. in -f < -r < -\*dw.

## Enclitic Personal Pronouns.

205. Regarding the possible employment of the aucient enclitic pronouns as verbal terminations see below § 231.

I have only come across a few cases of the use of real pronominal suffixes, and the examples are not all of them quite certain.

Thus: ażawuy-em  $t\bar{u}$ ,  $m\bar{o}z\bar{e}$ -em  $t\bar{u}$ ,  $dal\bar{e}$ -em tu Ysh 'thou createst me, thou killest me, thou givest me'; agar  $k\bar{o}i$  ke  $li\bar{e}$ -t,  $\gamma a \wr \bar{v}$ ,  $k\bar{o}i$  ke  $\ell e$   $\ell$ 

Other instances are: Mt dōam-et = zo ftə dōam 'I beat thee'; dōr  $p\bar{a}d\dot{s}\bar{a}an$  . . .  $k\bar{a}\gamma az$   $k\bar{a}\gamma o$ ,  $\dot{s}k\bar{a}\gamma on$  'another king wrote a letter and sent it to us'. But  $\dot{s}k\bar{a}\gamma on$  might be a nazalized form (cf.  $n\bar{a}$ -to  $\dot{s}k\bar{a}\gamma \bar{o}$  Ysh).

Mm wo auqût-is g'yask" 'guzarān-is šud' is a Persianism, cf. LSIm 2 sg. -it and 3 sg. -is from Prs.

¹ But Psht. mūnž < \*māš < \*ahmāšya-?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 231.

<sup>9 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

# Demonstrative Pronouns

206.

# "HIC" (Proximate).

Sg.

Y

 $\mathbf{M}$ 

 $m\hat{a}$  m, Z,  $m\hat{r}$  m, g, Z. man Z.

Gen. a man zh, a män zh, sh.

Nom. mổ zh, sh, u, mỏi sh.

Predic. Gen. a man kan zh, amän k. sh.

Acc. vəm zh, wum sh.

Obl. mon zh, u.

Dat. no-män zh, no (no) man sh.

Abl. ži-män zh, ž-im sh.

Locative dëm zh, dum u.

vum  $\mathbf{m}$ ,  $v\partial$ - $m(\hat{a})$   $\mathbf{Z}$ .

nu-man m, no-man Z.

żu-man m. żə-man Z.

Pl.

Nom.  $\begin{cases} mind & \text{zh, sh.} \\ mai & \text{zh, } m\ddot{a}i & \text{sh, } m^{\rho} & \text{g.} \end{cases}$ 

Obl. m 
otin f g.

Gen. a môf zh, a môf sh.

Predic. Gen. a məf kan zh, sh.

Acc. və-maf zh, vùmùv Bidd.

Dat ni məf zh, nə məf sh.

Abl. 30-möf sh.

myänd m, myend g.

mai m, g, Z.

maf Z.

vi-maf m.

Bi-maf m.

207.

# "ISTE" (Half Proximate).

Sg.

Y

Nom. yoʻzh, sh, g, yo sh.

Obl. yän sh.

Gen äyen zh, ayen sh.

Predic. Gen. a'yen kan zh, sh.

Acc. väi zh, vēī sh.

Dat. nä-yen zh, sh, nā-yen, ne en sh

Abl. że-yen zh, żen sh.

Adess. däi zh.

M

yå m, Z, yə Z.

yan Z.

vai m.

nə-yan m, nə-yan Z.

žä-yan m, ża-yan Z.

Pl.

Y

Nom. \\ \begin{aligned} \line{\text{ind }} \text{zh, } \ y\tilde{a}i \text{zh, } \ y\tilde{e}i \text{ sh, } \ y\text{e}h \text{ Bidd.} \\ \text{Obl. } \tilde{a}iyef \text{(?) } \text{sh.} \\ \text{Prodice Gore, } \text{aligned for } \text{kan } \text{the for } \text{in the following for } \text{in the fol

Predic. Gen.  $a y \varepsilon f kan zh$ ,  $\ddot{a} y \varepsilon f k$ . sh.

Acc.  $v\ddot{a}$ - $y\varepsilon f$  zh,  $v\dot{e}f$  sh.

Dat.  $n\ddot{a}$ - $y\varepsilon f$  zh, sh, ne-ef sh.

Abl. žēf sh.

M

yend m, yend, yənd g. yäi m, yai, dai Z. daf Z.

vä- yaf m.

žä-yaf m.

208.

"ILLE" (Remote).

Sg.

Y

Nom.  $w\bar{v}$  zh, sh, u.

Obl.  $w \ni n$  sh, u.

Gen.  $a'w \ni n$  sh.

Predic. Gen.  $a'w \ni n$  kan zh,  $aw \ni n$  k. sh.

Acc.  $v \bar{v} u$  zh, sh,  $w \bar{v} u$  sh, r.

Dat.  $na'w \ni n$  zh,  $na'w \ni n$ ,  $no'w \ni n$  sh,  $n \bar{v} n$  u.

Abl.  $\frac{1}{2}o'w \ni n$  zh,  $\frac{1}{2}o'w \ni n$  sh, u.

Adess.  $d \bar{v} u$  zh.

Pl.

M

wå m, Z, wə g, wa Z. wan Z (fem. win). a-wan Z.

võu m, vå-w(an) Z, vû<sup>w</sup> G. no-wan m, na-wan Z. žo-wan m, ½a-wan Z. dau LSIm.

wend m, wiyend g. wai m, g, Z. waf Z.

vo-waf m.

żo-waf m, Ba-waf Z.

The bases are as follows:

$\mathbf{S}\mathbf{g}$ .					Pl.					
Nom.	mo	yo	wo		{mai {mind	yäi vänd.ind	woi wond, wiyend			
Acc. Obl.	-m man	-(a)i yän	-(ō)u w∂n,	wan}	məf, maf		, ,			

These stems go back to respectively Av. ima-,  $a\bar{e}ta$ - $^1$  and Anc. Prs. ava-. An identical system of demonstratives is found in Sgl., which has am(a),  $a\delta(a)$ ,  $\bar{o}(a\bar{u})$ , (obl.  $\bar{i}m$ ,  $\bar{i}\delta$ ,  $y\bar{e}$ ), in Shgh. with yim, yid, yi (obl. me, de, me, etc.), and in Sogd. with mw,  $\gamma y\delta$ - $^2$  me (nom. me), but not in Yaghn. (with me), obl. me, me, or Wkh. The Yazgh. system ( $yuk < ay\bar{e}m$ , me) me duk me are me is of a similar but not identical structure, the ancient nom. surviving in the proximate demonstrative.

Mo goes back to \*i'mām, \*imat (cf. zo < azəm), and yo, wo are probably also original accusatives. The modern accusatives  $v \ni m$ ,  $v \ni a$  are probably ancient formations: \*upa imam, \*upa aitam, \*upa avam. Of the same type are dvm, etc. The derivation of the gen. 'prefix' a- is uncertain.

I have not come across any special fem. obl. form of wo, or any other trace of distinction of gender. But Zar. gives obl. masc. wan, fem. win.

The nom. plurals mai,  $y\ddot{a}i$ , woi are probably to be analysed as containing mo, etc. + the pl. ending -e. mind,  $y\ddot{a}nd$ ,  $w\partial nd$ , etc. recall Sgl.  $am\ddot{a}nd$ ,  $ad\ddot{a}nd$ ,  $aw\ddot{a}nd$  and also Sogd.  $wy\dot{s}nt$ , which Benveniste  $^{4}$  derives from  $ava\ddot{e}.\dot{s}\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}m + t$ . But the preservation of nd in this special case remains unexplained. The forms in nd are unknown

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Zar. s.vv.—Nom. yo might, of course, be derived from aēša, but this is not probable in view of the Sgl. forms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Gramm. Sogd., II, 122, but note  $\delta < t$ .

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wkh., Pronouns.

<sup>4</sup> Gramm. Sogd II, § 81.

to Z, G and the LSIm, and Mm first mentioned them, then denied their existence in M, but afterwards employed them, together with Mg, in his speech. I was not able to detect any difference of meaning or use between M mai and mind, except in so far as mai seemed to be the more usual form. Z gives dai, daf besides yai, yaf. These forms may go back to \*ta-, with early loss of the initial diphthong. Cf. § 48.

According to Ysh moi, yoi, woi are emphatic forms of mo, etc., and not plurals. Thus e.g., yoi kyäi sg. = yō kyäi, but yēi kyēi, yänd kyēy pl. Cf. also moy-a = 'hamī ast?' moi kōi-kān fərmā?' 'whose can this one be?'

Note the obl. Y maf, M maf, but Pers. Pron. 2nd pl. Y maf, M mof.

209. Yo and mo both correspond to Prs. in. Thus, e.g.: no-man ces yo, mo delum Ysh 'what shall I give this one (ba i)'; mo camin àuga Yu 'what kind of place is this (i stari àa)?'; yo kyei äyēn-kan Ysh 'i xāna az i st'; yo koi ādam Ysh 'i ki ādam ast?' yo cəs-mīn vira Ysh 'i či bār ast?'

But mo is used especially about quite near objects and persons: mo mind ādame nazdīk astet Ysh 'these men are near'; mo ādam, mäi (mind) ādame nazdīk Yzh; mə kyäi qarīb Mm 'this house is near'; myänd (mai) yaši, wai liwi Mm 'these are good, those are bad'; wum isa Ysh 'bring this one (which I have just given you)'; yo mara zukū, wäī pərsə . . . zo z-im kyeyen, mo kyei mən-kān Ysh 'from where is this man, ask him . . . I am from this (very) house, this house is mine'; yo mən sīfə . . . mō amaf tāt Ysh 'this is my husband, . . . this (very man is) your father'. Cf. also G yimsāl 'this year'.

Yo, on the other hand, may be used in sentences like yō ādam yo lu'ro, yāī ādamē lu'ro 'this man is (these men are) far away'. But usually it is applied to half-proximate objects. Cf. Zar., p. 180: 'указат. мест. для предметов среднего удаления.'

Wo usually corresponds to Prs.  $\bar{u}$  ( $\bar{a}n$ ). Thus, e.g.:  $l\bar{u}m$   $n\bar{o}n$  Yu wo Zar. Tot, Oh.

'I gave him' (ba  $\bar{u}$ ); n-ou mara kyɛin Ysh 'ba )ā-i- $\bar{u}$  mardek';  $\dot{z}$ īo  $w\bar{o}f$  'he beat them (unhara)';  $w\bar{o}u$   $\dot{c}$ -pərviayāf ' $\bar{u}$ ra na yāfta  $b\bar{u}d\bar{u}d$ ';  $b\bar{u}d$   $\dot{z}o$  wan Mm 'after that ( $b\bar{u}d$  az  $\bar{u}$ )'. Other examples of wo are: wənd  $\bar{u}d$ ame(n) l $\bar{u}$ ro astet Ysh 'these men are far off'; wo  $\bar{u}d$ am lu-ro Mm; wə ky $\bar{u}$ i lə r $\bar{v}$  Mg; yo mən ky $\bar{v}$ i, wo to ky $\bar{v}$ i Yzh 'this is my house, that is your house'.

Wo is also used as a Pers. Pron. E.g.: wo ruxsat sūi Ysh 'he took leave'; na'wən liō; līo no'wən 'he gave him'; wən (wo) 'sto, wōf istot 'he, they said'; səlo won Ysh 'ba pēs-i ū'; wōu lə'badəm Yr 'I winnowed it'; tu do'ōf xabar cesy-a? 'have you no news about them?' wo xap kər Yu 'he kept silent', but in a following passage: mo xap cī kīt? 'why does this man keep silent?'

Regarding the use of wo as a Definite Article, cf. § 194.

I never heard any Y form corresponding to Biddulph's 'hooroh' 'he, she, it' (remote). It is probably a lw. from Khow. horo, and does not seem to be in general use.

## Interrogative, Relative and Indefinite Pronouns.

210. Koi 'who?' (< kahyā) is used both as a subst. and as an adj.: kōi-ste Yu 'who art thou?' yo vīra kōi-kān Ysh 'whose burden is this?' na-koi ase tu? Yzh 'whom dost thou come for?' maf na-koi a'sef? But also yo koi ādam? Ysh 'what man is this?'

Koi is also an indefinite pronoun: vo koī Yr 'somebody' (kasira); agar kōi ke liē-t γašē 'if anybody gives thee (anything), it is well'.

 $K \partial di$  is used as a substantive:  $k \partial di$   $a \gamma oi$  'which one came?'  $k e d\bar{e} \cdot v \hat{a}$  LSIm 'any one'. But  $k y \partial m$  is an adjective:  $k y \partial m$   $\bar{a} dam$  'which man?' Regarding the phonetic development of these words v. §§ 47, 164.

Examples of ces 'what' are: to ces nām? to cis nām astet? tō nām cis mīn? Ysh 'what is thy name?' ya cos min vira? Ysh 'î či bār ast?' mun ces gu nā 'what is my fault?' cis ke nā-mun resī 'whatever I get'; no-man ces delum 'what shall I give him? ces ory ko në?—

ci (in ci ilā) kenem Yu 'what remedy shall I use?') is Prs. Regarding ce 'what?', če, ĉī 'why, what'; ĉē 'something' v. Voc. s.vv.

'How much, how big' is čamin: mo čo žava 'what kind of place is this  $(i \ \dot{s}tari \ (= \dot{c}i - tauri))\dot{a}_i?'$  is known Ysh 'ciko  $(= \dot{r}i \ qadr)$ kanam?'.

Regarding ind, mind 'so much'; ca(n)d 'how much'; Y čei, M istiva 'something' v. Voc. s.vv.

The relative particle ke, is borrowed from Prs.

Regarding the Reflexive Pronoun xoi v. Voc.

## Use of the Cases and Prepositions

211 The Nom. is used as a subject with intr. verbs and with trans. Nominative verbs in the Present. Thus: Yzh mə ādam vrī, mäi ādamë vrīct 'this man breaks, these men break': mo mara (žinkiko) uadė 'this man (woman) is blind'; mo 'adam nayan xut 'this man eats bread'; Yg me žiroi mere hor(y) kenet 'these three men are working' (cf. Ysh mind adamen hory ke nat); Ysh yo mun rerai astet 'this is my brother'; wo žinkiko da čatīr šūi 'the woman went into the tent'.

Note that the Pers. Pronouns are frequently used, even when no special stress is laid upon the subject. Thus, e.g. 1 Sg.: Y 20 wusiaday-əm 'I am hungry'; zo sabā oim 'I shall come to-morrow'; Mm zo org yikenum 'I am working', za fte duham (ze fte doam t) 'I beat thee'.—2 Sg.: tu wusiaday-ət 'thou art hungry'; tu võu de 'beat him'; tu cu žuī 'what dost thou say?' tu ces hor; kenë 'what work art thou doing?' M tu ista iyikuniy 'thou art doing something'.- 1 Pl. Y: max wusiaday-am; max hory ke'nam sh, max hor kə nem g, mö/ax ory kə nem r, M mox ory yikenam.—2 Pl. Y mâf wusiaday-əf; maf ces hory ke nef? M mof 'sti yikunef; mof male nižit 'sit down here'. In Ysh zo ż-īm kyeyen 'I (am) from this house' the pronoun replaces the copula.

<sup>1</sup> As is the case e.g. in kū ki tu šūyit zo asəm Ysh 'wherever you go' lit.. went), I shall go .

The Nominative is also sometimes used as a subject with transitive preterites.

Thus, e.g. Yu <code>inkiko</code> (kurmo) 'sto 'the woman (the grashopper) said'; galavān wazīr luydo do 'vyuš žio 'the cow-herd embraced the vizier's daughter'; Ysh dukandār yurd yū alāno 'the shopkeeper took a pome-granate'; agar Xədāi cu mašce vīi 'if God had not killed him'; LSIm kamder pūr šta, LSIy kemder pūr što 'the younger son said'.¹

With pronouns: Yzh zo (or mən) vto žīm (żīyəm viō) 'I (had) killed thee'; Yr zo na-to 'štom 'I said to thee'; Ysh zo muzdurə kuryum 'I have served'; tə na'yen xuryet-a 'hast thou eaten the food?' Mm tə və-mən žīet, Yr tū rə-mən žīit 'thou didst kill me'; Ysh wo alāno yurd 'he took the pome-granate'; Ysh, u wo (or wən) 'što 'he said'; Ysh yō və-mən žī-što 'he was beating me'; wo wulo što 'the wife said'; yō ādam nayan xu'ro 'this man ate bread'; Z wā žinka va-mən liškiqaqā 'that woman has seen me'.

As an adjective the demonstrative is always put in the nom. in Y: wo maraken isto 'the man said', etc. But Z gives both wå mēran 'this man' and man idakan 'this slave' as agents, cf. wå and waf lu vorōyaf 'these two brothers', etc.

But this construction with nom, and transitive preterite is no doubt of recent origin and due to Prs. and Khow, influence.<sup>2</sup>

212. Usually we find the subject of a transitive preterite put in the oblique case. Thus, e.g.: Ysh pādšān, žuwānen, maṇakā, dukandāre(n), žinkikī, akābv'ren 'što (etc.) 'the king, youth, man, shopkeeper, woman, old man said' (etc.); žinkikī . . . tərəft 'the woman stole'; zinīef pistet 'the daughters-in-law asked'; čes ke Xədāiyen līo 'whatever God gave'; Yu vo wulo vət galavānen 'the cowherd brought the wife'.

With Pers. Pronouns: Y mon vo-to ca'dīm 'I threw thee down'; mon ory ke'rom 'I worked'; mun xūvon liscoyom 'I have seen a dream'; mon 'što (Yg mon stum) 'I said'; mon no pūren amūno līom 'I gave

Oblique

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This type of construction seems to be more frequent in LSIm than in LSIy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. T  $\hat{a}n \ x\bar{u}r = mun \ x\bar{u}r, \ x\bar{u}r - um, \ \text{IIFL}, \ I, \ p. 96.$ 

my son an apple'; men vto liscim, Mm mun fta liskyim' I saw thee; Mt mun ftə zīim 'I killed thee'; Yg tō və mən zīt 'thou didst kill me'; māx vo-to žiem-stom 'we were killing thee'; mox wou mascom 'we slaughtered him'; Yg māf və-mən zief-stef 'you were killing me'.1

With Demonstrative Pronouns: Ysh, u wan ist(y)o 'he said'; wof 'stot 'they said'; yan namaf nayen lio 'he gave you bread'; yard wo maraken 'the man took it'.

Cf. Zar. (p. 126) Saidan mon luydå yordud 'Said took my daughter'. wå voroyaf loskat 'the brothers saw', etc.; LSIm men (ze) žiem, waf (wai) žiat 'I, they beat', etc.

In a few cases I heard mon instead of zo: Yr mon uziv luvvo viem 'I was ill yesterday'; mon võu dehām 'I beat him' (pres.); Ysh mun no-won amuno dälem 'I give him an apple'. With attraction to a transitive preterite: Y wan cayavd, isto 'he returned and said'. This construction is due to the influence of Prs. man, and, together with the use of zo, etc. for the oblique case and the introduction of personal endings in the transitive preterite, demonstrates the gradual dissolution of the ancient middle Ir. system.

213. The Attributive Genitive of nouns is usually expressed by the Genitive Oblique.

Thus, e.g.: Y pūren pūr 'grandson'; pādsāan pūr 'the king's son'; lasten bod 'wrist'; yūen surva 'the hole of the ear'; Xadāyen bande 'the servant of God'; faskaf surv 'nostril'; wo voi pūraf nām 'the names of his sons'.

But we also find examples of the nominative used as a genitive. E.g.: Y mon tāt kyāi 'my father's house'; kūi n-ou mara kyēin 'he went into the house of that man'; pādēā pūr 'prince'; wazīr luydo pādšā pūr pisto 'the vizier's daughter asked the prince'; last bot 'wrist'. It is not always possible to draw the line between such expressions and nominal compounds.

1 Yr mox (!) və-mən žief-istəf and Yzh max (!) či va-maf (! da haf 'don't kill us' must be mistakes. .

The izāfat construction occurs in fixed formulas and compounds borrowed from Prs. Thus, e.g. Y ba nām-e-Xudā, ba hokm-e-Xadāyen (with obl.) 'at God's command'; čarx-1-falak; dārū-i-bīhusī; sar-1-d1l; dil-i-zigar, etc.

Of the pronouns the common gen.-obl. case, or the special gen. form is used:

Y mon pūr rīza 'my son is small'; yo mon ida 'this is my slave': yo mun varai astet 'this is my brother'; man tra zil astet 'it is in my heart (= I desire); mon cuiva astet 'I have nothing'; mon larga kît 'I have fever'; mun yū wulo as tet 'I have one wife'; wo to kyei 'that is thy house'; to yar was  $k\bar{u}$ -o?' where is thy friend now?' to cis nam astet? 'what is thy name?' to cand loyde astet? 'how many daughters hast thou?' zo vo ta (!) gap yū lārom 'I listen to thy word'; amax tat (pādšā) 'our father (king)'; magam max 1 yū pādšā astet 'but we have a king'; amaf taten kyei 'your father's house'; no a maf tat 'to your father'.

Yzh ā yen dau'let 'this man's riches'; but, with pronominal adjective: wo yūyen nām Z. vīo 2 'the name of the one is Z.'; Mm wo hadamen lu luydi viat 'the (that) man had two daughters'.

Note the genitive with rīm- 'to please': mon rīmet, mon rīmdo.

214. The Predicative Genitive of nouns is expressed by the oblique Predicative case: Y yo vîra mon sifien ces 'this burden is not my husband's'; uo kuei mištərān-ē 'this house is the Mehtar's'; 3 galavānen čīr wulč šut 'the cowherd had four wives'; Z žiray v royaf žiray muš ka yi viyat 'three brothers had three calves'.

Genitive

Reg. 20 with genitive function cf. § 217.

The predicative genitive of pronouns is formed by adding -kan to the ordinary genitive (which may also be used alone). Thus, e.g.: Yzh mo kyei ta-kan-a? mo kyei mən-kān 'is this house thine?'

<sup>1</sup> For \*magam amax'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. above § 211.

<sup>3</sup> Or is mištərānē a possessive adjective?

'this house is mine'; mo lamo a maf-kan-a? 'is this village yours?'; Ysh yo 'vīra ta-kan 'this burden is thine'; Yr kyei ta-kān 'xāna-itūst' (inexact transl.!). Yzh mo kyei aman-kan-a? 'does this house belong to this one?' mo (wo) lamo a mof- (o of-) kan-a? 'does this (that) village belong to these (those) men? Ysh yo (mo, wo) kyäi äyēn (amən, awən)- kan; yänd (mind, wənd) kyäyi äyef (aməf, oʻəf')- kan.

This predicative genitive is probably an original possessive adjective 1 as appears from Ysh: yū wulo, loh pūrë mon-kāne molo viet 'I had a wife and two sons here'.

215. The indefinite object is, when a noun, put in the 'nominative' Accusative (or, perhaps better 'casus indefinitus'). Thus, e.g.: Y you yalbīl kenəm 'I sift grain'; zo yawo avāzəm 'I bring a cow'; amboh māl avār 'bring much goods'; yū ūdamen xūben lišc 'a man had a dream'; yūr uziaudum 'I extinguished a fire'; no xoi pūrof wulo co avazəm-ā? 'should I not bring my own sons a wife?'

But the definite object is expressed by the 'nominative' sg., or the obl. pl. preceded by vo (wo?).2

Thus, with the object in the sg.: Y wan vo pisko yurd he seized the cat' (which has already been mentioned); vo mon yap yurā 'hear my word'; vo wulo vet galavanen 'the cowherd brought his wife'; zo va yūra uzīawum '1 extinguish the fire'; vo parizāto suwār ker 'he put the fairy on horseback'; nuve rum vo kero 'I took out the knife'; vo šīr maščet 'they killed the lion'; Z waf vũ wan nêna mosk'at 'they killed his mother', etc.

With plural object: Y vo cirief yurd 'the seized the apricots'; vo curvakef aver 'bring the unripe apricots'; vo malef avet 'they brought the goods'; wo (= vo?) xoi zəmonəf lisc 'he saw his own boys'; pisto wo ziniəf 'she asked her daughters-in-law'; Mm və luydaf yuruvd (sta) 'he took (he told) his daughters'.

Note especially: Ysh qissa yurdoyum 'I have brought a tale', but afterwards wo = vo gissa yurd' he brought the tale'; lażino deh' make

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Par. gen. of proper names in -ân, IIFL, I, p. 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. definite acc. with ma, IFFL. I, p. 51 sq.

a pile of wood', but  $v = la \dot{z} \bar{n} n o \dot{z} a f a \bar{u}$  'put fire to the wood-pile'; Z  $\dot{z} k \ddot{u} r a m u \dot{z} k \dot{u} \partial y$  co  $x \bar{u} t$  'a camel does not eat a calf', but  $u \dot{v} \dot{u} t a \dot{z} k' \ddot{u} r i n v \dot{u} m \partial n m u \dot{z} k \dot{u} \partial y x u r \partial y$  'thy camel has eaten my calf'.

Y pa kaĉio vrūtof dea 'cut the moustache with a scissor' may have been misheard for \*vo vrūtof.

The personal and demonstrative pronouns are, of course, always used as definite objects. Thus, e.g., Y tu ci va mon dehe? 'why dost thou beat me?' Ysh tu vo mon žit, g to vo mon žit, r tū vo mon žit, Mm to vo mon žit 'thou didst beat me'; Y 'zo vto pr'sim, zo fto por som 'I ask thee'; vo to wulo vonom 'I bring thy wife'; vo to xai vrai yurdum 'I seized thy own brother'; Mm fta winom 'I see thee'; zo fto doam 'I beat thee', mun fto žiim (= Ysh fto žiim) 'I beat thee' (pret.).

Yzh zo väi daham, tu võu de 'I beat this one, beat thou that one'; Ysh zo vēi (vēf, vēof) dəhām; Mm za 'vai (vum, võu) 'dvham; Ysh tu wum isa 'bring this one'.

As an adjective the inflected form occurs in Yu mon wei ory kora 'I have done this work'; Ysh zo wum hory kenom; Yu wov loh žinkof avezdo 'he brought the two women'. But also Ysh yo vīra . . . skāro '(he) sent this burden'.

216. The 'Dative' of nouns is formed with no and the oblique.

·Dative

Thus: Y mon no pūren amūno līom 'I gave my son an apple'; wo alūno līo no maraken 'she gave the pomegranate to her husband'; na pādšāan līet... 'they gave the king...'; no zonief 'slo 'she said to her daughters-in-law'; no mon zomanakof del 'give it to my boys'; no abeli pūrof 'to both sons'. The purely local significance of no remains in e.g.: Y sūi no būzāren 'he went to the bazar'; no kiyēn asom 'I come to the house'. It denotes the aim in the infinitives: Y no xurān, no āyostān '(food) to eat. (clothes) to put on'; na tagbīren oīm = na tagbīr korān oīm 'I come to make a plan'. Note: no yu mīxēn 'in (the course of) one day'.

Very rarely no is used with a noun in the nom.: Y na to tât to thy father'; wo no wulo isto 'he said to his wife'; na tā-duniā 'to the underworld'.

The dative of personal pronouns occurs frequently, the accentuation (nāmən, etc.) indicating that such forms are felt to be one word. Examples are: Y tu nāmən ki tiū del (da le) 'give me a book'; yän nāmən na yen līo 'he gave me bread'; nāmən da pīr 'before me'; Mm vərōi nōmən '(he is) a brother for me'; Y zo nū-to zu ūb (ki tiū) dälım 'I give thee an answer'; na-to cēi pəzāmum 'I entrust something to thee'; špāč na-tō 'after thee'; zo na to 'stom I said to thee'; na tə trə 'lās kə yum 'I put it in thy hand'; M na-to isti-va dalum 'I give thee something'; Y yän 'nāmax (na-maf) na yen līō 'he gave us (you) bread'; na max ilel 'give it to us'; Mg wai vərōi 'nāmoy astat 'they are brothers for us' (= our brothers); wū və (!) nāmoy vrōi 'he is our brother'; Y na-maf cë zarūr? 'what need is there for you?'; zə da lem no-māf, mun na-mof amūno dälüm 'I give you an apple'.

Examples of the dative of demonstratives are: Yzh mon na won (no man, nä yen, no wōf, no mof, näyef) na en liīm 'I gave him (etc.) bread'; Ysh mun no wön (ne en, na mof, ne ef) amūno dälēm 'I give him (etc.) an apple'; Yu līm nōn 'dādam ba ū'; Mm numan yū rūpai lī iyum 'I gave this man a rupee'; noyān (no van) lu (žroi) rūpayagī lī iyum 'I gave this man (him) two (three) rupees'.

Note the possessive use of the dative, e.g. in Ysh: zo nu to tat, tu mun par 'I am thy father, thou art my son'.

217. A kind of ablative is formed with to and the oblique.

Ablative

From nouns (and adverbs), e.g.: Y \(\hat{z}i\) Citreyen 'from Chitral'; \(\hat{z}-im\) kyayen 'from this house'; \(\hat{z}o\) lurayan 'from afar'; \(\hat{z}i\) dalen \(\alpha\)\circ in kyayen 'from this house'; \(\hat{z}o\) lurayan 'from afar'; \(\hat{z}i\) dalen \(\alpha\)\circ in the came from there'; \(\hat{z}o\) is malen 'I am from this place'; \(\hat{z}i\) ta\\ in a see af \(\hat{v}e\) fy \(\hat{v}e\) posterior form (== of) the gold-pieces'. With possessive force: Y yo am\(\hat{u}no\) \(\hat{z}e\) p\(\hat{u}e\) nusk\(\hat{a}\) yan the owner of the calf', etc.; LSIm \(\hat{z}e\) spi yaspan zin (but LSIy spi yaspan palan) 'the saddle of the white horse'.

Note Y zoi lāmo (= lāno or lāmen?) from one village (az yak

deh)'; cf. LSIm że cah, że yu saudagar, but LSIy że cahen, że yu dokandaren 'from a well', 'from a shopkeeper'.

From pronouns: Y tu ża-mon ustur, zo żi man ustur 'thou art bigger than I, I am bigger than he'; 'z-tō xuščë 'smaller than thou'; yō kyεi żō-mən 'this house is mine'; ża-mən yu pūr astεt 'I have one son' 1; yō (wō, wōi, yēi) kyēi ž-ēn (žo wən ż-ēf, żamöf) astet 'this house belongs to this man' (etc.); Mm wo lamo loo-wan 'this village belongs to him .

I kind of Comitative is formed with lo 'with', solo 'together 'Comitative' 218. with near' with the oblique.

Examples are: Y lo yoi taten 'with his own father'; lo galavanen  $d\bar{a}r\bar{u}$  vio 'there was a remedy with the cowherd' (= the c. had); la panakaf yurd 'he seized with his hands'; lā-man èa defa 'don't fight with me' (qat-i-man); wo dārūt la-non astet 'the medicine is with me'. Note lo malen 'half full' (: 'with the half').-Y solo dukandāren niāsto 'he stayed with the shopkeeper'; solo pādšāan; šola daryāhan 'pēš-i-daryā'. šo (in Ysh šo dukandarə) is perhaps only an abbreviated form of solo.

Local relations are expressed by the prepositions do, tro and po 'Locative' 219. which take the nom. sg., but the obl. pl. of nouns.

Examples of do 'in', 'into' are: Y na kyēin šūi, da kyei loyoi do 'he went to his house and entered it'; do xwoi kyēi rəsīi 'he arrived in his own home'; sai do Orgoco he went into O.'; alano da last kər 'he put the pomegranate into his hand'; dəftəd də hōrr 'they started work'; do xūben kovūyo goščim 'in the dream I turned into a pigeon'; da mazit niast 'he sat down in the mosque'; da yū mix 'in one day'; da sālə 'in a year'; M də kyoi təyim 'I enter a house'; Z sayat de bozor 'they went into the bazar'.—Y wa (= va?) you da lascief yurdam, driem da čāro 'I took the grain in the bags, and poured it into the store-room'; LSIm de zaxmaf 'in the fields' (but de men tāt kei 'in my father's house', etc.).

<sup>1</sup> See § 203, and cf. Psht. jmā 'my'.

The obl. sg. was heard in Ysh do Citrayî rosî 'he arrived at Chitral', but this form may have been influenced by the preceding šūi na Čiträyī he went to Ch.' Y do kyäyī tiīm 'I enter the house' propably stands for kyäy.

From pronouns we find: Y zom da to 'I speak with thee'; do to apir 'before thee'; do to barabar 'equal to thee'; dum surdo 'on this shoulder'; do-of 'about them'.

Examples of tro 'into' are: Y nā-tə trə lāst kəyum I have put into tro thy hand'; drīo tra šile 'he threw it on his neck (: back)'; tro kiyēf logāi 'he entered into the houses'; zīe tro poškəf'he put it into the trays'.

Examples of po 'on', 'at', 'with' are: Y po yū hory dīd 'on account of some work (barā-i-yak kār)'; pə Šəyoyo noyor 'he came out at Shoghor'; po fiz ter 'surrounding (lit.: around on) his face'; Z p<sup>3</sup> kuyka ½iyά 'he killed with a stone'; LSIy pe lesef, LSIm pe lûsaf '(he bound) with ropes'.

It seems probable that the difference of construction between no, żo, lo, solo (with the noun in the obl.) on the one hand and do, tro, po, vo (with the noun in 'nom.' sg. but obl. pl.) on the other goes back to a time when the first group of prepositions governed the instrumental (or originally the ablative), while the second group governed the locative or the accusative. ana with the acc., but Anc. Prs. with the instr.; Av. haca with the abl. or the instr. (rarely with the acc.);  $ha\delta a$  with the instr. But antaro, tarō, paiti and upa with the acc. (or the loc.).

At a certain time nom., acc. and loc., at any rate of stems in -a, would coalesce, \*pu@rah, \*(upa) pu@ram and \*(pati) pu@rai resulting in pūr. In the pl. we might perhaps have expected e.g. \*po pūrē < \*pati pudraisu, but this would have resulted in a three-case</pre> system unknown in the sg., and accordingly the instr. was substituted for the acc. and loc. as a general obl. pl. case.1 Cf. the placenames Hartef, Idyef, Turakaf2 which had probably originally a locative meaning.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. pa with nom. sg., but obl. pl.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. List of Names, s.vv. and cf. § 199.

221. The oblique case is used also as an adverb. Thus, e.g. Y mižen Adverbial 'by day'; sāharen 'in the morning'; jansarën 'at daybreak'; dalen 'below'; anīməf 'half' (adv.).

#### Adverbs.

- 222. 1) Local: molo 'here'; hw'rŏ 'there'; olo 'there'; woko 'there' (?); kū, kužā 'where'; žukū 'whence'; lūro 'far off'; noyo sār, dalen, šitāhän, past 'below'; kailāpo, sāro, fursōro, psaro 'down'; pas mīno, vəlyo 'above'; dram (da-dram, na-dram) 'inside'; do-kučo 'out(side)'; apīr, skapīr 'before, in front of'; čpāč (špāč, očəpoč, wa-čpāč) 'after, back'; debāl 'behind'; mīr-čoya 'to this side'; vräčoya 'to that side'; drāi 'hither' (?); hargeno 'on all sides' (?).
  - 2) Temporal: wos 'now'; kəla 'when'; psāt 'immediately'; nawaxt 'late'; piro 'before, earlier'; bād, vəro 'afterwards'; dur 'to-day'; iziko 'yestereve'; uuzīr 'yesterday'; xirizen 'day before yesterday'; cur'mō, cirayīzen 'three days ago'; pānjəmo, pcurma 'four days ago'; sāar, sabā 'to-morrow'; yāmo, məzdira 'the day after to-morrow'; sūy-yāmo 'three days hence'; yūyyāmo, etc. 'four days hence'; asāl 'this year'; prasāl 'last year'; xirasāl 'two years ago'; curmasāl 'four years ago'; last year'; at daybreak'; mixen, dəmalen 'at noon'.
  - 3) Modal, etc.: 'rastë 'rightly'; mal'mîn 'thus'; ca'mîn 'how'; gñya 'just as'; magam 'verily'; żahānd, boh 'very'; anîməf, loma'len 'half'; nakôi 'why'.

For particulars cf. Voc. s.vv.--It is not always possible to distinguish adverbs from adjectives or nouns.

#### Verbs.

# Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.

223. The nominal sentence without a copula is very common in Y—M. Thus, e.g.: Ysh  $tu \dot{z}^u - k\tilde{u}^{\,2}$  'from where art thou?' yo mara  $\dot{z}^u k\tilde{u}^{\,2}$  'from where is this man?' zo  $\dot{z}i$  malen, zo  $\dot{z}-i$  kyeyen 'I am from

<sup>1</sup> The translations and explanations given of the adverbs denoting days and years were often indefinite or contradictory.

here, I am from this house'; mo  $ky\bar{\epsilon}i$  mon- $k\bar{a}n$  'this house is mine'; to  $c\bar{\epsilon}s$   $n\bar{a}m^2$  'what is thy name?' mun  $y\bar{u}$   $wvl\bar{o}$ , loh  $p\bar{u}r\bar{\epsilon}$  'I have one wife and two sons';  $y\bar{u}$   $M\bar{e}\gamma$  yasp,  $y\bar{u}$   $W\bar{u}i$  yasp 'one horse was (called) M., another W.'; M wo  $\bar{u}dam$  lvro 'that man is far away'; mai  $\gamma a\dot{s}i$ , wai liwi 'these are good, and those are bad'. Thus even in the sense of 'exists' the copula may be left out.

224. But very frequently Y employs the original 3rd pl. astet (cf. Prs. hastand) for the 3rd pl. and sg. According to Bidd. and the LSIy astet is also used for the 1st and 2nd sg. and pl., but I never heard zo astet 'I am', etc. Examples are: Ysh ¿a-mən yū pūr astet 'I have a son'; yo mun vərai astet 'this is my brother': tō cis nām astet? 'what is thy name?' yō kyēi ¿-ēn astet 'this house belongs to this one'; ¿a-mən anboh pūre astet 'I have many sons'; yēi kyēi ¿a-mōf astet 'these houses belong to these men'; mind ūdamen nazdīk astet 'these men are near'; Yr tō cand ləydē astet? 'how many daughters hast thou?' (answer: žirōi ləydē)

From M I have only noted Mg wai  $v^3r\tilde{o}i$   $n\tilde{a}$ -mo $\gamma$  astat 'these are brothers of ours'. Acc. to Zar. ast is sg. and astat pl., but he also gives the sentence lu lu $\gamma$ di mon ast 'I have two daughters'. The LSIm gives the full inflexion hast-am, -ai, -0, -am, -af, -at, which is probably influenced by Prs, as shown by the h-.

225. In Y I have come across a few sentences where  $-\bar{o}$  and  $-\bar{e}$  are apparently used as a 3rd sg. present of the substantive verb: Ysh to  $y\bar{a}r$  wos  $k\bar{u}$ - $\bar{o}$ ? 'where is thy friend now?' (answer:  $d\bar{o}$  to apir astet 'he is in front of thee'); Yr  $\gamma a\dot{s}i$   $\bar{a}dam$ - $\bar{o}$  'he is a good man'; yo  $ky\bar{e}i$   $mi\dot{s}t\bar{o}r\bar{a}n$ - $\bar{e}$  'this house is the Mehtar's'.' I dare not express any definite opinion on these forms, but they may represent an ancient asti, cf. Sgl.-Ishk.  $-\bar{o}$ .

The negative present 'is not' is Y ces. E.g., yasi ādam ces 'he is not a good man'; tu Xədāyen banda ces'-a? 'art thou not the servant of Gcd?'. Cf. Voc. s.v.

<sup>1</sup> Or is mištərānē an adj.? Cf. above § 214.

<sup>10 -</sup> Kulturforskning

A subjunctive form is preserved in vii (< buyāt). E.g.,  $woko\ color k\bar{\imath}mat\ vii$  (or formo)? 'what may be the price of it?'. Cf. § 254.

The preterite of the substantive verb is Y viem, viet, vio, viem, vief, viet; cf. LSIm viam, viai, via, viam, viaf, viat; Mm 3 sg. vio, 3 pl. viat.

Y som, M sīam 'I went', 'I became' is used as an auxiliary. A present tense is not formed from this root in Y-M, but note Z zo gib âyəm 'I am lost', etc. 'Cf. about the passive § 247.

226. kən- 'to do' is used as an auxiliary just as in Prs. and other Ir languages. Cf. Voc. s.vv. avāza, bāwar, rahā, salā, suwār, tagbīr, tayār, xap, xalās, etc., for examples of compound verbs with kən- kən- is also used with the meaning of 'being able to'. Cf. e.g. Y ċ-kir kəne, vo wulo żo-wən ċe vst kəne 'thou art not able to do it, thou canst not take his wife from him (na mētānī, zan-i ūra na mētānī giriftan).

## The Present Stem.

227. The verbal system of Y—M, like that of most other modern Ir. languages, is based upon two stems, the Present and the Past.

The distinction between ancient present stems in -a- and -aya-excepted, the Old Ir. present classes are preserved only in relics and are of no importance for the verbal system of modern Y—M. Regarding the stems in \*-aya- and the causatives in  $-\bar{a}v$ -,  $-\bar{a}v$ - (and  $-\bar{a}n$ -,  $-\bar{c}n$ ), see below § 229.

Ancient root-presents are represented only indirectly by -\(\pi m\), etc. 'I am' as preterite suffix and by ast, astet 'is', 'are' (v. above \(\xi\) 224). d\(\vec{a}l\)- 'to give' is an ancient reduplicated present.\(^3\) as- 'to come'; (y)is- 'to bring'; pys- 'to ask'; yuxs- 'to learn' go back to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Regarding the inflexion see § 245.

² With M dyəm: šĩam cf. Par. param: čhēm 'to go, to become'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Shgh. δãδ.

present formations in Ir.  $s < *s\hat{k}$ , while bax's 'to divide';  $mnv\tilde{o}$ s' 'to comb';  $mis\tilde{a}\tilde{z}$ - 'to show';  $max\tilde{s}$ - 'to grow' represent bases in IE \*s.

mər- 'to die' is an ancient stem in -ya-.¹ Stems in -nā- are: ken- 'to do'; vəzān- 'to know'; yāṇ- 'to grind';  $x\bar{o}^c$ n- 'to buy'; ləmōn- 'to rub', and possibly wien- 'to untie'. Infixed or radical -nocenrs in lib- 'to card' (<\*dumb-); āyd- 'to dress' (<\*ā-gund-); xird- 'to shave' (<\*xrind-);  $xo^u$ d- 'to laugh'; xap 'to fell'; vad- 'to tie';  $\dot{z}ib$ - 'to rise';  $c\ddot{c}b$ - 'to pinch';  $sk\bar{s}d$ - 'to break';  $v\ddot{c}z\bar{b}$ - 'to tighten';  $\dot{c}ad$ - 'to fall, stumble'.

A few present stems are formed secondarily from ancient preterites. Thus:  $b\bar{a}r$ - 'to fill'; M  $tu\gamma d$ - 'to shave' (cf.  $t\bar{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ -);  $\dot{\imath}ift$ - 'to plaster'. Zar.'s  $y\bar{o}n'g'$ - 'to grind',  $m\bar{o}g'$ - 'to rub' appear to be based on the 3rd sg. pres.

228. Of great importance for the inflexion of the 3rd sg. is the distinction between ancient stems in -a- and -aya-.

In the first group of verbs the 3rd sg. in -ati was syncopated at an early date, and the resulting -t, -d was assimilated in various ways to the final consonant of the root.

Thus, with t, e.g. Y ist, Z yist 'comes' (\*ā-isati); Z pist 'asks' (pərəsaiti); Y, M nižt 'sits down' 2 (\*niθati < nišhiθaiti); Y waft, M wēft 'weaves'; Z niješt 'shows' (\*ni-cašati); yūst 'brings'. With d: Y avīzd (avāzi), Z arūzd 'brings' (< \*upāzati); Y γurīvd 'takes'; Z γīvd 'spins'; lūžd 'milks'; neγūyd 'hears': Y p'revd, Z p'rūvd 'finds' (\*pari-āpati); Y samd, Z sēmt 'drinks'; Y awūžd 'hangs'; Y nūld 'lays down, goes to sleep' (\*ni-padati); Z ċēyd 'sows'.

With assimilation of  $n + t^3$ : Y  $k^y\bar{\imath}t$ , M  $y\bar{\imath}k\bar{\imath}t$  'does' (<\*kanati); Y, Z  $w\bar{\imath}t/d$  'sees' ( $< va\bar{e}naiti$ ); Y ked 'digs' (<\*kanati); Z  $liv\bar{e}id$  'winnows' (<\*dwanati); Z  $va\bar{e}d$  'brings' (<\*upanati); Y  $vez\bar{\imath}t$ ,

<sup>1</sup> Possibly also dis. 'to think'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> LSIy niš, m nil $\theta = *ni\check{x}, *ni\check{x}t$ ?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. § 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v. v 
ightarrow n. The asterisked form is simply intended to be a formula

Z vzūd 'knows' (< \*upa-zānati); Y xīt 'laughs' (< \*xandati); Y xīt 'buys' (\*xarnatı); Z bixēd 'reads' (buxōn-) and other 3rd singulars from stems in -ōn-.

With assimilation of r+t. Y  $av\bar{\imath}t$ , Z  $av\bar{\imath}d$  'brings' ( $<\bar{\imath}baraiti$ ); Y  $k\bar{\imath}t$ , Z  $k\bar{\imath}ed$  'ploughs' ( $<*k\bar{\imath}arati$ );  $x\bar{\imath}ut$  'eats' ( $<x^*araiti$ ); Y  $l\ddot{\imath}ut$ , Z  $l\bar{\imath}et$  'holds, has' ( $<*d\bar{\imath}arati$ ); Y  $st\bar{\imath}ut$  (Z  $st\bar{\imath}rd$  of secondary origin) 'sweeps' (<\*starati); Y  $n\bar{\imath}ut$  'takes out' ( $<*ni\bar{\imath}barati$ ); Y  $f\bar{\imath}et$  'seizes' (<\*farati); Z  $s\bar{\imath}k\bar{\imath}d$  'seeks' ( $<*sk\bar{\imath}arati$ );  $uu\bar{\imath}u\bar{\imath}d$  'regards' (<\*ui-jarati);  $z^*v\bar{\imath}t$  'pulls over' (<us-baraiti);  $giy\bar{\imath}t$  'passes' (<\*ui-tarati);  $giy\bar{\imath}t$  'lets pass' (<ui-tarati).—Z  $\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}rd$  'sews', nird 'enters' (<ui-tarati), niy-) have an unexplained v.

With assimilation of d+t through  $\delta d > \delta > l$ : Y dtl 'gives' (<\*dadati); Y pəler, Z  $pil\bar{e}r$  'sells' ( $<*pər\bar{e}l <*par\bar{a}dati$ ); Z  $l\bar{u}rd$  'flees' (with secondary  $-d <*r\bar{u}l <*raudati$ ), Z  $t\bar{e}l$ ' 'kills' (<\*tardati). But t+t>t: Y—M  $\stackrel{?}{\sim}\bar{u}t$  'speaks' (<\*jatati).

With assimilation of rn + t > \*nt > Y  $k^y$ , M (n')g': Y  $yeik^y$ , Z  $y\bar{e}n'g'$  'grinds'; Z  $m\bar{e}g'$  'rubs'.

After j the final dental is dropped in Y, Z  $tr\bar{e}$ ) 'binds'. Cf. also Z nig' 'pulls out', and Y  $w\bar{a}st$  'places'  $(w\bar{a}st)$ .

In some cases M (Z) has 3rd sg.s in -d/t where Y has generalized the ending -ë. Thus, e.g.: Z nerīzd 'licks'; xišk 'pulls'; suvd 'sucks'; drēt 'throws'; avūzd 'brings'; cižt 'falls'. But Y: ne rīzë, xošë, suvë, drēi, avūzë (and avīzd), tižë. On the other hand Z has added -i to the apparently suffixless form Y wast 'places'.

229. In most cases, however, Y and M (Z) agree as regards the employment of 3rd sg. forms in -ë, -i (<\*-ayati).

Thus, e.g., Y ī 'goes'; āydē 'dresses'; mərē 'dies'; novē 'rains'; rovē 'barks'; rəsē 'arrives'; vrōfē 'flies'; wuzdē 'washes'; xirdē 'shaves'; xŝī 'weeps': Z yī; ā yudī; muri; nāvi; ra vi; re si; wurafsī; wūzne; xridī; xšī. Cf. also, e.g.: Y anuvē 'bellows'; ušunē 'neighs'; àdē-ste 'throws in wrestling'; kosē 'seeks'; bynē 'lies down'; rukušē

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 124.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 47 and 47.

'creeps'; wulë 'throws'; waxšë 'grows'; žibë 'rises'; žiiroxë 'shies' Z nəmē 'shows'; pīī 'rots'; wurri 'boils'; zīī 'is born'.

Some of these forms more or less probably go back to ancient forms in -āyati (or -īyati, -āyati), cf. e.g wuzdē, zīī, xšī, pīī, nəmē <\*awa-snāyati, zāyata)i, xšīyati, pūyati, nimāyati.

Many others are secondary formations, and, on the other hand, several verbs of the first group originally belong to the aya-class. This is no doubt the case e.g. with lät, lēt 'holds' and vəl 'brings', which go back to \*dārayati, \*upa-nayati. with secondary transfer into the -ati class. Such transfer may account for the umlaut which appears in many cases. It is also worthy of note that the causatives in -āw-, -ōw- belong to the first group. This type of causative has been borrowed by various E. Ir. dialects under unknown conditions from Indo-Aryan, and we should expect that they should belong to the Y—M verbs with 3rd sg. -ë, -i. The existing type, Z aydūvd 'dresses (somebody else)', etc, may be due to the influence of forms in original \*-āpati, such as suvd and pərūvd. Note also the early lw. Z giyēt (from giyōr- 'to turn round', trans.).

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'I ask'	<b>5</b>	mes, red	is red	(3) ps.red	(9) per san		(3) unsed	'I dress'	Yzh	üydëm	āydë	āydė		$d_{\gamma}d_{\gamma}d_{\gamma}$	
Mm	Z	um/eucz,		kêd		kunaf	•	ay'	ర		żńyi				žúyad
	Mt	ike'nam						as I,	m Yzh	mcż , mpż	$\hat{z}uar{u}(\hat{z}ar{u}\hat{z}\sinh)$	żut	żam	žaj	žet
	Mm	yikenum	yikoniy	yëkit	yikenam	yikonef	yikenat		m Yzh	xiim		x = x = x	mevision	feix	$x\dot{s}iyct$
	Yg, u	məncə <sub>l</sub>	jues	kit	to nam	fen.eq	ton'est	'I come'	$\Lambda zh$	asim	asë	ist	asem	lasef.	aset
	Yr	kə,nem	ġu,ey	kīt	kə nem, -am	fen:34	tones	give,	Z	daləm	delab	dil	'dalam	dalaf	dalat
	Ysh	kenəm	kolnë	kīt, kēt	ke'nam	ke'nef	ke'net, at	Ĭ,	m Yzh	dälım	dalë	qrp	$da^{ l}\epsilon m$		dälet
	Yzh	1 Sg. ke'nëm	2 » kenë	$3   $ $\sim kit$	1 Pl. ke'nam	feulod « 2	$3   ke^{i}net$	,08 I,	Yzh	1 Sg. oyim	.2 » 'oyi		1 Pl. 'оуєт	fsho, « z	3 » johot

231. The personal endings are in general clear. The 1st Sg. in -2m is derived from -ami, the 1st Pl. -am from -āmah, etc. The 2nd Pl. has adopted the ancient pronominal suffix, probably in order to avoid phonetic confusion with the 3rd Sg. Cf. the similar development in Sgl.—Ishk. Regarding the 3rd Sg. see above. The forms given by Gauthiot as used by M settlers in Wakhan must be of Ishk. origin.

Quite irregular are the Khow. 3rd Sg. forms employed by Ysh: lapoir 'glitters'; ažistai, ažisteste 'bears' (Khow. ažuran). I do not know whether such forms are really current among some speakers of Yidgha.—Yg kenalo 'works' is a suspect form.

The Present or Aorist is used: a) As an indefinite Present. b) As a Future or Subjunctive.

Examples of a) are: draxtë mūžet 'the trees are shaking'; wūi kit 'the wind blows'; tu ču žuī 'what do you say?' mo ādam na;en xut (yauyo samd) 'this man eats bread (drinks water)'; nakoi ase tu? 'why dost thou come?' mon larza kit 'I am trembling'; tū čopīk kenë 'you are lying'; mo xap čī kīt? 'why is he silent?'

Examples of b) are: cir mix dið cpāc asəm 'I shall come back after four days'; agar Xadāi cu mašče vīi oyim rosim 'if God doesn't kill me, I shall go and arrive (here)'; no xoi pūrəf wulo cə avazəm-a? 'shall I not bring a wife for my own son?' na-men del tā zo ayim 'give me, that I may go'; wo dārū na max del, max xōnam, nu tō hūy dalem 'give us the medicine, we shall buy it and give the price for it'; na xāin no xurān ces, no-man ces dälem? 'I have nothing to eat myself, what shall I give him?' vo wulo vənem 'I shall bring the wife'.

Regarding the use of the Aorist in commands see below § 234.

#### Durative Present.

232. A Durative Present is formed in Y by adding -(3)std, -(e)ste to the Aorist. Examples are: zo hor konem-iste 'I am working'; yn mara hor kit-iste 'this man is working'; \(\frac{1}{2}inkiko ni\tilde{a}sto, t\tilde{a}am kyet-istd

'a woman is sitting and preparing food'; xużbi nāyo-ist 'it smells (bū iš mēāya)'; ce xšīðf-este? 'what are you weeping over?' zð pðrsðm-istð, lā-mən ce defa 'I am asking him not to fight against me'; xoref-este, šāmef-este, āydðf-əste āyen daulet 'you are eating, drinking and wearing his belongings'; noyor ke dð Šoyor xšiyet-ste 'he came out while they were weeping at Shoghor' (historical present); note also: wos oyīm-əste sāharo 'now I am going (: shall go) into the desert'. Cf. užerðm-əste 'I am looking'; səm-este 'I am speaking'; oyīm-ste 'I am going'; żafum-ste 'I am chewing'; xofðm-ste 'I am coughing'; kōse-ste 'thou art seeking'; kenē-este 'thou art digging'; tra avā zyū-stə 'is flying through the air'; woxšë-este 'is growing'; mərī-stə 'is dying'; naxċi-stə 'is dancing'; kit-istə (kənəf-st) 'is doing'.

The derivation of this suffix is uncertain. It is possible to think either of a form of the root  $st\bar{a}$ , or of asti.

#### Durative Preterite.

233. A Durative Preterite is formed by adding vio 'was' to the Aorist. Thus e.g., \*fə də Drawusə vio, muzduri kyed-vio, wos ruxsat tūliyō 'her husband was in Drosh; he was serving; now he has taken leave'; max dārü kwosem-vio, è purviam 'we were searching for the medicine'; but we did not find it'. Cf. LSIm ze via dalam, or ze dalam via 'I was beating'. But LSIy deham-ste vio 'I was beating' corresponds in form to Y zə xūben winem-este vio 'I have been seeing a dream'. Cf. also LSIy dil-vi-este 'he used to give'.

# Imperative.

The Imperative 2nd Sg. is usually identical with the Present stem. This first type is represented by: as 'come'; kak' 'cook'; užar 'look'; žib 'rise'; Mm niž 'sit down'; däl 'give'; de(h) 'beat'; lār 'hold'; Y kën, Z ikən 'do'; ləyān 'throw'; ai, oi 'go'; škōr 'seek'; āvər 'bring'; xap 'fell'; žafaū 'kindle'.

This imperative evidently goes back to the ancient imperative in -a.

But besides de(h) we also find dia(h), dea, and besides  $ni\check{x}$  also  $ni\check{x}a$ . With many verbs this appears to be the regular form. Thus, e.g.: Y  $ni\bar{a}$ , Z niya 'enter'; Y  $\gamma ur(v)\check{a}$ , Z ' $\gamma irva$  'seize'; Y sova (but Z  $s\bar{o}w$ ) 'smear';  $\grave{z}\check{a}$  'speak';  $z\gamma\bar{u}a$  'walk';  $d\partial_{z}fa$  'fight';  $t\partial_{z}\partial_{z}u$  'seek'; isa 'bring';  $v\partial_{z}na$  'lead'; Z  $n\bar{u}va$  'sleep';  $p\partial_{z}rsa$  'ask';  $y\bar{o}n'g'a$  'grind'; LSIy mra 'die', etc.

The distinction between suffixless imperatives and those in -a does not coincide with that between 3rd Sg.s in -d/t and  $-\ddot{v}$ . And, besides, -aya could not result in -a. If we assume that the form in -a goes back to a subjunctive in  $-\ddot{a}h$ , we should expect  $-o^{-1}$  in Y and Mm. Is it possible that ancient -a in the imperative was lengthened in some verbs before the loss of final short vowels, but did not quite coalesce with ancient  $-\ddot{a}$ ?

Imperative 2nd Pl. ends in Y -ë, - $\varepsilon$ , probably < -ayata (-ata would coalesce with Pres. 3rd Sg. in -ati) Thus:  $a v r \varepsilon$ ,  $a v a z \ddot{e}$  'bring';  $p a r s \varepsilon$  'ask'; a s a f,  $n a - m a m u z d u r a k a n \ddot{e}$  'may you come (subj.) and take service (imper.) with me';  $x o s \ddot{a} n \ddot{e} k a n \ddot{e}$  'make merry'; m a i l i s k e n e 'assemble';  $n i x \ddot{e}$  'sit down'. The alternative imperative forms in -i given by Z are no doubt really plurals.

Once ce defa was translated by Prs. jang na sawid, but the Prs. pl. is probably used by politeness. I do not know whether Mm maf male nižit 'sit down here' is a correct and current form.

The Aorist is frequently used in (polite?) commands and interdictions. Thus: to ci żūi 'don't speak'; tu copīk c-këns 'don't speak a lie (na gu)'; ba nām-i-Xodā del, wacārum na-mon da lë 'give in the name of God, may you give me alms'; na-mon ci dale 'don't give me'; asof, nā-mon muzduro ko në 'come and take service with me'. Cf. the similar use of the Aorist in Prs. and in Par.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, possibly, -e in all dialects. Cf. § 198-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> IIFL; I, p. 90.

### The Past Stem.

235. The Past Stems may be divided into two groups: A) Stems ending in a vowel or -y-. B) Stems ending in a consonant.

#### Class A.

This group consists mainly of weak, regular stems in  $-\bar{\iota}$  (y) (Z also  $-\partial y$ ) and  $-\bar{\alpha}i$  (Z  $-\bar{\partial}y$ ).

- I, a): Ancient, in the modern language irregular, preterites in  $-\bar{\imath}(y)$  are:  $\dot{z}\bar{\imath}$  'beat' < \*jata-;  $l\bar{\imath}m\bar{\imath}$  'rubbed'  $< *nima\thetaita$ -;  $l\bar{\imath}i, l\bar{\imath}y$  'gave'  $< d\bar{\imath}ata$ -;  $x\dot{*}\bar{\imath}(y)$  'wept'  $< x\dot{*}\bar{\imath}ta$ -;  $v\bar{\imath}$  'was'  $< b\bar{\imath}ita$ -.
- I, b): The majority of preterites in -i(y) goes back to original stems in -ita- or to borrowings from Prs. forms in -ita. Thus, e.g.: Y rosi, Z resiy 'arrived'; Y xadi, Z xâdiy 'laughed' (cf. Prs. xandid); Y tuli, Z telwiy 'sought' (Prs. talbīd); Y bažšī 'divided'; Y trēžī 'tied' (Prs. taranjīd); Y žibī 'rose' (cf. Prs. jumbīd?).

Note yožiī (yožī-) and ləreī (lərī-).

- 236. II, a): A few past stems in -āi, óy can be traced back to ancient participles in -āta-. Thus e.g.: Y yāi, Z yōy 'brought' < yāta-; zənāi 'bathed' (zənay-) < snāta-; Y wuzdāi, Z wuznōy 'washed' \*awa-snāta-; Y ustāi, Z wustōi 'placed' (wāst-) < \*awa-stāta-.
  - II, b). But the majority of Y past stems in  $-\bar{a}i$  consists of secondary formations. Cf. e.g.:  $urz\bar{a}i$  (urzu-);  $wurw\bar{o}i$  (urw-);  $ustu\bar{s}\bar{c}ai$  ( $ustu\bar{s}\bar{c}$ -);  $u\bar{s}in\bar{a}i$  ( $u\bar{s}u\bar{n}$ -); bidaway,  $-\bar{o}y$  (bidaw-); bohay (boh-);  $c\bar{c}b\bar{a}i$  ( $c\bar{c}b$ -);  $\gamma \partial nil\bar{a}i$  ( $\gamma \partial nil$ -);  $kun\bar{a}(i)$ , Z  $k\bar{u}n\bar{o}y$  (kun-);  $ku\bar{s}m\bar{a}i$  ( $ku\bar{s}m$ -);  $k^yirf\bar{a}i$  ( $k^yirf$ -); lowai ( $l\bar{o}u$ -);  $lib\bar{a}i$  (lib-);  $puf\bar{a}i$  (puf-);  $tu\gamma d\bar{u}i$  ( $tu\gamma d$ -);  $xof\bar{a}\bar{i}$  (xof-);  $xuzd\bar{a}i$  (xuzd-);  $z\bar{o}m\bar{a}i$  ( $z\bar{o}m$ -);  $zir\gamma\bar{a}i$  ( $zir\bar{i}\gamma$ -); cf. z  $fris\bar{o}y$  (ris-);  $zirx\bar{o}y$  (ris-);  $zirx\bar{o}y$  (ris-);  $zirx\bar{o}y$  (ris-);  $zirx\bar{o}y$  (ris-);  $zirx\bar{o}y$  (ris-);  $zirx\bar{o}y$  (ris-); ris-); ri

A remarkably great number of the verbs belonging to this group denote some kind of bodily movement or function.

**237**. III). The rest of the past stems in ancient vowel +t are:  $a\gamma oi$  'came' < \* $\bar{a}gata$ - (as-);  $lo\gamma oi$  'entered' < \*adi-gata- (?);  $\dot{s}\bar{u}i$  'went' < \* $\dot{s}uta$ - (oy-);  $Z z\bar{u}i$  'bore' < \* $z\bar{a}ta$ -;  $M l\partial v\bar{\epsilon}y$  'winnowed' < \*dwata- (Av. bata-) ( $l\partial v on$ -).

Cf. also  $v \neq d\bar{i}$  'warmed the hands'  $(v \neq do)$ ;  $dr\bar{i}$ ,  $dr\bar{o}y$  'poured out'  $(dr\bar{i})$ .

#### Class B.

- 238. Stems ending in a consonant in Y—M. They go back to ancient formations with a final consonant t.
  - I). Stems in r: Y  $imu_r$  'counted'  $(imar_r)$ ;  $\bar{a}v\partial_r$  'brought'  $(\bar{a}v\partial_r)$ :  $mu_r$  (M.  $mu_r$ ) 'died'  $(m\partial_r)$ ;  $n\partial_r\partial_r$  (M.  $n\partial_r\partial_r$ ) 'took out'  $(n\partial_r\partial_r)$ ;  $st\bar{a}_r$  (M.  $st\bar{o}_r$ ) 'swept'  $(st\bar{o}_r)$ ;  $st\bar{a}_r$  (M.  $st\bar{o}_r$ ) 'swept'  $(st\bar{o}_r)$ ;  $st\bar{a}_r$  (M.  $st\bar{o}_r$ ) 'swept'  $(st\bar{o}_r)$ ;  $st\bar{a}_r$  (M.  $st\bar{o}_r$ );  $n\partial_r\partial_r$  (Z.  $n\partial_r\partial_r$ ) 'went out'  $(n\bar{v})$ ;  $n\dot{z}u_r$  (M.  $nu\dot{z}i_r$ ) 'saw'  $(n\dot{z}e_r)$ ;  $n\partial_r\partial_r$  (M.  $n\partial_r\partial_r$ ) 'did'  $(n\partial_r\partial_r)$ ;  $n\partial_r\partial_r$  (M.  $n\partial_r\partial_r$ );  $n\partial_r\partial_r$  (M.  $n\partial_r\partial_r$ ). Note that Z's  $n\partial_r\partial_r$  mur, and  $n\partial_r\partial_r$  are at the same time preterite and present stems.

From  $l\bar{a}r$ - 'to hold';  $f\bar{a}r$ - 'to seize';  $w\bar{a}r$ - 'to separate'; xar-,  $x\bar{o}^a n$ - 'to buy'; Z  $giy\bar{o}r$ - 'to let pass', and  $bisp\bar{o}r$ - 'to entrust' the past stems are formed in -t, not in -r, r. Thus e.g.: lat, fat,  $giy\bar{e}t$ -, etc. With lat cf. Psht.  $l\bar{a}r\bar{o}$ , f.  $l\bar{a}r\bar{o}la < *darit\bar{a}$ -. Some of the forms may be recent formations with t < r + t, cf. § 124.

In  $b\bar{a}r$  'to fill' the past stem has been introduced into the present. Quite irregular are Y  $f \partial cir$  'cleft' ( $f \partial c\bar{c}r$ ) and vrir 'broke' ( $vr\bar{i}$ -), cf. Mm  $vr\bar{v}r$ :  $vrisk^y$ , Z  $v^yr\bar{v}r$ :  $v^yr\bar{v}r$ . Original \*braisa: \*brista-should regularly result in \* $vr\bar{i}$ : M  $vrisk^y$ , Y \* $vrisk^y$ . From  $vrisk^y$ , etc. was formed a new present  $vr\bar{v}r$ - after the analogy of M  $giy\bar{e}r$ :  $giyask^y$ , etc., and then again a new preterite Y \* $vr\bar{v}r$ . M  $vr\bar{v}r$ . Finally the two dialects made a different selection among the available forms (but Bidd. has ' $vristcha' = vrisk^a$ ):

Y  $vr\bar{\imath}(y)$ : Mm  $vri\hat{s}k^g$ . Mm, Z  $vr\bar{\imath}r$ : Y, Z  $vr\bar{\imath}r/r$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Transferred secondarily into this group.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Gr. Ir. Ph., I, 2, 212.

P 155, 1 9: For consonant t read consonant + t.

- 239 II) Stems in  $l (< \delta)$ , d (< nd) and h have preterites in st. Thus:
  - a)  $z\gamma ast$  'fled'  $(z\gamma al-)$ ; wust 'threw' (wul-); rust 'fled'  $(lur-<*r\bar{u}l-)$ ;  $pr\bar{\iota}st$  'sold'  $(pl\bar{a}r-<*pr\bar{a}l-)$ ; M  $nuv\bar{o}st$  'went to sleep'  $(n\partial liv-<*n\partial vil-)$ .
  - b)  $v\bar{a}st$  'bound' (vad-);  $\check{c}ast$  'threw over' ( $\check{c}ad$ -);  $sk\partial st$  'cut' ( $sk\partial d$ -); xrist 'shaved' (xird-, xred-);  $\bar{a}\gamma\partial st$  'dressed' ( $\bar{a}\gamma d$ -).
  - c) niāst 'sat down' (niž-); čast 'fell down' (Y tiž-, M ciž-).
  - d)  $x\bar{a}st$  'threshed' ( $x\bar{a}$  < xvah-).
  - e) pist 'asked' (prs-) and kist 'searched for' (kos-) are secondary formations.\(^1\) Note (\(^1\)) sto, sta 'said' \(<\*\)asta-\(^2\)
- 240. III) Past stems in Y šč, M šk<sup>y</sup> are formed from roots in s, r (< rt), l (< rd), rz, rd, etc. With the exception of mašč, mōšk<sup>y</sup> 'killed' (maz-) all roots in z have given up their phonetically regular preterites in favour of forms in zd, e.g. urīzd 'spread'; dīzd 'buried'; γazd 'ran'; mīzd 'urinated'; nerīzd 'licked'; avazd 'brought'; Z nuyēzd 'swallowed'. Evidently the phonetic difference between z and šč has become to great to permit the morphonologic relation to be kept up. Note also the recent formations of the type Y nišāžī, M ni)ašt 'showed', nuvōšī 'combed', etc.
  - a) nuvišč 'combed' (nuvõš-); xišc,  $xišk^y$  'pulled' (xoš-); pašc 'dug' (paš-); dišc 'knew' (diš-); M  $nuvišk^y$  (Y  $nu\bar{u}xt$ , Z  $new\bar{u}xt$ ) 'wrote' (nuviš-). From roots in ancient  $\dot{s}$ : negative negative negative negative <math>(negative negative nega
  - b) wušč, wušk 'knitted' (wor-); pišč, pišky 'farted' (pil-); polišč 'folded up' (polarz-); gosč, gašk' 'passed' (gord-, lw.); potišč 'broke' (from a lost present \*potil-).
  - c) From roots in r, after the analogy of Prs.:  $g^y\bar{e}\dot{s}\dot{c}$ ,  $g^iya\dot{s}k^y$  'passed' ( $g^y\bar{e}r$ -, lw.);  $ki\dot{s}\dot{c}$ ,  $k\ddot{i}\dot{s}k^y$  'ploughed' ( $k\bar{a}r$ -, lw.);  $u\dot{s}tu\dot{s}\dot{c}$  'jumped' ( $u\dot{s}tur$ -, from Khow.).

Note  $li\dot{s}\dot{c}$  'saw'  $< d\partial r\partial \dot{s}ta$ .

As may be seen above, roots in l may form their preterite either in st, or in  $\tilde{s}\tilde{c}$ ,  $\tilde{s}k^{y}$ .

<sup>1 \*</sup>pišč < \*pršta- would have coalesced with the preterite of pil-, cf. below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. NTS, VII, 119.

241. IV) Roots in -v and -b have past stems in vd from ft. Thus, e.g.: nīvd 'rained' (nov-); rivd 'barked' (rov-); šuvd 'sucked' (śuv-); druvd 'danced' (drūv-); M y²ruvd, y²rivd 'seized' (yrvv-); ¹ yivd 'spun' (yīw-); Z cəvd 'picked' (cəb-); Z wəzivd (Y vëzbi) 'tightened' (wəzib-, vëzb-), etc.

This type of preterites is also formed from causatives in  $-\bar{a}(w)$ - $-\bar{b}w$  and some other verbs in w < v. E.g.: Y  $a\gamma davd$ , Z  $a\gamma d\bar{v}vd$  'dressed (somebody else)';  $gib\bar{s}rd$  'destroyed'; sovd,  $\bar{s}\bar{e}vd$  'smeared' ( $s\bar{a}u$ -), etc.

We find xavd 'descended' (xafs-), but roots in -f have secondary past stems in ft. Thus, e.g : waft 'wove'  $(w\bar{a}f-)$ ;  $d\partial ft$  'fought'; xift 'coughed', etc. Note the introduction of the past stem into the present of  $\dot{s}ift$ - 'to plaster'.

In some cases roots in labials have weak preterites. Thus, e.g.: xofai 'coughed';  $k^y irfai$  'sneezed'; pufai 'blowed'; libai 'carded'; ibbi 'rose'; cobai 'picked';  $v\ddot{c}zbi$  'tightened' (but cf. above).

242. V) Roots in  $\dot{z}$ ,  $x\dot{s}$  and  $\gamma$  have past stems in  $\gamma el < xt$ . Thus:  $awa\gamma d$  'hung up'  $(aw\bar{a}\dot{z}\cdot)$ ; Y  $tra\gamma d$ , M  $t^2ro\gamma d$  (Y also  $tr\bar{e}\dot{z}\bar{\imath}$ ) 'tied'  $(tr\bar{a}\dot{z}\cdot)$ ;  $t\partial\gamma d^2$  'cut'  $(t\bar{\imath}\dot{z}\cdot)$ ;  $lu\gamma d$  'milked'  $(l\bar{u}\dot{z}\cdot)$ ;  $mu\gamma d$  'moved'  $(m\bar{u}\dot{z}\cdot)$ ; Z  $wu\gamma d$  'found place'  $(wu)\cdot$ );  $ba\gamma d$  (and  $bax\dot{s}\dot{\imath}$ ) 'divided'  $(bax\dot{s}\cdot)$ :  $v\partial da\gamma d$  'mixed'  $(v\partial da\gamma\cdot)$ ;  $zu\gamma d$  'took'  $(zu\gamma\cdot)$ .

From roots in x(s) we find new formations in xt: yuxt 'heard' (yuxs-);  $\check{x}^{\dot{u}}roxt$  'shied'  $(\check{x}^{\dot{u}}rox-)$ . Note  $wax\dot{c}$  (?) 'grew' and  $vrex\dot{c}$  'fried' from  $wax\dot{s}$ -,  $vro\dot{c}$ -, possibly with  $x\dot{c} < *x\dot{s}\dot{c} < *x\dot{s}\dot{c} < *x\dot{s}\dot{c}$ ?

243. VI) Among the numerous roots in nasals only lomon- 'to rub'; l'von- 'to winnow' and Z firson- 'to shake' have retained their preterites in original -ata-: lomi; M l'vey, but Y lobad; and firsoy.

All other verbs in nasals have had their past stems re-formed with n+t > (n)d. Examples of forms in -(n)d are: Y  $l \ni b \ni ad$  'winnowed'  $(l \ni b \ni an)$ ;  $l \ni \gamma ad$  (M  $l \ni \gamma \in nd$ ) 'threw away'  $(l \ni \gamma \in an)$ ;  $v \ni zad$  (Mm also  $v \ni z \in nd$  'recognized'  $(v \ni z \ni an)$ ;  $u \ni ad$  'churned'  $(u \ni an)$ ;  $y \models uvat$ 

<sup>1</sup> But Y yur-: yurd Yzh also yu rīvd.

From which a secondary pres, turd- to shave.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Pessibly ked 'dug' < \*kanita-, cf. above § 238 reg. \*darita-.

'loosened' (yuwan-); wist 'loosened' (wisn-);  $x\bar{o}'t$ , xat 'bought' ( $x\bar{o}'n$ -, xar-); loyod 'fell asleep' (loyn-).

The causatives in -ān-, -ōn have preterites of a recent formation in -nd, e.g.: γaltand 'rolled'; biċirēnd 'grazed', cf νθzēnd, l'γēnd above.

Verbs iu -m have past stems in nd, or still more recent ones in nd. Thus: vrīnd 'stood' (vrēm-); piżānd 'entrusted' (piżām-); żamd 'drunk' (żam-); rīmd 'pleased' (rīm-); ptrəmd 'seized'. Z frakēvd 'gargled' (frakōn-) is irregular. Reg. Y yägyiī, Z yēn'g' 'ground' (but Yr yīr, Mt yūr) from yāṇ-. cf. above § 327.

#### Preterite.

244. While M has preserved the distinction between the inflexion of transitive and intransitive preterites, Y has generalized the transitive endings. The result is that Y has established a system with two sets of personal suffixes, one for the present and one for the past tenses. But even in M the purely passive construction of the transitive preterite has been given up through the introduction of the accusative as the case of the object in such sentences, and through the partial adjustment between transitive and intransitive endings. Note also the incipient use of the nominative instead of the agent as a subject of a transitive preterite. The tendency towards the dissolution of the ancient system has probably spread from Prs. to M and from Khow, to Y.

The intr. suffixes of the preterite in M are identical with those of the present except in the 3rd sg. In the trans. the 2nd sg., and, acc. to Zar. p. 118, also the 1st sg. have special forms.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1st sg. the ancient pronominal suffix and the auxiliary have been amalgamated, and this fusion has led to the introduction of -m also in the 1st pl. pret. of trans. verbs instead of -n, which is preserved in Sgl.—Ishk., Wkh. and Sar.

The 2nd sg. pret. trans. (Y also intrans.) in -t contains the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 211.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pres. and Trans. Pret. 1st sg. -u, 2m, Intrans. Pret. -am.

pronominal suffix in a form which points to its preservation as a separate word till a comparatively recent date.<sup>1</sup> In the 2nd pl. the trans, suffix in f has been generalized not only in the pret. of intrans, verbs but also in the present.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the development of the pronominal suffix 2 pl., Av.  $v\bar{o}$ , into Y—M f, Sgl. f, v, Wkh., Sar. v, Sogd. f ef. Gauthiot, Gramm. Sogd., I, p. 121.

Finally, as a result of this partial fusion of trans. and intrans. suffixes, the intrans. 3rd pl in -et, -ut was introduced also into the transitives.

In the 3rd sg. we find, besides the expected suffixless form, also one ending in ·o, ·a. Thus, e.g.: Y list 'he saw'; yurd 'he seized'; kər 'he did'; vrōft 'he flew'; avər 'he brought'; vət 'he brought'; loyoi 'he entered'; xavd 'he descended', etc. But: līo 'he gave'; pisto 'he asked'; 'sto 'he said'; fāto 'he seized'; ziyo 'he beat'; nīvdo 'it rained'; resīo 'he arrived'; drīo 'he poured'; mardo 'he measured', etc. Note niāst and niāsto 'sat down'; lat and läto 'held'; Y mər and M muro 'died'.

I have not been able to detect any difference in the use of these forms, nor any phonetic factors conditioning the presence or absence of -o. In one or two cases, however, Y niāst seems to mean 'sat down' and niāsto 'was seated'. But no such distinction can be traced in other verbs, nor is it possible always to take the forms in -o to be perfects.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., on the other hand, Sgl. -δ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. above § 230 sq. [In the present f < r is probably derived from the 2nd pl. medium  $-\delta wam$ . Cf. Par.  $-\delta r$ .  $-\bar{\epsilon} r$ , and Khwarizmi [acc. to Henning]  $-\beta \iota$ . — Corr. note.]

245. Intransitives.

'I came' i'I sat down'	, ,	m Yzh $n$ uästəm			niāst			ni ästet
'i came'	17.1	x zn	$ \bar{a}^{\scriptscriptstyle 1}\gamma^{\scriptscriptstyle 0}m $	ā vanit	(in the state of t	alexan	orion f	a'yot a'yot
ıe,		TIPTITI	siam	siai	30%	Sim	Sign.	siat
'I went, became	Min	111717	sıam		śūi			
ew I,	Yzh	1 1 1	(melins 1) mos	suit (p sunit)	sūi.	kom	, sof	sut
	LSIm, Z						rīaf	
· l was	m Mm				rio			viat
-	$\Lambda_{\Gamma}$	1 Ser. Trem		252.7	01.2	1 Pl. 11em	2 " $ref$	3 . riel

246. Transitives.

, mes 1,	Y Biscim Biscut Bisc	
T did	Y ko'rəm ko'ret kəir	kairet
gave '	Mm Tiiyom 110	
5	Y liim lio	$ar{l}ar{v}$ et
'I brought'	$\frac{\Lambda}{v^{a}det}$	təp.ea
	LSIm ziem ziet zia zia ziam ziam	
'I beat'	Y 1 Sg. žīm zh, g. žim sh 2 * žiūt sh, žīt g. žiit r 3 * žiūt sh, žīt g. žiit r 1 Pl. žiem 2 * žief	3 " Fiet sh, 211 g

The preterite is not infrequently used as a futurum exactum. Thus, e.g.: Ysh  $w\bar{o}s$  ke  $s\bar{u}\bar{\iota}t$ , tro  $ky\bar{\epsilon}i$  kəlo  $\bar{o}\gamma\bar{o}\bar{\imath}t$  when thou now hast gone and have entered into the house, . . .

247.

### Imperfect.

### 'I was beating'

		$\mathbf{Y}\mathbf{g}$	$\operatorname{Biddulph}$
1	Sg.	žīm-stəm	₹īerm-stem
2	»	žīt-stət	žīt-stet
3	>	ž <b>ī</b> -što	è <b>ier-</b> sto
1	Pl.	žīem-ŝt∂m	$\dot{z}$ $ier$ · $st$ $\Delta m$
2	»	<i>èīef-</i> stef	ż <b>ī</b> ef-stef
3	»	₹īt stet	₹īet-stet

Cf. also Yr 1 sg. žiem-ištəm and 2 pl. žief-ištəf. Examples of the use of these forms are: zo vətō žiem-ištəm 'mā tāna zadam'; mōx vəmən žief-ištəf 'šumā māna zadīn'; mən vto žīm-stəm, tō vəmən žīt-stət, māf vəmən žīef-štef, etc.

Unfortunately I did not succeed in securing a complete and wholly certain paradigm of this tense. It is scarcely probable that forms in st and in st are parts of the same paradigm, as asserted by Yg, and apparently we have to do with two different tenses, although the material does not permit us to distinguish between them.

In Biddulph's paradigm "er" probably represents  $\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ , and m has been dropped in the 1st pl.

The forms in st are probably connected with those of the Durative Present mentioned above § 232.1  $\dot{s}t$  can hardly be compared with Sogd.  $\dot{s}tn$ , Yaghn.  $-i\dot{s}t$ , as ancient  $\dot{s}t$  should regularly result in Y  $\dot{s}\dot{c}$ .

None of these forms are known from M.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E.g. žīt-stet for \*žīt-st < jata + tai + asti?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Gramm, Sogd., II, 39.

<sup>11 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

### Perfect.

248. Just as is the case in most other Ir. languages the Perfect in Y is based upon the Past Participle enlarged by -ka-.

#### Intransitives.

'I have sat	'I have become	'I have become	'I have become
down'	tired'	hungry'	
(='I am sitting')	(= 'I am tired')	(='Iamhungry')	
$\mathbf{Y}\mathbf{z}\mathbf{h}$	$\mathbf{Yr}$	$\mathbf{Y}\mathbf{z}\mathbf{h}$	$\mathbf{Yzh}$
1 Sg. niastəγəm	u zēayam	wusiaday-əm	suyum
2 »	uzâeyet	$$ - $\partial t$	
3 » niāsto			<i>≩ūi</i>
1 Pl.		am	
2 »		ə̞f	suyəf
3 » niāsti			

#### Transitives.

'I have done' 'I have seized'

		$\mathbf{Y}$	$\mathbf{Y}$	Y	Biddulph
	Sg.	kəryum	yurdoyum	<pre> ≥iγəm 'I have beaten' xuṛγet 'thou hast eaten'</pre>	<i>žig∆m</i> <i>žiget</i>
3	>	kəro	$\gamma urdo$		żī
1	Pl.				$\grave{z}ig$ $\Delta m$
2	7			pərviayāf' you have found	$\dot{z}ig\Delta f$
3	>>				żīē

249. Other examples are, e.g.: Ysh xusovoyi māx zo muzdurə kuryum 'I have worked night and day'; mən xis'mat è-kəryəm 'mā xismat na karda-im'; mən vto ziyəm 'I have beaten thee'; 'stəyəm 'gufta am'; liscəyəm 'I have seen'; ayoī 'he has come'; pistəyəm 'I have asked'; āvreyəm 'I have brought'; xristəyəm 'I have shaved'; sxīyəm 'I have slipped'; suyəm 'I have become'; baryəm 'I have filled'; fsaiyom 'I have risen'; avyɛ 'he has (?) brought'; skārə 'he has (?) sent'; pəciquo, pəzqyō 'has broken (burrīda šud)'.

Note Ysh  $\dot{z}inkiko$  (yū akābur) niāsto a woman (an old man) is sitting , but loh šināmiī niāsti (not \*niāstet) 'two girls were sitting'. Apparently niāsto is construed as an adjective, not as a finite verb. Cf. Biddulph 3 pl. (trans.!)  $\dot{z}ie$ .

The only corresponding form heard in M was *liiyum* 'I have given', and acc. to LSI 'the Perfect tense is not used in M'. But acc. to Zar. the Perf. in M is formed with -iyam. -əyəm. e.g. muriyam 'I have died'; nepišk'əyəm 'I have heard'.

## Pluperfect.

250. The Pluperfect is formed from the Perfect through the addition of vio 'was'. Thus, e.g.: ½iyəm vio, šuyum vio = Prs. \*zada-am būd. \*suda-am būd instead of the existing Prs. form zada. ½uda būdam. The Y paradigm is based upon the 3rd sg. ¾ūi vio '¾uda būd', where the personal suffix was zero, and could be interpreted as belonging either to ¾ūi or vio.

The following examples have been noted: Yg żūyum vĩo 'I had sewn'; zo (mən) v(ə)to žīyəm 'I had beaten thee'; Yr drəvīyəm vīo 'I had feared'; Ysh lī vīo 'he had given'; yauyo urwāi vīo 'the water had been boiling'; ku šuyəf vīo? 'kujā rafta būdīd?' mo žinkiko ayoyi vio 'this woman had come (āmada būd)'.

Note Mm liiyom vi ō 'dāda būdam'.

## Various Modal Forms of the Verb.

251. A number of finite verbal forms have been noted, but so sporadically that it is only possible to label them quite provisionally. With all reserve they may be called respectively First Conditional. Second Conditional. Subjunctive, Potential and Concessive.

¹ But Ysh wuli a vəzde 'he brought wives sg. wulo a'vāzdo can hardly be a Perf.

#### First Conditional.

252. This form is based upon the Perfect, to which has been added the particle va (<\*bawāt?).¹ Examples are: Ysh wos ayōi, wo mən dawlet lišči-va 'if he should come now, he would see my wealth'; yō vīva mən šifien kə vī-va, xoyo ayōī-va 'if this burden were my husband's, he would have come himself'; wos ke mən šifə ayoī-va, lišče-va wo mind ābādief 'if (or 'that') my husband should come now and should see these cultivated fields, . . '.

Cf. LSIy kerrem-va 'I would have done'; barrum-va 'I would have been satisfied'; LSIm yikeriam-wa 'we would have made'; xūriem-wa 'we should have eaten'.

#### Second Conditional.

253. This form is also based upon the Perfect, but the particle added is  $v\bar{\imath}i$  (cf. Anc. Prs.  $biy\bar{a}$ ?). Cf. Par.  $kur\ddot{o}$   $b\bar{e}$ , etc., IIFL, I, p. 101. Thus, e.g., Ysh agar  $Xad\bar{a}i$  čv  $ma\dot{s}ce$   $v\bar{\imath}i$ ,  $oy\bar{\imath}m$  'If God should not kill me ( $ku\dot{s}ta$   $b\bar{a}\dot{s}ad$ ), I shall come'; amax tad zindo  $v\bar{\imath}i$ , ču muro  $v\bar{\imath}i$  'our father may be alive, he may not be dead. . . .';  $s\bar{u}i$   $v\bar{\imath}$ ,  $\dot{z}'$  dalsn  $\dot{c}p\bar{a}\dot{c}$   $\bar{a}\gamma^{v}\bar{o}i$  he might have gone away, etc.3

## Subjunctive.

254. We also find vii ' $b\bar{a}\dot{s}ad$ ' alone as an equivalent of  $f \partial r m \bar{\epsilon}$  in Ysh: agar ' $\dot{s}tyot$  ki  $k\bar{i}mat$  vii (or  $f \partial r m \bar{\sigma}$ ),  $\dot{c} \cdot p \partial r v\bar{\iota}am$  'even if—they said—

the price might be (with us), we have not got it' (?). Regarding  $f \partial r m \bar{\epsilon}$  (< Prs.  $f ar m \bar{a}y$ ) v. Voc. s.v. It appears to form a kind of Subjunctive in LSIm ze f er m e ki duhum 'I may beat'; cf. Ysh woko  $c \partial s$   $k\bar{\iota}mat$   $f \partial r m \partial s$ ? 'what may be the price (here?)?' moi koi- $k\bar{a}n$   $f \partial r$  ma,  $k\bar{o}i$  yurdo  $f \partial r$  ma? 'az  $k\bar{\iota}$   $b\bar{a}\dot{s}ad$ , ki girifta  $b\bar{a}\dot{s}ad$ ?'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. the use of this particle in forming indefinite pronouns.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reg. the use of the Past as a Futurum Exactum, see § 246.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Texts, 39.

#### Concessive.

255. This label may provisorily be put upon the forms in -γuz: Ysh lī-γuz Parvardigār, mašču-γus Parvardigār, tu rastē xismat ken 'may God give (thee wealth), or may he kill (thee, in any case) thou shallst serve him rightly'. It is possible that we ought to analyze līγ-uz, līγ being the Perfect; but -uz remains unexplained.

#### Potential.

256. Finally we may mention the forms in bas, e.g.: Yu yasp yazevda bas 'the horse could be made to run' (?); Ysh vrūtə tie bas 'the moustache could be cut (?)'; tūya bas 'it could be sewn'; cf. LSIy men tia bas 'I should (?) beat'; risīa-bas 'may come'; tuya bas 'I should be'. This form, which is not found in M, is of Khow. origin. Cf. Khow. tibiko bas nekī 'it is not to be eaten'; ateli koriko bas 'she is going to bear a child', etc. It can have nothing to do with Sgl. bus.

#### Passive.

257. The Passive is formed with š- (Prs. sudan) and the Perfect Ptc. Cf. Zar. p. 123, and LSIm ze iia siam, LSIy zo iia bas som 'I am beaten'.

### Interrogative Particle.

258. In accordance with other Pamir and Dardic dialects Y—M employs an interrogative particle -ā. Thus, e.g.: tu Χədāyɛn bande češy-a? 'art thou not the slave of God?' wo mara ko dārā avyɛ, môy-a 'is this the man who brought the wealth?'. Cf. Voc s.v.-ā. The origin of this particle is unknown.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> And also Burushaski, cf. Lorimer, Grammar, §§ 147, 340.

## Nominal Forms of the Verb.

### Participles.

259. The Perfect Participle is formed from the Past Base by adding Y -o (γurdo 'seized'), M (Z) -igå, f. -igagå. I have not come across any Present Participle.<sup>2</sup>

### Infinitive.

260. The most usual form of the Infinitive is formed by adding  $\bar{a}n$  to the Past Base. It may be derived from an ancient infinitive in -tanai, but more probably it is simply an oblique case of a verbal noun in \*-ta- or \*-ti-.

Examples are: Ysh  $\hat{s}\bar{u}i$  no  $t\bar{u}li$   $y\bar{a}n$  'he went to seek (talabistan)'; no  $xu'r\bar{a}n$  nayen  $\hat{c}e\hat{s}$ , no  $\bar{a}\gamma\partial$ 'st $\bar{a}n$   $p\bar{u}$ ' $\hat{s}\bar{a}k$   $\hat{c}e\hat{s}$  'there is no bread to eat and no clothes to put on';  $\gamma urd$  xu  $r\bar{a}k$  no  $xu'r\bar{a}n$ ,  $\gamma urd$   $pu'\hat{s}\bar{a}k$  no  $\bar{a}\gamma\partial$   $st\bar{a}n$  'he took food to eat and clothes to wear'; no no  $\bar{o}f$  no  $xu'r\bar{a}n$   $\hat{c}e$  astet 'they have nothing to eat';  $ni\bar{a}st$   $\hat{s}o$  dukandara muzdura  $k\partial'r\bar{a}$  (=  $k\partial$   $r\bar{a}n$ ?) 'he stayed with the shopkeeper in order to serve him'; Yu no  $tagb\bar{u}r$   $k\partial r\bar{u}n$   $\hat{s}\bar{u}i$  'he went to make a plan'; cf. LSIm  $va\bar{u}na$  neyer 'he went out (for) hunting'.

More dubious forms are: Ysh loyoda waxt 'sleeping time (cuftan)';  $w\bar{o}s$   $\dot{z}ibe$  tar  $\dot{o}yem$  'now I rise and go (: I go after rising?)'; cf. LSIy, m  $\dot{z}ia$  'to beat'. Probably -a < -aka.

## Conjunctions.

## ke 'that', etc.

- 261. Like Prs. ki (from which it is borrowed) and Par.  $ie^3$  Y—M ke is used in manifold ways.
  - a) In Substantive Clauses: Y isto ke 'he said that';  $t \partial$   $\dot{\phi}$   $\dot{z}u\bar{u}$  ke 'don't say that . . .';  $u\dot{z}u\bar{u}$  kd  $y\bar{u}i$  kyei huro astet 'he saw that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Zar., p. 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf., however, Voc. s.v. wuši y)ada7.

<sup>3</sup> HFL, I, p. 104.

- his brother-in-law's house was there'; Mm wużir də kyoi kə jəhōn rūpäyo 'he saw that there was much money in the house'. But Ysh: woz użerem-este, moi kueuin dīr šūi 'now I see (that)...
- b) In Causal Clauses: Y wos ālə kən, ke zo na-to tāt 'now listen, because I I am thy father'; mailis kene ke zə oim 'make an assembly, because I shall come'.
- c) In Final Clauses: Mm  $k\bar{\epsilon}do\ v\bar{\sigma}\ z\bar{\sigma}m\bar{\iota}n\ ki\ y\bar{u}\ l^{\bar{\sigma}}v\bar{\sigma}r\ no\gamma or$  the dug in the earth, so that a door appeared.
- d) In Temporal Clauses: Ysh  $k \partial \bar{a} \gamma^w \bar{\delta} m$  'when I came'.
- e) In Conditional Clauses: Ysh kə . . . ¿pāċ asəm 'if I come back': xismat kə kəret da sālo 'if thou servest for a year'.
- f) ke as a Relative Particle: Mm  $j\hat{a}i$ ... ke  $y\bar{u}$   $w\bar{v}ya$   $v\bar{v}o$  'a place where there was a willow'; Y cis ke  $n\bar{u}$  mvn  $res\bar{v}$  'whatever comes to me', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Or: "as if I were"?

<sup>2</sup> Or "in order that I may come"?

### TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

I.

### (Ysh).

- 1. Žū wān vio, yū wulo vio, loh pūrė viet. 2. Žū wān šūi no tūli yān, šūi tro šāhar, tro ki yēf lo γōi.
- 3. Lo'γõi də ˈkyɛi, yū aˈkābur niˈāsto; loˈγõi də ˈkyɛi, sa lām kəṛ. 4. "Wāˈlēkam wəsa lām, äi žuˈwān! Na ˈkoi āˈγōit?" 5. "Gadāˈī təla-ūm, ba nām-e Xaˈdā. Waˈċārum ˈnā mən ˈdɛl!" 6. Waˈċārum na ˈwən lī·o, naˈγən na ˈwən lī·o. 7. "Ai žuˈwān " 'što. Žuˈwānɛn 'što ke: 'Äi ˈtāt, äi a kābur, gab ˈdiah!'
- 8. Akābu'ran 'što kə: "Äi žu'wān, 'yūi 'lār, vo mən gap yu'rā! Wos ālə kën, ke 'zo na to 'tāt, 'tu mun 'pūr, 'zo ftō nasi āt ke nəm. 9. Wōs ke šū'īt, tro 'kyēi kə loyō'īt': 'ba 'nām-e Xə'dā 'dal, wa čārum

### I. (Ysh).

- 1. There was a young man, who had a wife and two sons. 2. The young man went begging, he went through the town and entered the houses.
- 3. He entered a honse, (where) an old man was sitting. He entered the honse and salaamed. 4. (The old man answered:) "And peace be with you, young man. What did you come for?" 5. "I am begging for alms in the name of God. Give me alms." 6. He gave him alms, and he gave him bread. 7. "Young man," he said. The young man said: "Father, grey-beard, please speak."
- 8. The grey-beard said: "Young man, listen and grasp my words. Now behave as if I were your father, and you were my son; I shall give you advice. 9. Now when you have gone (from here) and have

<sup>1</sup> Written kallo-ō;o.

na mən da le'. 10. Agar kōi ke li ēt, γa šēn; kōi ke či li ēt, na xāyi ki ō kīt, wos ale kën muzdurə kën, gadā ī lə γān, či tələ wā gadā ī, muzdurə kën. 11. Wos ke šū īt, no yū kua tinen muzdurə kën. 12. Dukandār fər mē, kua tin fər mē; šə lo won ai, muzdur ken, ha lāl muzdurə ken. 13. Žə xoa īn xušči en xis mat ken; agar rīza vīo 'pūr' žā; agar də tō ba rābar kə vīo 'vrai' žā, agar iž tō xušče vīo 'tād' žā. 14. Ha lāl xismat ken, no xšo vū xšo vo če žā, xšə vō tā mīx xis mat ken. 15. Xis mat kə kə ret da sālo, tə če žūi kə: 'Mən min xismat kə rum'. 16. Čes kə Xədā'iyen līo, do 'yū mix ha zār rupā yo na to rə sē. 17. Tə čə žūi: 'Mən xis mat 'č-kər yəm, ha zār rupā yī na mən či da le. Da yū mix ha zār rupā yī ro sī'. 18. Agar da ha zār mix yū surx paisō rə sī, tə či žūi: 'Äi Parvardi gāra a zawuy-em tū, mōzē-em tū, da lē-em tū'. 19. Wos ha lāl xis mat ken, lī yuz Parvardi gār, mašču yuz Parvardi gār, tu 'rastē xis mat ken, xis mat kə ret.'

entered a house, (then say:) 'Give in the name of God, may you give me alms.' 10. If somebody gives you' anything, it is well. If nobody gives you anything, (but) labours for himself, then you must act thus: Take service (with him) and give up begging; do not ask for alms, but take service. 11. Now when you have gone, take service with a rich man. 12. Let him be a shopkeeper, (or) let him be a rich man; go to him, and take service with him, lawful service. 13. Serve one older than yourself; if he is younger, call him 'son', if he is of equal (age) with you, call him 'brother', if he is elder than you, call him 'father'. 14. Do lawful service. Do not call the night 'night', but work by night and day. 15. When you have worked for a year, do not say: 'I have done so much work.' 16. If God gives anything, a thousand rupees will come to you in one day. 17. Do not say: 'I have done no work, please do not give me a thousand rupees; I have got a thousand rupees in one day.' 18. If you get one copper penny in a thousand days, do not say: 'O Creator, thon lettest me be born, thou killest me, and thou givest me (my reward?). 19. Do now lawful service. (Whether) the Creator give (you a reward), (or) the Creator kill (yon), you must serve righteously, (and) you (will have) served (truly).2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 205. <sup>2</sup> Cf. § 255.

- 20. Wo rux sat šūi, do xwoi kyti rə sīy, wo xoi zə monəf līšč, wo xoi wulo lišč. 21. Wo no wulo štō: "Ai wulo, zo a īm no muzdu rīten". 22. Lo naha rī no won kər, γurd, ra hī šūi. Šūi sahro, šūi na Či trāyi, da Či trāyi rə sī.
- 24. Ni āst šo dukan'darə muz'durə kə'rā. Yū 'sālə ni āst, šə'lo dukan daren muz'durə kər. 26. Xušo'vō tā mix nə pəĕ 'što, no yox 'što, no pə xuftəm 'što, no uši'yādəm 'što. 27. Wos 'što ke: "Äi dukan'dār, wo mən rux'sat ken, mun yū wu'lo a stet, loh pūrë a'stet, no noōf no xu'rān če a'stet, no n' āγə'stān če a'stet, hāč kuči 'češ. 28. Wo 'mən rux'sat kën, wa 'mən 'muzdurə 'na mən 'del, 'tā zo a'yim, kə mun zəmo'nak-k-əu (?) mun wulo šilo'xo šūi vīo. Wos wa šūi nə 'tat kyēyin-ā, da kyēi žī fərmi-'ā?''.
- 30. Dukan dāre(n) ištvō ke: "Ni yā də kuči o". 31. Nə γος do kuči o. 32. Woz dukan dār γurd yū a lāno, nə vur do kuči o lī e (lī o?) nə žu wānen. 33. Žu wānen γūrd, dukan dār ičpāć šū na du kānen. 34. Žn wānen wa a lāno da lāst kər ifsāyo hu ro.
- 20. He took leave and came to his own house, he saw his sons and his wife. 21. He said to his wife: "O my wife, I am going away to (seek) service. 22. (She) made two loaves for him; he took them and started off. 23. He went into the descrt, he went to Chitral and arrived there.
- 24. He stayed with a shopkeeper in order to serve him 25. He stayed one year with the shopkeeper and served him. 26. Night and day he did not say that it was hot, nor that it was cold, he did not say that he vas tired or hungry. 27. Then (at last) he said: "O shopkeeper, give me leave, I have a wife and two sons; they have nothing to eat, nor anything to wear, they have nothing (at all). 28. Give me leave and give me my wages, that I may go, because my children and my wife have become destitute. 29. Now has she gone to her father's house? Or may it be that she is still (?) in (my) house?"
- 30. The shopkeeper said: "Go out into the street." 31. He went out into the street. 32. Then the shopkeeper took a pomegranate, brought it out into the street and gave it to the young man. 33. The young man took it, and the shopkeeper went back into the shop. 34. The young man put the pomegranate in his hand and stood up there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prob. = u.

- 35. I što ka: "¡Äi Xa¡dāi, xušo vovi mīx zo muz dura kur yum. vū sālə šūi, ča min ke nəm? Nā mun vū a lāno ro se! 36. Äi Parvardi'gar, mun 'ces gu nā, ces xatā ī, ces aīb? Wo mun mal mīn če ke nē-este?".
- 37. Wos vurd wa adāno, žīo da avvuš, rahe štii. 38. Sāhara šūi, šūi də Oryo'čo. 39. Yū mara ži dallen ā yoi, guva da Dra wuso vīo. Šūi vī, ži dalen čpāč āywoi. 40. Woi ābeli žoī lāmo vī et. 41. Wən čo'yūvd, išto kə: "Äi žu'wān, tə na yen xuryet-ā, vāxio xuryet-ā, kə to wos zəmo'ne, wu lo mal mīn šilaxe šū'ī<sup>9</sup>
- 42. No xulyān nalyen leeš, no āyəlstān pūlšāk češ. Tu ca min wo xōi nəfs keinε? Də až γāl xabar čes-ä. 43. Yā pū šak škōr, yā na yən skor. Tu Xa dāyen bande češy-a Tu Pai yumbaren ümed 'češy-a? Tu do of 'xabar čeśy-ā? 44. Agar 'sto kə: 'Äi vrāi, wos guya ken', o'yim-əstë saharen, wo mən xuz dai, po yu hory dīð, kə wa-čpāč cīr mix čpāč asəm. 45. Čīr mix dīð čpāč asəm.

<sup>35.</sup> He said: "O God, I have worked night and day, a year has gone. What shall I do? I receive a pomegranate (for wages)! 36. O Creator, what is my sin, what is my fault, what is my error? Why dost thou treat me thus?"

<sup>37.</sup> Then he took the pomegranate, put it into his lap, and went off. 38. He went into the desert, he went to Orguch 1 39. A man came from below, as if he was [: had been in Drosh. He might have gone away, (and now) he came back from below. 40. They were both from one village. 41. He (who) returned, said: "Young man, have you eaten bread or ashes, since your children and your wife have now become so destitute? 42. They have neither food to eat, nor clothes to wear. How do you treat your own family?2 Have you no news about your family? 43. Send them either clothes or food. Are you not the slave of God? Have you no hope in the Prophet? Have you no news about them? 44. If you say: 'O brother, do now thus,' (you must know) that I am going into the desert, (somebody) has sent me 4 on a certain errand, from which (?) I shall come back after four days. 45. After

<sup>1</sup> I. e. to a place as far from his home as O, is from Chitral where the tale was told some 5 miles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Litterally: Your own soul. <sup>3</sup> Prs.: ālɨ amɨ kårɨ bukən. <sup>4</sup> Prs.: mara rawån karda ast.

Kə ā'γ̄wōm ži mol və'ro, u xšo 'mix zə nə k¬i'yen asəm. 46. Cis ke 'nā mun re'sī, wo xoi (mən) 'muzdure γū rum, a'səm nə kyē yen. Wos o'yīm-əstë 'sāharo.''

47. Wo a'lāno 'līo no 'maraken. I'što ke: "Tu wum i'sa no mən kyēyen, no mən zəmana'kəf 'del. 48. Mun zumanakë<sup>n 1</sup> (da kyēi) žε[t] kə: 'A max 'tad 'zındo vīi, ču 'muro vīi'; xu'šānë ke'net. 49. 'Zo əm o'yīm, ro'səm; agar Xa'dāi ču 'mašče vīi, o'yīm, ro'sim.''

50. Wo a'lāno γurd, šōi sāaro, na Dra'uso šōi. 51. Wo 'yū 'mara ā'γōi wel'γōo. 'Šūi, pə Šəγo'yo no'γor. No'γor ke də Šoγoyo xši'yet-ste. 52. I'što ke: "'Äi 'vrāi, če 'xšīəf-este?". 53. "Agar nə max 'štet ki'o za'rūr 'šūi, 'xšīyem-esto no xoi zarūrien; ki tu ni'xā malo." 54. "Na maf 'ce za'rūr?". 55. 'Što kə: "Äi vrāi, na max za'rūr šūi, kə 'magam max yū pād'šā astet, pād'šā lur'vū šūi. 56. Dīr 'pādšāan žo lura'γan 'kāγəz kəro, 'škār-ən: 56. 'Äi ādamën, agar

four days I shall come back. And when I have come <sup>2</sup> I shall come to (our) home six days later. 46. Whatever I get I shall take as my wages, and come to (our) home. Now I am going out into the desert."

47. He <sup>3</sup> gave the pomegranate to the man and said: "Take it to my house and give it to my boys. 48. My boys (in the house) will say: 'Our father must be alive and not dead;' and they will rejoice. 49. I shall also go and arrive there; if God does not kill (me), I shall go and arrive there."

50. He took the pomegranate and went out into the desert. He went to Drosh. 51. And the other man came up. He went and appeared at Shoghor. 4 He appeared there when they were lamenting at Shoghor. 52. He said: "O brethren, why are you weeping?" 53. "If it is necessary for us to speak, we are weeping at our distress, so that you must now stay here." 54. "What is your distress?" 55. They said: "O brother, our distress is that we have a king, and he has fallen ill. 56. Another king has written a letter from afar and has sent it to us. 56. (Its contents are as follows): 'O men, if

<sup>1</sup> Prob. oke (pl .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lit.: When I have come from here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The man who had served with the shopkeeper.

<sup>4</sup> Name of a village in Lutkoh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Prs.: Agar ba må gap zadan zarūr šuda ast.

<sup>6</sup> zarūri.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> He ?.

pādšā i zīko mu ro, i zīko va məlk γu ram; agar sa har mu ro, sa har γu ram.' 57. Wos a max pādšā lərwū šūi."

58. Wos yaspë γa zəvdet, və det sāro. Anīməf su wār šut val γō, a nīməf šət sāro 59. Yū dəm šūit, a γōt čpāč, rə sīet huro.

Marakā ištyo: "'Ku 'šuγəf vī'o?" iŠtyo: "Max dā rū kwo sem vīo. Drust məlk 'nāsen nəvu'ram, č-pur viam."

62. "Wokə cəs dāˈrū vī·o, woko cəs kīmat vīi, kə wōu c-pərvīaˈγāf?" 63. Agar ˈštvot ke: "Kīmat vīi, c-pərˈvīam." 64. "Štvo kə": "Wo dārū·ī la mən astet." 65. Wōf ˈštot: "Wō dārū na max del; max xö nam, na to ˈhūγ daˈlɛm. Čan ke tū ke në hūγ daˈlɛm; 'čand kī mat ke ke ne, max wo ˈγuram." 66. 'Štyo kə: "Zə da lɛm no māf. Tārā zū aˈvrɛ, mām də tāra zū."

(your) king dies to-night (?), I shall seize the country to-night; if he dies to-morrow morning, I shall seize it then. 57. Now our king has fallen ill."

58. Then they let their horses gallop, and brought them down. Half the horsemen rode upwards and half of them rode downwards. 59. They suddenly went off, returned and arrived there.

60. The man said: "Where have you been?" 4 61. They said: "We have been searching for some medicine. We have travelled all over the country, 5 but we have not found it."

62. (The man said:) "What was the medicine there, and what might the price be, that you didn't get it?" 63. [If] they said: "(Although) we may have the money to pay for it, we have not got it."

64. He said: "I have got that medicine." 65. They said: "Give us the medicine; we shall buy it and give you money (for it). We shall give as much money as you demand, we shall take it for the price you fix." 66. He answered: "I shall give it to you. Bring some scales and let us weigh it."

<sup>1</sup> Or fərmə.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The construction is not clear.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. aspara davåndan.

<sup>4</sup> Kuja rafta būdīd 'where had you gone'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Lit.: We have pulled it out completely Prs. paraphrase: sar-ba-sar gastim).

<sup>6</sup> woko, Bad. Prs. uko.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Agar seems superfluous. But cf. sentence 44.

<sup>8</sup> Translation uncertain. Cf. § 254.

- 67. A vṛet, drī et, mav det. 68. Mara kɛn da tāra zū drī o, mav do, ba rābar či noγwor. 69. Wən 'štyo kā: "Yə to hūγ kəb no γor, zo wo xoi dārūī či dälem. 70. Wos oih, am boh māl a vāļ; zo wo xoi dā rūi uˈgah da lem."
- 71. Wos šut, wo māləf a vret, risə(v)det. Wo dārū lī o. Yāt; wo dārū yāt, na pād šāan lī et.
- 73. Pādšā tāza šūi ba hokm-e Xa'dāyen. Ādamë xo šān šut. "Wo mara drāi a vāze." Wo mara və'det šəlo pādšāen. 75. Pād'šāen pi stō: "Wo mara ko dā rū a vre, mōy-a?" 76. Zōpə, bū tə lī o; woro lī o, pīra hān li o; kut li o, čā'dur li o; dō yū bō'žei ašera'fī lī et.
- 77. Tūrd wo maraken, vī revdo, ra he šūi. 78. A yōi, rə sēi, nə xoi kyēin čūi, šūi n'ou mara kyēin. Šūi, lo yoi da kyēi. 79. Wo vira la yadə da kyēi: "Žinkiko", wo vīra yu rah." 80. Žinkiko styo kə: "Ya cəs min vīra? Yo vīra kōi-kān?"
- 67. They brought (the scales), put (the money into them), and weighed it. 68. (Then) the man put (the medicine) into the scales, weighed it, but the weight did not come out as equal. 69. Then he said: "This money of yours has come out (appeared) to be too little, I will not give you my medicine." 70. Go now, bring much money, then I shall give you my medicine at once."
- 71. Then they went, fetched the money 2 and brought it there.
  72. He gave them the medicine. They took it; they took the medicine and gave it to the king.
- 73. By the command of God the king recovered, and the people rejoiced. 74. (The king said:) "Bring that man here." They brought him before the king. 75. The king asked: "Is this the very man who brought the medicine?" 76. He gave him clothes, boots, trousers, shirt, coat and turban, and they gave him gold-coins in a bag.
- 77. The man took it (all), loaded it (on his horse), and departed. 78. He came and arrived (at his village); he did not go to his own honse, but he went to that man's house. He went there and entered into the house. 79. He threw down his burden in the house (and said): "Woman, take the burden." 80. The woman said: "What burden is this? Whose is this burden?"

<sup>1</sup> Sg. for pl.

<sup>2</sup> Or goods.

- 81. Wo maraken ištə kɨ: "Yo vīra ta-kan." 82. "Yo vīra nā-məu kōi škāṛ?" "Ta išīfien iškāṛ." 83. "Wo mən šīfien vīra škāṛ, xoyo kū šūi? Yo vīra mən šīfien češ, tu čopīk kene." 84. Ču ifxatiyo. "Yo vīra mən šīfien ke vī-va, xoyo aγō ī-va, tu čoipīk č-këine." 85. O vīra ləiγədo, šūi, štə kə: 86. "Yo vīra ta išīfien inā to škarə. Yū adāno lī vio, mən wo prēstəm, γurdum ašəra fī, wos ajvrum na to. 87. Na tə trə lās kə rum, zo oyim no xoi kyēin." Šūi no xoi kyēin.
- 88. Žinkiko užur 'yū mix, 'loh mix, 'marakan də rak č-šūi. 89. Žinkikī (y)u'gah žə aš raifiəf yu tərəft, 'yaī no ba zāran, līo da ba'zār, yurd xu'rāk no xu'rān, 'yurd pu šak uo āγə stān, avər no xoi kyēin. 90. Sko yū aš raifan mind dau lat sūi.
- 91. "Wos na xa'īn lə'zo kə'nīum." 92. Wos xabar kər no āda məf: "A'səf 'nā mən muz'durə kə'nē, no yu mīxen 'pānj ru päya da lem." 93. Ādamë ā'yot, pər 'sət, ambo' ā yot dəf təd də hōry. 94. Do

88. The woman kept watch, one day, two days, but she did not catch sight of her husband. 89. Once the woman stole one of the pieces of gold, took it to the bazaar, sold it there and brought food to eat and clothes to wear, and brought it all to her house. 90. Such riches came from one piece of gold.

91. (Then she thought:) "Now let me bnild a castle for myself." 92. Then she made known among the men: "Come and work for me, I shall give five rnpees a day in wages." 93. The men went, they went in great numbers, many came and started working. 94. They

<sup>81.</sup> The man said: "This burden is yours." 81. "Who has sent me this burden?", Your husband has sent it." 83. "Has my husband sent that bundle? Where has he gone himself? This bundle is not my husband's, you are lying." 84. She did not take it, (but said:) "If this burden had been my husband's, he would have come himself; do not tell lies." 85. The man threw down the bundle, went away and said: 86. "This bundle your husband has sent to you. He had given me a pomegranate, I sold it, got gold-coins (for it), and now I have brought them to you. 87. I have put them in your hand, and now I go home." And he went home.

<sup>1</sup> Litt.: gave it.

'yū məx xalās kə'ret, li'zo kə'ret, ta'yār šūi. 95. 'Bāγa kə ret, 'hargeno 'haulε" pəzgi'et. Miwa'γë žī'et, gu'lë kšči'et.

- 96. Säilə šūi, 'žiŋkikī 'štə kə: "Ai da'rīyx, a'žəp 'säilə kər yum. 97. Wos kə mən 'šïfə ayo'ī-va, 'lišče-va wo 'mind ābā'dīəf. 98. Wos 'pāže ta'yār šūi, no 'xoi 'pūrəf 'wulo 'čə avazəm-'ā?''
- 99. Wulo a'vāzdo, no a'beli 'pūrəf 'wuli a'vəzde, ni'āst sko dau let; dau let, pu šāk, na'yen bi'nās šūi. 100. Wōs xa'lās šūi, 'štyo kə: "'Ai Xə'dāī, wo mən 'šïfe 'č-avazi-ā? Wos a'yōi, wo mən dau'let lišči-va."
- 101. Šfə də Dra wusə vī ō, muzdu'rī k'ed vī o, wos rux sat tūli yo. 102. "Wo mən muzdurə del," išto, "tā zo o'īm."
- 103. Yū piš kō no won lī ō; γurd, ži e de av γuš. 104. Raha šūi, da pādo aγōi, žiyo či gāli, ne vur mē dī. 105. Štyo ka: "Äi Xadāi, na xāin no xu rān češ, no man ces dalum?" 106. Γurd, laγado da laxči o, drīo tra šila, raha šūi.

finished it in one month, they built the castle, and it was ready (for use). 95. They laid out a garden and they made 2 a wall on all sides. They planted fruit-trees and sowed flowers.

- 96. It became a wonderful sight, and the woman said: "What a pity, I have prepared a wonderful sight. 97. Oh that my husband came, oh that he saw these cultivated fields! 98. Now it is all ready, should I not bring wives 3 for my sons?"
- 99. She hrought wives,<sup>3</sup> she brought wives for both her sons, and she settled down with her wealth. Her wealth, her clothes and her food were copious. 100. Then it was finished and she said: "O God, why dost thou not bring my husband here? If he came now he would see my wealth."
- 101. (Meanwhile) her husband was in Drosh, he was working, and he asked for leave. 102. "Give me my wages," he said, "that I may go."
- 103. (His master) gave him a cat; he took it and put it in his lap. 104. He left, came out into the road, it scratched him with its claws, and he took it out.<sup>4</sup> 105. He said: "Oh God, I have nothing to eat myself, what shall I give it?" 106. He took it, put it into a skinhag, placed it on his shoulder, and went on.

<sup>1</sup> Or mēlī?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Voc. s. v. hargeno.

<sup>3</sup> Litt.: a wife (: for each of them).

<sup>4</sup> Prs.: az bayal ba-dar (ūsū) kad.

- 107. A yōi da pādo, wuṣ̄io ker. U žūr ke yū¹ k̄rei huro as tet. Šūi, lo yoi do k̄rei. 108. U ¹ žinkiko ni āsto, tāam k̄ret-isto. 109. Ker, neˈvur da ra ža, bayd wo žīe tro poš kef, ta yār ker, a ver, us tāi no ˈmaraken da a pīr.
- 110. Wos pārγe noγoˈrɛt, ā·γot no poš kɛ. 111. Žīo wöf, wos van šūi da lax'čīo ˈnīgio. Wo p°ško la-ˈkər, fāto wo parγəf.
- 112. Žinkiko xa lās šūi, na γεn xu ret. 113. "Šābaš," žinkiki 'štyō, " šābaš, wo 'mən xa lās kə ret! 114. Yo cəs mın žān dār wo mən xa lās kə ret? 115. Wos wä ī nā mun del, nā to hūγ dā lem"
- 116. Lī'o no 'wən, γūrd, fəči nəvdo. 117. Ā γōi, yū bö žēi aš³ra fī a'vər, lī o no 'maraken.
- 118. Maraken γūrd, vī rəvdo, ra he šūi. 119. Ā γōi. rə sī də xoi k<sup>y</sup>ei. Lo γoi də k<sup>y</sup>ei; u žur kə yū žinkiko, loh ši nāmīī ni āsti. 120. Žinkiko: "Čāi šəm," pisto wo zinī ef: "Äī zə nī, yo mara
- 107. When he came on the road, he became hungry and he saw that there was a house there. He went and entered the house. 108. A woman was sitting there, she was cooking food. 109. She prepared it, took it out on the platform, divided it and put it into the dishes, made it ready, brought it, and placed it before the man.
- 110. Then the mice came out and came to the dish. 111. He struck them; then he stretched out and opened the skin bag. He let out the cat, and it caught the mice.
- 112. The woman got rid of them, and they ate the food. 113. "Well done," said the woman, "well done. You have rid me of them. 114. What kind of animal is this? You have rid me (of the mice).<sup>2</sup> 115. Now give it to me, and I shall pay you for it."
- 116. He gave it to her, and she took it and hid it. 117. Then she came with a bag of gold-coins which she gave to the man.
- 118. The man took it, loaded it (on his horse), and went off. 119. He came (home), arrived at his own house, entered it, and saw one woman and two girls sitting there. 120. The woman (said to him:) "Drink tea," and she asked her daughters-in-law: "My daughters-in-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In sandhi:  $k^y \tilde{\epsilon} i (y) \bar{u}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> One would expect kar it has .

<sup>12 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

ž<sup>u</sup> kū wä ī pər sə!" 121. Zi nīef pīs tet: "Āi tāt, tu ž<sup>u</sup> kū<sup>ŋ</sup>?" 122. "Āi luγdeo, zo ž im k̄seyen. Mo k̄sēi mən-kān. 123. Zo šu'γum vī o no muzdu rīen; ža hānd sāl šūi, wo ā γ̄wōm. 124. Yū wu'lo, loh pūre mən-kān-e molo vīet; wos a γōm no xoi k̄sēyen. 125. Wos užerem-əste, moi kyeyin dīr šūi, wos baγake šūi. 126. Zo na z̄an wīnum kə: Moi kōi-kān fər ma, kōi γurdo fər ma?" 127. Zə pər səm-istə, ˈlā-mən če de fe, zo ˈxabar γu rum."

128. Žinkikī na zənī'ef 'što: "'Äi zə'nī, wäi pər sɛ: Tu žukū šūi?"
129. Zənief pis tɛt. "Zə ži 'malɛn, ž-im kyɛ'yɛn. Mun yū wu lo, loh 'pūrɛ."

130. Wos žinkikī išto: "Äi mara, to cəs nām?" 131. Wo yoi nām lī o, wo yoi pūrəf nām lī o, wo yoi wule nām lī o. 132. Žinkikī išto kə: "Äi zənī, yo mun išīfə. O'īh, wo mun pūrəf uiṣāwa." 133. Wo pūrəf uiṣavdet, āiyot. 134. "Äi pūre, mō a maf tāt. 135. Mō daulet kə asitet, a maf ta ten. 136. Xoref-este,

law, ask this man wherefrom he is." 121. The daughters-in-law asked: "O father, from where are you?" 122. (He answered:) "My daughters, I am from this house. This house is mine. 123. I had gone away to seek service; many years passed, and I came back. 124. I had a wife and two sons here; now I have come (back) to my own house. 125. Now I am looking about. There has been a change in this house, it has become a garden. 126. Being unknown I see it (thinking:) 'Whose can this (house) be? Who can have bought it?' 127. I am asking; don't quarrel with me; may I be informed."

128. The woman said to her daughters-in-law: "O daughters-in-law, ask him from where he has come." 129. The daughters-in-law asked him. (He answered:) "I am from here, from this honse. I have a wife and two sons."

130. Then the woman said: "O man, what is your name?" 131. He told his name and told his sons names, and his wife's name. 132. The woman said: "O daughters-in-law, this is my husband. Go and call my sons." 133. They called the sons, and they came. 134. (She said:) "My sons, this is your father. 135. This wealth which we have got, belongs to your father. 136. You are eating, drinking

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Translation uncertain. Litt.: something) other has come to ?) this house.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Litt.: With my wish.

šāmef-este, āydəf-este ā yen daulet. 137. Wos lo yoi taten xo šāne kəne!"

138. Xoʻšāne keʻret, boʻ ti pe dauʻlet, anʻjām, sarfərā že; də yoi kyēi ni āstet. 139. Zo āʻyōm.

II. (Yu).

Tu biland-a kūh biland Sultān barāmad rū-i band.

Gūvd: "Dar ba'yal či dārī?"

"Ki tāb-i ˈpər γaˈzal."

"Barār tā buxānim."

"Nə dārad sar u bar."

Qūm'qūm-i-fūxta,

har'dū ja'māliš bāfta.

Qissa-i mā dūr-i l di rāz

sūfi āra dar na māz.2

and wearing his wealth. 137. Make now merry with your own father."

138. They made merry. There was great plenty of riches, clothes and ornaments. They settled down in their own house 139. And I came here.

II

 $(\Upsilon \mathbf{u}).$ 

You are high, and the hill is high. The king came out onto the dyke.<sup>3</sup>

He said: "What do you have in your lap?"

"A book full of songs."

"Bring them that I may read them."

"It has neither head nor tail."

(It is like) a ringdove's throat, both its curls 4 are plaited.

My tale is far and long, for sūfīs in prayer (?).

<sup>1</sup> Probably for  $d\bar{u}r$  u.

³ band for bām?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This introductory verse is in Prs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> jamāl·iš was explained by mūi hair.

- 1. ἸΥū ādamen xūben lišė: Imo γō do ʾurjug ¹ suv dō, mīra-ʾċām do ʾċəp suv dō. 2. Wo ʾqissa ʾγurd, nə ʾśāharen šūi, nə tagʻbīr kəʾṛān šūi. 3 ʾŠahar bar šahar, ˈkūh bar kūh, bi āban bar biʾāban. xi āban bar xi āban, pādšā-i bar bād, xirman-i bī bāt.
- 4. "Assadām adēkum." "Wa āliku sadām." "Qissa γurdogum," na tag bīren o'īm." 5. Yū gala vān vi ō, gāla vānen vo naql γurd, šūi. 6. Šūi, da yū šāhər xavd, da yū ma'žit šūi. 7. Da ma'žit ni āst. 8. I što ke: "Hai da'rīx! Wos či idāj kenem? Zə da šeri'et mu'xālišəm." Vo māl hāl līm nōn."
- 9. Yū pādšā pūr da ma'žit lo γοi, ü 4 wa zīr lu γdo da ma'žīt lo γοi. 10. Pādšān pūr: "Ās, tā lu rõum." 11. Yū Μēγ yasp, yū Wūi yasp. 12. "Zə vto lu rōum."
- 13. Vo 'yaspə palān ži'ō. 14. (Skō) 'yū yasp 'pādšā pūr su wār šūi, yū yasp wa'zīr luγ'do su'wār šūi. 14. Šət nə šaha'rɛn. Wa'zīr
- 1. A man had a dream. (He saw) the moon on his right shoulder and the sun on his left. 2. He took the tale with him, went to town to get an explanation. 3. He went through town after town, hill after hill, desert after desert, flower-garden after flower-garden, to the overthrown king, to the windless threshing floor.<sup>5</sup>
- 4. (Then he met a cowherd and said:) "Peace be with you." "And peace be with you." "I have brought a tale, and I go to find an explanation of it." 5. There was a cowherd, he took the tale and went off. 6. He went and descended into a town, he went into a mosque. 7. He sat down in the mosque. 8. Then he said: "Alas! What remedy shall I find? I am . . . (?) in the law of Islam. I have given him my possessions."
- 9. Then a prince, and a vizier's daughter entered the mosque. 10. The prince (said to her): "Come, I will carry you off." 11. (He had) one horse (called) Cloud, and one horse (called) Wind. 12. "I will carry you off."
- 13. Then he saddled his horses. 14. The prince rode one horse and the vizier's daughter the other. 14. They went into the town. The

<sup>1</sup> Or urjuy?

<sup>2</sup> Or yurdoyum?

<sup>3</sup> Read šəm?

 $<sup>=</sup>y\bar{u}$ ?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Prs formula.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of muxali(š) is unknown to me

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cf. Parachi A îr and Taphone. Tajiki Abr and Bod. V. HFL, I, 165

luγdo pādšā pūr pisto: "Mo ča mīn žaγa? 15. Yasp γa zevda baš?" 16. Wo xap ker. 17. Wa zīr luγdo što: "Mo xap čī kīt?"

- 18. Šut da ū šahər xavdet. 19. Nə pādšān nə sa'lāmat šut, sa'lām k<sup>o</sup>ret. 20. Pādšāan pūr vi'ō. 21. Aγoi wo pisto: "Ku ōī?" 22. Wən i'što ke: "Wu'lo a'vezdəm." 23. Mən i'što ke: "Vuto xai vrai 'γurdum." 24. Pādšā pūren no xoi k<sup>y</sup>ēyen a vezdo.
- 25. Wo yūγen nām Zanyu lām vi ō. 26. "No šīren škūr ke nam." 27. Wən isto ke: "Γase." 28. No žanga len sut, no isīren škūr sut, vo šīr māsčet. 29. Pādšān pūren isto ke: "Vo wulo və nem." 30. Pādšān isto ke: "Č-kir kənē, vo wulo žo wən če ivet kənē."
- 31. Wo wulo što: "Da Kunji kāf oi! 32. Žə 'čīrien və čūrwakəf āvər, žə a'mun vo 'gəl āvər. Də 'bāy da-dram 'č-oi." 33. Wo 'što ke: "Bī aql žinkiko! Də 'bāy 'čī č-o'īm?" 34. Də 'bāya šūi, lə yot.

vizier's daughter asked the prince: "What kind of place is this? 15. Can the horse be galloped?" 16. He kept silent. 17. Then the vizier's daughter said: "Why does he keep silent?"

- 18. They went and alighted in a town. 19. They went to salute the king; and they saluted him. 20. The king had a son. 21. He came and asked: "From where have you come?" 22. He <sup>2</sup> said: "I have brought my wife." 23. The other said: "I have taken you as my brother." 24. The prince <sup>3</sup> took them to his own house.
- 25. One of them was called Zang-Ghulam. 26. (He said to his host:) "Let us hunt the lion." 27. The (second prince) said: "Very well" 28. They went to the forest and hunted the lion, and killed it. The (second) prince said (to his father): "Let use take his wife." The king said: "You cannot do it, you are not able to take his wife from him."
- 31. The wife said: "Go to Kunjikaf.<sup>5</sup> 32. Bring the nnripe fruits from the apricot-trees and the flowers from the apple-tree. But don't enter the garden." 33. He answered: "Stupid woman! Why shouldn't I enter the garden?" 34. He went to the garden (of Kunjikaf) and entered it.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Prs. paraphrase: j̄ $\bar{a}i$   $x\bar{u}b$  ast davāndan 'is the place fit for making the horse run?'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The first-mentioned prince.

<sup>3</sup> The second prince.

<sup>4</sup> The first-mentioned prince?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A corruption of Köhikaf, the Fairy-Mountain.

- 35. Hu rō də baγa bar zənge nə γοṛ, vo bar zange mašč. 36. Vo čīrief la pənəkaf, la vorγen γurd, raḥā kəṛ, ṣūi. 37. Parī zāt nə γοṛ. ¡Što: "Vo mun vəṭna." 38. Vo pari zātə su wār kəṛ, γurd, šūi.
- 39. Šūi, do xoi kyei reisīo. 40. Pādšā pūren što: "Və to wulo vənem." 41. Vo¹ taten što ke: "Am'boh pežə xap, la žīno ideh, rūγun da burž deh, və la žīno žafa ū." 42. Vo la žīno ideft. 43. Pādišān išto: "Da āxe rat žə mun itaten xabar γu ra." 44. Wo što ke: "To tat ta zō² təndu rust as tet." 45. Pādšā iguvd, xa lās šūi. 46. Žə pād šāan vo wu lo ivət gala vānen. 47. Gala vānen ičīr wulë šut.
- 48. Gala vān wa zīr luγdo do 'v γuś žio, lo γot. 49. Wa zīr luγdo kōviyo gošč, na as mīne <sup>3</sup> šūi. 50. Da as mīno čā tīr vio, də ča tīr loh ši nāmi vi et. 51. Wo žinkiko da ča tīr šūi. 52. Išto ke: "Mai lis kene, ke zə o īm, ke banda-i xākī an gāhi." 53. Lo gala vānen

<sup>35.</sup> There, in the garden, an ogre appeared, but he killed it. 36. He picked apricots together with leaves and fruits, started and left. 37. Then a fairy appeared and said: "Take me." 38. He made the fairy mount (his horse), seized her, and went off.

<sup>39.</sup> He went, and arrived home. 40. The prince said: "I shall bring your wife." 41. His father said: "Fell much timber, build a woodpile, pour clarified butter over the tower, and set fire to the wood-pile." 42. The wood-pile took fire. 43. The king said: "Get news about my father in the next world." 44. He said: "Your father is sound and healthy." 45. The king caught fire, and was finished. 46. The cowherd took the king's wife. 47. The cowherd got four wives.

<sup>48.</sup> The shepherd took the vizier's daughter in his embrace and entered. 49. The vizier's daughter turned into a dove and rose to heaven. 50. There was a tent in heaven, and in the tent were two girls. 51. The woman went into the tent. 52. She said: "Make a feast, because I am coming, so as to awaken the slave of the earth."

<sup>1</sup> Read wo?

 $<sup>^{3} =</sup> taz\bar{a} u.$ 

<sup>3</sup> For asmino with palatalization before §?

<sup>4</sup> Or 'foliage'?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Uncertain translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Or: in the end, at last.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> I. e. 'human being'?

dārū-i bīhu šī vi ō. 54. Wo a γοi, də k ei rə sīo. 55. Gala vānen išto ke: "Zə xūben wīnem este vio. Do xūben ko vīyo goščim." 56. Wo žiņkiko vispač šūi. 57. Wov loh žiņkəf avezdo. 58. Šut, gala vānen pānj wulë a vezdo. 59. "Wo xūben ku liščut?" 60. Wən išto: "Imo γō dum suvdo, mīra-čam dum suvdo, i stāri po fiz žer šut."

# IlI. (Yu).

1. Skandar pādšā nā tā-duniā šūi. 2. Da žaγa šūi, šəla dar yāhan lo'γot 3. Yū kur mo 'ptrəmdo. 4. Skandar pādšā vo kur mo pis 'to: "Čen-este?" 5. Kur mo što: "Nā-mən yū až'der nər, va mun xut.". . . (Unfortunately the narrator was interrupted, and he left me without continuing the tale).

53. The cowherd had a narcotic drug. 54. He came and arrived in the house. 55. The cowherd said: "I have been seeing a dream. In the dream I turned into a dove." 56. The woman went back. 57. He brought those two women. 58. They went; the cowherd (now) brought five wives. 59. (He asked): "Where did you see the dream?" 60. He answered: "I saw the moon on this shoulder, and the sun on that one, and stars surrounded my breast."

## III. (Yu).

1. King Alexander went to the Lower World. 2. He went to a place, and in the neighbourhood of a river he entered (the Lower World). 3. Then he caught a tortoise. 4. King Alexander asked the tortoise: "What are you doing?" 5. The tortoise answered: "A dragon to me..., it will eat me.

<sup>1</sup> Or: the two.

<sup>2</sup> Litt.: 'on this one'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Prs. čika měkini.

<sup>4</sup> nar? Meaning unknown.

IV. (Yr).

You yal'bil kenəm; xosto lyadəm da xu'rum; 'yau vastəm; polmo šūi; yau lo kərəm; wõu lə badəm; xosto žə yo wən wodyo šūi. Γal'bīl γūrdam; wou γal'bīn¹ žīəm; paz γō šūi. Və yōu rāš kerəm; wo you da laxčief γurdam, driem da čāro.

> V.  $(\mathbf{Yp}).$

Māmə 2 'šeśo 3 do 'Warto da pe žō nuve rum vo kēro, tālum vo pe žo. Kū ki tu šūyit, zo asəm; ispač na dūlen zo ro sum.

> IV. (Yr).

I sift the barley; I put the straw on the threshing-floor; I harnessed the ox; (the grain) became crushed; I let the ox loose; I winnowed the corn; the straw was separated from the barley(-corn); I took the sieve; I sifted the barley, it became clean. I heaped up the barley; I took it in baskets and poured it into the store-room.

> V. (Yp).

The old woman . . . is at the log in Wart. I pulled out my knife, I whittle the log. Wherever thou hast gone, I shall come, I shall arrive behind the mill-hopper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> wõu = vo you? yalbīn for yalbīl.
<sup>2</sup> Expl kampīr 'old woman'.

Expl. nām na dārad, hamtarī yak gap ast. mā ba tū āšeq šudam, "it has no name (meaning?); a word is like that. I fell in love with you." I can make nothing out of this explanation.

<sup>4</sup> Litt. "soft".

#### VI.

Šāl xān zəx mo Ov xizo, Mästiko pälef dizo. Šäl xān šūi di ārē Mästiko šūi xi ālē.

### VII. (Mm).

Vio yū â dam. Wo hâdamen lu luydi vī at. 2. Je hōn â jīz âdam vīo, bī čâra. 3. Yu čad mixi gyašk at, guzarān či šūi.
 Ve luydaf γu ruvd, ba dār šūi, jo hōn jâi šūi, ke yū wīya vī o.
 Ūra ni âst, ve luydaf šta ke: "Maf male ni šit, za da sāh ro ayum, bada hasum." 6. Me šūi, šūy-u či a γoi. 7. Mai luydi ni āstat wuro, woxrōgī, uč ku či vīo. 8. Bad žo wan wo yuk gelgin

#### VI.

Shälkhan <sup>2</sup> is wounded in Ovkhizo, Mastiko <sup>3</sup> is squatting. Shälkhan is looking about, Mastiko is thinking.

## VII.

### (Mm).

1. There was a man who had two daughters. 2. The man was very poor and destitute. 3. Some days passed, and he had nothing to live on. 4. Then he took his daughters and went away; he went to a very (far off?) a place where there was a willow. 5. He sat down there and said to his daughters: "Sit you down here, I shall go out into the desert and then come back." 6. He went away, went and did not come (back) 7. The daughters sat down there, they were hungry and had nothing. 8. After that one of them dug in the earth, (with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 234.

<sup>2</sup> Sher Khan?

<sup>3</sup> His wife.

<sup>4</sup> Or: to many places, in one of which there . . .

'k'ēdo və zəmīn, ki yū l<sup>a</sup>vər no γor. 9. šūi darūn də k<sup>y</sup>oi. 10. Wu'žir də k<sup>y</sup>oi kə jə hōn rūpä yo. 11. Bad ni âst wuro; wo au'qâtiš giyašk<sup>y</sup>.

### Variants of Grammophone Text.

1. ¹ādamen, vī āt. 4. ba dār 'šū, k'yū. 5. ¹šta, ni xit, 'sāh¹re aγayum (?), ¹bāda. 7. uni āta (?) woxrōgī. 8. bād žo, 'yukyeˈgīn ˈkēdo, k'yu laˈvor². 10. rūpäˈyō. 11. bād.

the result) that a door became visible. 9. She went into a house. 10. She saw in the house that there were many rupees. 11. Afterwards she settled down there and found a livelihood.

## VOCABULARY

The words are arranged in order of their consouants, the vowels coming into consideration only as a secondary factor. n and n are put after n. n has not been distinguished from n, nor n from n. For words in 'st' etc. sec n is 'vii -vii, into (with n) -vii, -vii, not (with n) -vii etc.

Y(idgha) forms are placed hefore M(unji) forms. Within Y preference is given to Yzh, in the second instance to Ysh, in M to Mm.—"Y" after a word means that it was noted in identical form from Yzh, sh (v. § 4) and two other informants.

Forms from Z(arubin) and G(authiot) are given for the sake of facilitating comparison; more rarely I quote B(iddulph) and M(ullah) F(aiz) B(akhsh) (= Shaw).— The Khowar translations given by my Y informants have in many cases been added, sometimes these Khow, words are duhious, or at any rate unknown from other sources.—"\*Prs." denotes that I do not know the word in question in the form or with the meaning given here.

The etymology of genuine Y—M words has heen briefly indicated, even when known hefore, or ohvions. Cognate words from Sgl.—Ishk., Wkh. and the Pamir dialects in general have been quoted more fully than such as helong to other Ir. languages. To a large extent I have, however, mentioned forms of interest from recently published material, and in some cases I have ventured upon etymological digressions at greater length. I believe in the nsefnlness of suggesting possibilities of derivation in a work of this kind, if only to stimulate other workers in the field to propose something better.

#### Vowels.

-ă interrog. particle.—no xoi pūrəf wulo ċə avazəm-ā? Ysh shall I not bring my sons a wife? tə na ren xurret-ā? have you eaten hread? yāxio xurret-a? have you eaten ashes? wos wa šūi nə tat kyēin-ā, da kyēi žī fərmī-ā? has she now gone to her father's house, or is she in (my) house? wo mən 'sife 'c-avazī- $\tilde{a}$ ' don't you bring my husband? tu  $h\bar{o}r(\gamma)$  kəne-a,  $\varepsilon$ -kəne-a? Yg do you work, or not? tu do' $\bar{o}f$  xabar  $\varepsilon$ -ešy-a? don't you

know about them? Cf. Wkh., Khow., Burushaski -a, (Sgl. -i). The origin of this particle is unknown, v. § 258. ai, ai Ysh, hai u, ē Z "O".—äi žuwān, äi parvardigāra; ai Xədāi Ysh, hai darīx n. Prs.

e Ysh, u izāfat.—ba nām-e Xadā; banda-exākī 'slave of the soil, hnman being'. Prs. V. § 213.

u, au Ysh and. — 'man zamo'nakk au man wulo my son and my wife. Prs.

a ib Ysh fault. — mən ces ä'ib? Ar. Prs. ābā'dī Ysh, âbâd G cultivated field, cultivation.—liščə-va wo mind ābā'dīef if he saw these fields. Prs.

å bruo cog'gō Ysh a kind of wild pear.
\*hamrautā-; Z amrūt from Prs.
amrūd. Cf. also Brahui amrōt, Shgh.
marōd, etc.

å būya Yzh, o'bŭa p, ābïy M(g) moraine,
 labəy m. Z rock.—Cf. Ishk. Gr.
 ambol moraine, Sar. amūl hill (LSI).
 Poss. < \*ham-paišaka-, cf. Skr.</li>
 sampeṣa- pounding, crnshing.

acar'dine Yzh, oni sh wedge for fastening the ploughshare to the plough. Khow. achārdini.—V. yuvazgo.

idā m. Yzh, sh. īda, p, ida, idak Z, ida'ka G slave: īda LSIm. yuda LSIy boy.—yo mən ida this is my slave; īda ažistai a boy is born. V. idiko, hade.

i dou m. Yzh, g, iº sh. yiº Mm, g, i daw Z, yi'ddu, ya'ddw G fever. — Cf. Khow. lw. andau, Wkh. andav < \*han-tapah-, cf. Av. ham-tapta- hot, tafnu- fever.</p>

idiko f. Yzh, sh, yudike ISI slave girl. Cf. Psht. inga female who accompanies a bride < \*aindg +  $\bar{a}$  < \*han-taki? V. ida.

a damə, v. ha'damə.

adəm Yzh, r, a dəm sh, adəmə g, adam Mm,  $\bar{\sigma}^o$  g,  $\hat{a}^{\dagger}dam$  G,  $\bar{\sigma}^o$  Z man, homo.—Ysh yo (h)adam, yēi adame this man, these men; ādamė xo'šān šot the men became happy; äi ādamen O meu: no āda'məf to the meu; ye ādame or konet Yr these men are working; yū ādamen xūben lišč Yn a man saw a dream; vio yū â'dam, wo hâdamen lu luydi vī at Mm there was a mau, the man had two daughters. mo âdəm, myend âdame Mm; mə â'dəm, myend âdami Mg. — Ar.-Prs. afseno Yzh, u, vufseuno Mm, fsēune g, (g), ti whetstone.—  $< *abi - s\bar{a}n(y)\bar{a}$ . cf. Prs. afsān, Wkh. pisūn, Sgl. vasīn, Khow, lw. u'sanu.

af sinγο Yzh, af sənγa Mti ladder.—
\*afsišngā < \*afšišn³gā < \*upaor \*abi-srišnakā? Ct. W. Oss. asina,</li>
v. EVP p. 78 s.v. šəl. Note also Tokh. klis stair.

af sırne Yzh, afsəri'ne sh, oərnə r, oənə g summer-wheat — < \*upa- (or abi-?) sıdnaka-? V. §§ 127, 165.

af tovo Yr. af toraga Mm bucket. Prs. agadro Yzh, agoo sh, r, g, 'aglero Mm, 'agelera t, aglo g, 'aglirä (g', oore ti, aglo'ra G grape.—Cf. Shgh., Prs. (as spoken by a Yarkand Tirk) angūro, Prs. angurda a single grape. Cf. § 127.

wgah Ysh instautly, hamī sāt, yak sāt.—
zo wo xoi dārui uo dalēm I shall give my medicine at ouce; žinkikī uo žə ašerafīef yu tərəft the woman instautly stole one of the gold-coius.
—Prs. \*ū-gāh = ān gāh.

ay'mīn Yzh, agmīn sh, r, agrimin g, ay'mīn Mm. G, agmin Mg, agibīn B honey (Mm also bee?).—Cf. Phl. angpēn (Frah. i Phl. angəmēn), Brahui hangumēn, Psht. gabīna, Wanechi angīn. etc. Not necessarily lw., as supposed by G and Horn s.vv.—Prs. \*ang bee (v. Horn), is supported by Kurd. hang, cf. Talish bizany (biz goat).—Transsylv. Gypsy yahjin honey may be an Ir. lw. V. śāt.

ag'mīn-kur'mīki pl. Ysh, agi'men kurmiko g bee. V. ag'mīn, kurmīko.

agimin'yex Yzh bee-hive. V. yêxio.

d'gungy Mm, ə'gunj (g) dough.— < \*hangaršana-? Cf. Psht. āyažəl to mix, knead (and Prs. yuršnāk a herb used in washing?). V. ləvaza, gūy.

agar Ysh if.—agar kōi ke liēt, raše if somebody gives you, it is well; agar rīzo vīo if he is small; agar da hazār miž yū suru päisō rəsī if yon get one copper coin iu a thousand days; agar išto (išlyot) ki when he (they) said that . . . Prs.

oʻguščo Y, 'āguškyo Mm, oguškya t,
'əguškyə g, əgiškya (g), oʻgüškya ti,
dgušk'a Z, azuš kya (?) G uguške
LSIm finger.—Prs. angušt, etc. Cf.
ćoromī oguščiko, malane oguščigo.

āγd-Yzh, r. sh, g, āγəst zh, r, āγust sh, g, 'āγud-: 'āγust Mm, 'a' t, ăo Z to put on clothes, to dress oneself. — āγdēm I sg., āγdē 2, 3 sg. Yzh; āγdəf-este 2 pl. sh, no āγəstān inf. sh, zōpə āγdəm r, 'āγudem Mm, aγudam, a'γustəm Mt.—Cf. Psht. āγustəl to dress, E. Oss. aγūd cover, shell, Phl. Turf. āgūst bound, Skr. gudh to conceal, bind (cf. Charpeutier. Act. Or. VII, 181).

 $a\gamma d\bar{a}(w)$ - Yzh, sh, r:  $a\gamma d\tilde{a}vd$  sh.  $\circ \tilde{a}ud$  r,  $a\gamma d\tilde{o}v$ -:  $a\gamma d\tilde{e}vd$  Z,  $a\gamma dav$ - LSIy to dress (caus.).— $a\gamma d\tilde{a}um$ .  $a\gamma d\tilde{a}vd$  $\partial m$ .

a γām Yp stubble.—Khow. Λγām (Lor. land specially kept for self-sown lucerne grass.

d yury Yzh, oo sh, r, g, ər yūy Mg, (g).
ero t. ə yurx (sh), ar yūg m, Z. oūk G.
orgūh B egg.—\*ā-gaura-, cf. Rosh.
(Lentz' yur egg. Skr. gola(ka)- ball,
glans penis? Cf. the following word.

d'γιτγα Yzh, <sup>o</sup>γake pl. sh, o'γūτγαke r.
 a'γōτ<sup>o</sup> g, <sup>†</sup>γark<sup>y</sup>o Mm, <sup>o</sup>kye g serotum.
 Cf. Sgl. γor, Wkh. γūτ, Shgh. γατῖπ.
 o'γιzο Yzh, sh. <sup>†</sup>ō<sup>o</sup> r, o'γūzo g, <sup>†</sup>dγιιzo Mm,
 ανūzā g <sup>†</sup>ονūzā g) <sup>†</sup>ανūzā f. Z.

¬ρ<sub>I</sub>uza g, ¬ρ<sub>I</sub>ūzä (g), ¬aρ<sub>I</sub>ūzå f. Z
 walnut.—\*àgauzā-, cf. Prs. gūz, Psht
 γūz, ūγz, γωοz, Talish viz. Maz aρωz.
 Hebr. lw. ¬ĕgōz, etc.

a'jīz Mm poor — jə hön á'jīz 'âdam vio, bī'čâra. Ar.-Prs.

u'kâb Mm eagle (?). Ar.-Prs. V. karyəz. a'kābur Ysh old man, a kâbur Mm rich—yū akābur niāsto 'yak mū-safīd...: a'kāburen 'što the old man said.—Ar.-Prs. akābir pl. rich, powerful. Also Khow. akābir old man.

a kade Yzh, sh, ο r, ο i pl. g. å kodiy Mm.

akondi ti, āk'ōndi (g) thorn, bramble.

—Cf. Sgl. kandāk. Connection with

Skr. kanta- improb. V. vurγ-ak'ōndi.

b'kək M(g) groan.

au qât Mm, existence, condition.— wo ao iš giyašky 'quzarān iš šud'. Ar.-Prs.

ald Ysh so much (?), amtarikār ?.—
wos ald ken, ke zo na to tat 'now
do it in this way, because I am your
father (?'; wos ale 'kên, muz durd
kên.

ālū Yzh, 'âlū Mm plum. Prs.

olo Yzh there. — olo da kyεi 'd'amū xâna'. — Av. avaδa.

i'lâj Yu remedy, medicine. — wos ci ilāj kenem? Ar.-Prs.

 $\bar{a}lq$  Mt throat (interior, alqa Z. Ar.-Prs. V.  $k\hat{a}\gamma \partial ko$ ,  $st\bar{u}\gamma a$ .

a lano Yzh, sh pomegranate. — dukanidar  $vurd v\bar{u} a^{o}$  the shopkeeper took a n: wo ao lio no maraken he gave the man the p.  $-<*\bar{a}$ - $d\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ -, or \*ha-dānā, cf. Psht. anang (ouolink de Morgan). Afr. Psht. nāngrōnsa ('n. tree'). Waz. Psht. wolang, id., Av. haδānaē-patā-(v. Tavadia. Šāvast-nē-Šāvast, p. 133), Prs. anār,  $r\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}$  can scarcely be a dialect form  $< *\check{a}\delta\bar{a}n$ . Cf. Chin. tan-žo. acc. to Laufer.Sino-Iranica, 283 fr. Ir. \*danak. ilir Y. Alir Mt, 30 (g), yi'lar m, oer LSIm belly (exterior), < Av. \*udara-. Cf. Sak. ŭra-, Psht. larai, etc. (v. KZ. 61. 32 squ.).

ilira Ysh, əlero Mg, ti, 'əliro (g. calf of the leg, ilīra B mnscle. — Cf. Wkh. iškamba-i-pā, Par. s.v. iškambek-i pāi, and also the Romance forms of Lat. ventriculus mentioned by Goldberger, Glotta, 18, 37.

a larsinė Yzh, oenī p, larsinė sh. o r, g, 'alarsin Mm, aliro t, ti, 'alürsin' (g) threshold, Yp also footboard of spinning-wheel. — 'siri, ta hė ao zh upper, lower th. — <\*adara-sayanakalying below? Resemblance with Khow. Ambircirēnī accidental. V. yūvirsin. aļ'vān Ysh, in yūr ao žiēm I extingnished

the fire. alvēsta v. avlāsto.

alīxa MFB ribs. If correct, cf. Sgl. woļox ribs.

-am encl. pron. 1 sg. V. § 205.

m Ysh, Z also. — zo əm oyim. Prs.
 am bōγ Yr cowife. Prs. ambāγ, cf. Khow.
 AmbōxčΛn. < \*ham-bāgā-> Cf. NTS,
 V. 47.

amboh Ysh. r. g, u, oox zh much, many. — yauyo ao the water is deep; ao pūre many sons; ao ayot many came; 'mind ao kyä'yī these many houses; ao pežə xap fell much timher; amboh-əni (?) hor kəyet they did much work. — Khow. amboh fr. Prs. ambăh. ambu'ro Y. amba'ro g pincers. Prs.

am'brōz čog'gō Ysh a kind of pear. —
Khow. Ambrōz fr. Prs. \*am(b)rōð,
cf. "Prs." ambarūd, arbū, xarmul, etc.
V. dbrūo.

umed Yzh, sh. umed G hope. Prs. umid'vāro Yzh, umid'vār sh, imid'võr r pregnant. Prs. V. vəzežo.

imo γο Yzh, umo sh, 'yimaγα Mt, (g) linseed, transl. zaγīr (prob. brassica campestris, cf. Vavilov, Agricult. Afghanistan, p. 114).

imo'ro Y, i'mōro u, 'yumago Mm, imare'ka t, i'maraka (g), yu'marika g, yimareka ti, yu'magâ f. Z, yuma'ga G, oega LSIm moon. — Cf. Wkh. źə'mak. Sgl. wulmēk. Psht. wūngiē, gumakai, etc., Kurd. hīw '\*ušm-). — < \*uxš-māh·(kā)-(not \*uxšya·, v. Benveniste, JA, 1930, cf. Morgenstierne NTS, III. 298). Psht. wa žmaī, Sogd. wxšym·x < \*waxš(y)a-.

d'muno Yzh, sh, r, ono g, a'mun u, 'amingbo Mm, oa g, āmingbā (g), amin'g'a Z, amin'ga G, MFB apple, (Yu apple-tree?) — žə a'mun vo gəl āvər Yu 'bring the flower from the apple tree'. Cf. Sgl. mier, Wkh. mur, and v. EVP s.v. mana.

i'măr: imur Yzh, sh, yumar- Mm, t, yūmra B to count. — i'mārem Yzh, ima'rem sh, yumarem Mm, yu marлт t. — Av. pres. hišmar- (mar-).

i mār (1) Ysli number, V. i mar-.

- am sāyo Yr, oyaga Mm neighbour. Prs. V. gram bešu.
- a'maxno Yzh, sh, amaxnä M(g) sloe.
   \*ămarnaxã demin. of å muno?
   Cf. Psht. mānū. V. § 96.
- āi'no Mm, <sup>o</sup>a G mirror. Prs. V. šišoγo.
  īno Y, B, '(y)īna Mt, 'yīno m, <sup>o</sup>ε g, <sup>o</sup>ä (g), <sup>o</sup>e ti, <sup>o</sup>a Z, <sup>o</sup>a G blood. —
  Cf. Sgl. wēn, Wkh. wuxen, Psht. wīne, etc. V. Henning, ZII, 9, 226 sq. (\*vohún-> \*vhūn-> vīn- etc.??).
- ind Yzh, r so much, ikada. mox ind orγ kej m Yr we have done so much work. — Cf. mind. V. § 210.
- an'diša M(g) thought. Prs. V. diš. an'jām Ysh dress. Khow. (from Ir., cf. Prs. jāma).
- a'nimef Ysh half (adv.). ao suwār šut vəl'yō, ao šut 'sāro one half of the horsemen rode upwards, the other half rode downwards. From nīm,
- anâr Mm, anār LSIm pomegranate. Prs. V. a'lano.
- anuv-Yzh, sh to bellow. yavo a'nuvê zh, yawə a nuvo sh. Cf. Skr. ā-nu- to roar towards?
- a'naxno Yzh, 03 sh, 0x3n3 r, 0x3n g nail.

   Prs. nāxun. etc., but why a-?
  V. § 96. Cf. nâxun.
- an'ga(h) Yzh, r, g awake. ao šom zh, an'gāhi u, you awaken 'them'; žə 'xōvən anga šuyəm r. — Khow. anguh, angā, from Ir., cf. Wkh., Sar. (Sh.) agah, agâh fr. Prs. Cf. bivāre.
- angahu: angahavd Yzh, angāh u to awakeu (traus.). — an'gāhi r 3 sg., anga'hum, angahavdum zh. — Khow. angahaw.
- ingut Yzh halter, headstall of a horse.

  -- Khow.
- a pir Yzh, sh, Mm, apir Z before, in

- front of.  $n\bar{a}$ -mən d-a  $p\bar{v}r$  Yzh in front of me: də  $t\bar{v}$  ao astet sh; ustāi no maraken da ao sh he rose in front of the man.  $p\bar{e}$ š-i  $\bar{u}$ . Doubtful whether with Z < Av. pairi not pairi- or para-, or < paoirya- in a local sense. V.  $skap\bar{v}r$ .
- ar bāb Yzh headman of a village. —
  Ar. Prs. arbāb lords, used as a sg. also in Taj. (Semenov, Mater. II.
  44). V. ćārwəl.
- arico Mm, t shrub with eatable berries, strawherries(?). — Scarcely < \*ārincā, ef. Brahui ārcin 'wild almond', Prs. arjan, etc.).
- ārdi Yzh floor. Khow. (Lor.) ardi middle part of a room. (But Kurd ard floor < Ar.).
- trγo γο Yzh. sh, uº r. yuº g. yir γαγα Mm, ºgo m, ir γαγα Z lucerne, riška. — \*uγarakā· (?, ef. Sgl. γurūk. Shgh. γοτj, etc. (v. Z s.v.).
- araq Mg, m, Z, G perspiration. Ar.-Prs. Cf. xul.
- a raq Yzh a kind of wine, made in Shoghor,a rak sh fruit-juice. Ar.-Prs.
- d'runyo Yzh. sh, o runyo r. g light, brightness, arungo B light, arūnwo B lightning. — \*ā·rauxšnakā·. Cf. ruˈšân.
- ar ra Mm, Z saw. Prs. Cf. gir.
- ara rēγ Yzh, yöruγa M(g, eructation. —
  ao kenem = Khow. āra rēγ koman.
  The Khow. word with redupl. from Ir., ef. Prs. ārēγ. Sgl arək, Sar. rēγ.
  V. EVP s.v arṣai.
- ôrusō Mm, &rūs Z bride. Ar. Prs. Cf. šābuk.
- aršəmin Yzh, sh barley bread V. arzəmin, köskən, yadmin, maymun and yeršio.

urw: urwai Yzh, sh, wurw-r, wurw-: wur'uvõi M(g), wurv- Z, ūrv- G to be boiling (Z caus. wurvon-, wurvov-). vâuvo ur wai Yzh, yauvo wurwāi r, ur'wo sh; yduyo urwai vio (pluperf.), wos axleno šūi zh. - Cf. Sgl. wārv-, . Sar. wāraw., Shgh. wūrv (v. N. Shgh. s.v.), Par. yarw- < \*warb- < \*barw-. u'rīz-: u'rīzd Yzh, r to spread manure, pārura parišān mēkinam. — u rīzem, ozděm zh, o $\Delta m$  r. - < \*ava· (or wi?) razaya-, cf. Av. raz-. ur'zu-: ur zā- Yzh, wurzeyevd M(g) to ! stretch the arm. - ur zum, ur zāim Yzh, wurzerevdum M(g). V. urzur. urzūy Yzh, hurzūy sh, g, ur zūy r, urjug (!) u, 'urzug Mm, oəy g, wurzəy (g), oʻzəq G, wurzug Z, hūrzūh B right, straight, true. - wurzex

kerem M(g) I straightened; do 'urjug {
(čəp) suv'dō Yu on the right (left)

shonlder. - < Av. 2r2zu-, not with

 $G < *w_r z$ . Cf. Khow. horsk id. fr.

(JA. 223, 227)(w)urzug < \*vi-răzaram

Ir. \*urz(u)k.

= Sogd. wrzrw.

Not with Benveniste

arzəlmin Yzh, sh millet bread. Cf. Prs. arzanīn. V. aršəmin and yūrzon. arlzīz Yzh, r, g lead. — Prs. arelyevde Yzh wood-carving. — Prob. from the past ptc. of a caus. verb. — From Khow.??

as Y, M, Z, G: ἄγδί Y, M, aγθy Z, a'γây G to come. — 'asem, as, a'γοm Yzh, asəm, as, a'səf, ἄ'γōm, ἄγ(w)δί, kəla aγομίτ? when did you come? na kōy āγδίτ? whom did you come for? ἄ'γδτ čpāč they came back Ysh; as, ӑ'γōm r, ā'γwōm g, etc.; hasum ā'γēyam, aγοί, āγδίτ Mm, asam, 'ăγθyam t, aγwai LSIy. — \*ā-is-:

\* $\bar{a}$ -gata-, cf. Sgl. is-:  $\bar{a}\gamma ad$ . — Cf. Tedesco, BSL, 25, 53.

is: yāi Yzh, sh, yis: yây Mm, yīs: yây G, (y)īs: yōy Z to carry (an inauimate thing). — i'sim Yzh, isəm sh, 'yisam Mm; i sa imper. 2 sg. Ysh; 'yāim Yzh, sh; yāi sh. 'yâyam Mm. — 'tu wum i'sa no'mən 'kyēyan Ysh take this to my honse; wo dārā yāt Ysh they took away the medicine. — Cf. Yazgh. ayas: ayed, Shgh. yâs: yâd, Ishk. uss: wud, etc. to take away, Psht. yōsto carry. Av. yāsa- (Meillet, BSL, 24, 116).

as'kān Yzh, sh, B easy. Khow. as'qān, fr. Ar. Prs. isqān giving repose; cf. Kurd. askān ease. Cf. â'sân.

a'sāl Yzh, sh, a'sâl Mm, t, yim sâl G this year. — Cf. Sgl. a'sāl, Shgh. astd, Par.  $\hat{a}$ sur, Orm. asul etc. < $\bar{a}$ -s(a)rda-. yimsâl < \*ima-.

as mino Yzh, r, n, oino sh, g, asmuno Mm, as muna f. Z, asmana G (lw., sky, heaven.—na as mine, da asmino. Prob. ancient lw. — V. pasmino.

â sân Mm easy. — Prs. V. as kān.

'aspəlan Yzh, sh. r stable. — < \*aspadāna, cf. Av. aspastāna. V. axta xâna.

ast: vī Y, M to be. — Y in all persons
asttet (v. § 224), mon yū kotyū astet
1 have a book; mon yū wulo astet;
kūi-ste who are you? (?)

as'tw Yzh, 'ástiah' B abuse. — aº kə'nem. I abuse (Khow, diš lū koman).

us tada Yzh, sh, u° g spider. — Prs. ustād is not used in this sense, but ef. Par. Voc. s.vv. dīwu'rūk, jō'lāk, γa'fak; Sköld, Materialien, s.v. džalo·k. Cf. ustāt. V. dorzku; γūz, zariškyo.

as tano Yzh, sh vestibule. — Prs. āsitān(a).

- us tušć: ustušćai Yzh, sh. ustušćah B to jump. — us tuščam: us tuščaim zh. ustušćam: ustuš čam sh — uštušć- is prob. originally the past stem of \*ustur-, from which Khow. ušturto flee. run'.
- us tāt Ysh, ustâd G carpenter. -- Prs. Cf. ustada.
- us xūbon Yzlı awake. "us + xūbon. V. angah, bidar.
- iš encl. pron. 3 sg. V. § 205.
- ōš M'g) porridge. Prs. āš.
- aščo Yzh. ᾱ p, ᾰš řỡ sh. r, g, oś kyo Mm, g, a sh, ō (sh), ō t t, ōśkyä g. aš kya G. ᾱ o Z, āškie LSIm eight.— Ay, ašta.
- iš vīr Y, os kīr Mti. əs° t. g. yeskīg m. yis kīg G, °īk Z roof. dā iš cīr Yzh under the roof. < \*usča kataka-, cf. Sgl. kiskut, Wkh. iskakut Yazgh. s kād.
- aščo-miž Yzh week. Cf. Bajni waż mēθ
   (Sköld), but Shgh. ūv mēθ. Sogd.
   βtmyð. V. miž.
- iš in Yzh. în(s) r. ins sh, šcins g. yišk"uns Mm, iškyīn g. yi ti. skyīns g. it. skyīns g. it. kyūns g. it. it. kyūns g. it. kyūns g
- uš čeno Yzh, wuškyeno Mm place for keeping hay and straw (jāi ki kā mendāzī`. -- Cf. Sgl. uštīn hayrack, Or. wūx tōn < \*wastra-dānā.</p>
- ušk Yzh. g, wušk sh, r, Mm, G, Z, u ii Mg dry. — Av. huška-.
- u'k-mäžiko Yzh ankle-bone, Numerous Ir. and IA names of hard and protruding parts of the body are compounded with a word denoting 'dry' 'thirsty', 'tiuder', etc. Thus, e.g. 13 Kulturforskning

- Bal. wišk haḍḍ, Badakhshi kắk-i-pā. Khow. euewdēki, Lhd. sukraṇḍ 'shinbone'; M šâxck-i sar temples: Prs. eušk nāy throat, windpipe. etc.. etc. V. wuškiostia.
- nšk sāl Yzh year of drought, sāl hi barj' na kard. — Prs. .rušk sāl.
- u šun : uši nāi Yzh to neigh. yasp u šune.
- ašera fī Ysh gold coin. sko yū ašīra fīn. žə ašera fīf. — Ar.-Prs.
- a šasto Yzh, ašosti pl. M(g) small shrub with red berries resembling grapes.
- uštum B voice. -- Acc. to Tomaschek p. 200' < Av. staoman, but prob. misunderstood for 'štum I said.
- uštu Yzh, a B briek. Khow.
- uši (y) ūr Vzh, hu sh. ušyūr Mm wise.

   Prs.
- u ṣā-: u ṣavd Yzh, u ṣāw-: u ṣavd sh. r.
  u ṣāv-: u ṣāvd Mm, wu ṣōw-- g, ūṣāwG, w ṇṣōw-: w ūṣēvd Z to call, shout.
   u ṣāum. u ṣavdum Yzh, u ṣawam.
  u ṣaudam r 'faryād mēkunim'; wo
  mon 'pūrof u ṣāwa sh call my sons;
  wo pūrof u ṣāvdst sh they called the
  sons. < Av. \*us-sravaya-, cf. Orosh.
  vōy- to read, Yazgh. a vaw-, Psht.
  ṣōwul q.v.) to teach, show (cf. Kashm.
  hāwun id., Prs. surūdan to sing, etc.
  Ci. Wkh, širaw-.
- u · an-əm: u sad-əm Yzh to churn. -- Cf. fixšōn · to shake.
- utr le Yzh. ele sh porridge. as. Evidently an IA lw., but no direct corresponding form in Khow, or elsewhere. Is Prs. atāla 'a kind of porridge also of IA origin?
- arda Mg, g, ab da .sh` seventeen. Prs.
- övd. öwd Mg, g ford. \*ā-bda- place

where one can place the foot? Cf. Wkh. vədek 'path' < \*ābda-? Mekr. Bal. badūk 'beach impassable at high tide'; Av. abda- (v. s.v.).

ardo,  $\bar{a}^{\circ}$  p,  $av^{\dagger}d\bar{o}$  sh, r,  $\bar{a}^{\circ}$  g,  $ov^{\dagger}d\bar{o}$  Mm, g.

a sh, G,  $\bar{o}$  M. (sh,  $\bar{o}$  t,  $\bar{o}vd\bar{o}$  g,

a Z, seven. — Av. hapta, etc.

av γuš Yzh, sh, u, 'yirguš Z embrace, lap. — žīo da avγuš, do 'v'γuš he put in his lap. — Cf. Sogd. 'pkšy 'flane' (Benveniste); Shgh. bejuž armpit. < \*upa-kaša-, or \*upa-gauša- (cf. EVP s.v. γēž, etc.)?</p>

a veli Yzh, ă'belī sh, abeli B, avel'yi,
ctc., Z both. — wōi ā° žōī lāmo viet
Ysh they were both from one village;
no a° pūref to both sons. — Av.
waya- (avaya-) + dva- (duye\*).

av land Yg hem of a cloak. — \*upadāmanta-? Cf. lomadå.

av lästo Yzh, sh, alvosto Mm, °ös ta f. Z sleeve. — \*upa dastā·, cf. Or. (Lentz) abdöst leather glove.

āver- āver Yzh, sh, g, āver: āver Mm, āvər-: āvər Z, āvar- G to bring inanimate obj.). — avə rvm Yzh. əğti va avəram Mt I bring something; avit Yzh, sh he brings; va čūricakəf āvər Yu bring the apricots; amboh māl arāļ Ysh bring much goods; tārazū a vre Ysh bring the scales; acrum Ysh; a vər no xoi kyē in Ysh she brought it to her own house; wo māləf a'vret (a'vret) Ysh they brought the goods; arregem Yr I have brought: a vre Yeh he has brought. - Av. ā-bar-; cf. Sgl. āwīr-, Shgh.  $v\bar{a}r$ : (a) $v\bar{u}d$ , Sogd. " $\beta r$ -. Orm. war-. a văz-: a vazd Yzh, sh, : a vezd u, ā vāzum Mm, avoz-: avezd Z to bring (animate obj.), to fetch. - zo rawo a vāzəm, a vazdım Yzh, zaw-a vazəm sh, niaske a vazən sh I yawn; wulo avazəm, a vāzdo sh; wo mən 'šife č-avazī ā ² why don't you fetch my husbaud? avīzd zh he brings; a vāz imper. 2 sg., a vāze 2 pl.; wu lo a vezdəm u, gala vānen pānj wule a vezdo sh. — Av. upa-az-, but Psht. bōz- (bōtləl to lead away, Shgh. bâz-. Or. abōz- to send (away) < \*apa-az-, av zano Yzh, sh. ²āno p, yivzano Mm

wooden ladle. < \*upa zāwanā? avzaniko Yzh small wooden ladle.

av'zino Yzh, sb first watering of the fields, xākāva. — Av \*upa-zayanā-following the winter (cf. Av. upa-naxtar), cf. Yazgh. zīn winter (Sköld. V. 'livde, 'xōkova.

aw lān Yzh, sh. r, av lānd g (? cf. av lānd, av lān B single bridle. — Cf. Psht. mlāna. wlīna, Wan. aw lān, Sar. viòān. Yazgh. av δēn, Kurd. zwāna (Soane), Sak. vyāna. Sogd. βδ"nh (Benv. JA, 233, p. 241), Oss. uido'n. Av. aiwi-δāna. Cf. Wackernagel. KZ, 43, p. 282. V. lo jōm, qiza'gō.

a'warxo Yzh flame. — With dissim. fr. \*arwărxo. cf. Av. urvāxra- (\*vrāxra-) heat?

dwusp Yzh, sh, a' Mm, a'ūsp Yg, ōwus'to (?) r, a'wusp Mm ploughbeam. — Cf. Sgl. āwi'p, Wkh. uəšp. — Cf. Av. (upairi-) spā- to place at the top of?

a wusto Yzh, dw sh, ŏ r, g, awusto Mm, a t, a g dark-leaved willow.— With wu < vu, fr. \*ā-paustā- having bark??

a wāz Yzh noise. — yaugo ha wāz kīt the stream is roaring; awāza kīt (the trees are soughing — Prs.

- owe zon Mg hanging. o kerim. Prs. a wāź-im. a wayd-əm Yzh to hang up. a'wiid 3 sg. — Prob. < \*awa-hanj-. cf. Old Prs. fra-hang- 'v. Nyberg, Uppsala Univ. årsskrift, 1934, 2. p. 59 and Henning, ZII, 9, p. 198, Prs.  $\bar{a}wang(\bar{a}n)$ ; hanging, etc. The relation to Prs. āwēz-, āwēxtan is uncertain, but this form may be a cross between \*ā-waic- and \*awa-hauj-. i xv Yzh. r, 1 xoo sh, yixu M, t. ti. o m. ä g, yexa g, LSIm, ira Z, yi oa G, yixo B, yaxva MFB : 'غوه' = \*yiroh a) sister. I cannot trace the source of G's Y form yixwâh. -
- Poss. < \*yaxwā (cf. Sgl. yə'xōai. Shgh. yax < \*'h'ahwā < 'hwahā. ixčogo Yzh, 'āxvayo sh, 'yē' g husband's brother's wife, g also co wife. Fr. \*xwahičī + o and secondary suffix 'yo' V. yana. yāi-wulo.
- i.viko Yzh, yi.vigo g sister (demin. V t wō.
- ax len Yzh, on r, eno f.?; g, yax lon sh, len Mm, yix len g cold. yâu; o urwai vio. wos axleno šūi Yzh the water had been boiling, now it became cold. \*aixa-dāna. cf. Prs. yax, etc.?
- a xrio Y. î pl. p. ā vriā Mg, axriga t. axrikyo m wild rose, briar, Khow. gilgitok. Cf. Or. a'xar. Shgh. Sköld xar id. but note x!, Khow. xu'rī (lw. wild rose, Prs. cār thorn. Skr. khara-rough; thorny plant. V axrī-gula.
- a'xār Yzh, sh, r, ar g, a xār Mm, ö ti manger. -- Prs.
- a xrī-gula Yzh wild rose dower, a rī-ku'luxa fruit of the briar, hip. V axrīo, kpo i

- $\bar{a}xe\ rat\ Yu$  in the end, finally,  $da\ \bar{a}$  . Ar.-Prs
- ux šň Y, sň p. ox šň Mm, g a sh, b sh, ux ša g, vx šī t, ñx ša Z, axše LSIm six. uxšo mii Ysh, Av. ašvaš. Cf. §§ 94, 168
- ax šīn Yzh, en sh, r. ən g, āksin B blue. — Av. axšaēna: V. kabāt.
- ax šen-sire m, Yzh, ax š5-sere sh a kii d of large duck.
- axšām: axšēvd Z to chew. Z compares Ishk. šān., Wkh šmw., cf. also Prs. xasāīdan to chew, xašānīdan to bite.
- axta xâna Mm stable, Prs. also in Wkh. and Shgh.), from àxta gelded, bull, horse. — V. aspolan.
- iya B perhaps. Originally an optative 3 sg. of the verb substantive?
- oy-, šūi, š- Y, ây : šūi, šī- Mm, t, ây- : šəy Z. ây- G to go, to become, Z also to come. - oyum, oyiim, o im Yzh, sh; oi h. oih Y imper.. som. šūi Y; đyvm, hái. šīam, šửi Mm, t: wōs do sūy ōyəm Yr 'ālī da kūča mērim'; zo sabā oīm g I shall go to morrow; ku vī u where do you go? də kyoi ayum, za da sākaro dyum Mm. Cf. §§ 85, 229 sq. — oy- from \*ayaya $\cdot$  or  $\bar{a}$  -- ayaya $\cdot$ ), a secondary -aya- present of the root ai to go, cf. Par. 25- to come. Scarcely fr. \*ā-hat- ef. Yazgh, bad- to go < \*upahat-), and not, with G. borrowed from Prs. V. šūi.
- ize Yzh, i ze sh. yijya Mm. 1990 g. yizio ti. iji#a Z goatskin bag used for carrying sour milk in, mašk.—
  \*iziyaka-. cf. Orm. iz 'mussuek', Bal hiz leather churn. V. EVP s.v. žai. and cf. Psht, Bal, zik sk'n for ghee.

âzâda-pə lang Mm a kind of leopard. — \*Prs.

i zīdo Ysh, zh yester-eve, bēgā. — Cf. Sämn. izī, Wkh. yez, etc.. cf. Horn, s.v. dī.

iz mă Yzh, sh, g, izə ma r, 'yızma Mm, 'yazmo ti, yāz'ma G. 'āz^ Z (m. firewood. — Cf. Av. aēsma-, Prs. hēzum. etc.

ziāne, v. ziāne.

a zör, v. hazār,

a zīto Y, 'a° Mm, 'āzītā' (g) Berberis chitria. Prs. zarītā, zarang, zārīj, Khow. cow²ž (: čōwinj jungle plant with red, useless fruit, Lor.'. — \*ā·zarītā, v. zīt.

a zuzγo Yzh, sh, oʻg, oʻjʻr, 'ujizγa Mt, 'wu' (sh', g, wu'jīzγā (g', 'wujuzgo m, 'wuγzəga f. Z, 'öĕga G frog. — wuγzəga < \*wuzγago < Av. vazaγa+kā. Cf. e.g. Gilaki (de Morgan \*γuzγā ("rhouz-rhâ"), but Mazand. (Barfrnsh) "vák" < Old Prs. \*waδaγaka.

7ž m, Y, Mt, Z, B, yīž Mm, g, g), yīš ?; (sh) snake. — Av. aži-; ef. Maz. ažik 'ver de terre' (de Morgan).

ažda Mg, (g), c'da (sh) eighteen. — Prs. až'der Yn dragon. — Prs. (similar forms in Khow., Bnr. and Shina).

až γāl Y, zh, sh, a'žga'l B family. də a' 'xabar češ-ε'? Ysh have you no news about your family? — Khow. až 'γāl.

a'žəp Ysh wonderful, ajib. — Ar.-Prs. u'žer: užur Yzh, sh, užar-: užir r, užār-M(g), užyār-: (w)u'žir m, wužar-: wužir Z, ūžar- G, wužer LSIm to perceive, to look. — užer sm este Ysh I am looking, užu'ram. u žar r, imper. 2 sg.; užūr kə yū kysi huro astet Ysh he saw that there was a house there; zinkiko užup 'yū mrx, loh mix sh the woman looked out for him for one day, for two days; wu zir də kyoi kə jəhōn rūpa'yo Mm he saw that there was much gold in the house.

-\*wi-(\*awa-?car-'cf. Prs. nigarīdan etc.) or \*-jar- cf. Yaghn. yār- to regard, look)? Psht. gōrəl may go back either to \*han-kār- or to \*han-gār-.

d'žuryo Yzh, o j r, åžurž yo sh. əž yuryā M(g) burning coal. ember, qavib-i murda ki šud. — Apparently fr. \*ă-žgaur. \*ă-gžaur., cf. Wkh. žagury. 'ažistai Yzh, p āžis'tai sh is born. a' jista B to be born. — ažist-este is being born, Khow. ažuran; olo dai kuri īda ažistai Yzh there, in that house a boy is being born. — Khow.; note the remarkable retention of the Khow. inflexional form. Cf. § 231. a'žawuy-'(?) Ysh to bear a child. — a'žawuy-m tū you are bearing me,

tu mara paidā mēkunī. — Khow. ūžut Yzh, ūžut sh, ūžut B, wujud LSIy belly interior. — Khow. 'ujjut, 'ujut the privates.

### B

ba Ysh in. — In the Prs. formulas: ba nām-e Xadā, ba hokm-e Xadāyen. — Prs.

bai Yzh, g, B, LSIy, bōi Mm, g) bāi LSIm uncle, taγa. — Cf. Shgh. bâb. Wkh. bəč. etc.

bāi Yzh rich. - Turk.

bū Yzh, sh, r, g, būu Mm, g. būm Z
owl. — Prs. būm, būf; also Khow. bū.
būi Y, Z, G smell. — Prs.
būi gən Mm stinking. — Prs. \*būy-i yand.

- bu'buka Yzh, āk g, babāa a black and white bird. Khow. bu buk. — Cf. Prs. bōbak hoopoo, pewit, Wkh. bībuk cuckoo.
- biāban Yu desert. Iu the Prs. formnla b bar b°. — Prs.
- bo'bure Yzh, 'ə sh, r, 'o g wasp, bəbər M (sh), 'ba' g, 'be'ber (g), 'bambur m hnmble-bee. — Prob. fr. Khow. b'ümbur. V. surx-bobure.
- $bar{\imath}^{\dagger}bar{a}t$  Yu windless (in Prs. formula,.
- bi câra Mm helpless, destitute. Prs. bici rōn-: bicirend M(g, to graze. Prs., cf. Sgl. becarān- and Z bipēcon to
  - twist, bispor to entrust and other lw.s with generalization of Prs. bi. V. badaway.
- bu çayi, -u î Yzh, a î sh bud, flower. Khow. buc û blossom (O'Brien), buç huşik to flower.
- bād Mm afterwards, after. b° žo wan 'bād az ū', bāda hasom 'bād mēāyam', bād niāst. — Ar. Prs.
- bod Ysh, bot g, B closed. Early lw. fr. Prs. But cf. Khow. botik to bind. bo da Yzh dyke, dam; ankle-bone; bond

Mg ankle-hone, banda m knuckle. — Prs. band. Cf. bot. trəboda.

bā dām Yzh, ba sh. bū dōm r, bā dâm Mm almond. — Prs.

bod'rui Yzh. ri g. bad'rūī r ugly, bad. .
— Prs.

ba'dār Mm off, away. — b° šūi he went off. — Prs. ba-dar.

bi'dâr Mm awake. — Prs. V. bivāre.
bo'daway-am Mm. bidaw-: bidawōy Z
to run. — Prs. V. yāz-.

ba'dir Yzh large hammer, sledge. — Khow.

bē'gāna Yzh foreign, strange. — Prs. baya Yzh, bāya sh, u, B, bāy Mm, G

- garden. də bā; a šūi, hu rō da bā; a Yu: bā; a kə'ret sh they made a garden; də bā; da dram ē-oi Yu don't enter the garden. — Prs.
- başake pl.? Ysh a small garden. başake šūi sg. there had grown up a garden (gardens?).

ba yäle Yzh walnut-shell.

buy moz Yzh, bo° sh grape-juice. bō; maz B wine. — Cf. Prs. bigmāz wine, ba drinking-glass.

bayaz Yr bellowing, bleating. — yawo, vozo b² kīt oste. — Cf. Z bey- to bellow. Ishk. bay- etc., Khow. blay; Sgl. ba'yas. Cf. § 193.

boh Ysh much, very. — boh ti pī dau'let very great riches. — Khow.

boh·um Yzh : bohay·em r, bōy·: bōy Z. : bahāi LSIm to kiss. — Cf. Sgl. boh. Khow. bā, bah, Bur. ba, Wkh. bā, etc.

bo'hor Mg, m, ba'hōr Z spring (season'.

— Prs. — V. fsidro.

bīhu'šī Yu fainting. — dā'rū·i bˆ a remedy against f. — Prs.

baja Mm wife's sister's husband, 'je g brother's wife ?). — Cf. Sgl. bō'jā. Kab. Prs. < Tnrk.?).</p>

bī aqəl Yzh, sh, aql u, bēaql Z stnpid — ba žinkiko u. — Ar.-Prs.

bakın'da Yzh, conda g, cond r, narba'kend sh male calf, 1—2 y. old.— IA; Cf. Sgl. baken'di, Gawar Bati bākend.1 etc. Not known from Khow. — V. ju'ana.

bil Yzb, sh, bēl g spade. - Prs.

bol Ysh the Pleiades. — Khow. orig.
"The Host, Army, cf. e.g. Hind.
Kacpaciyā: kacpac 'crowd, etc.

bilėõ Yzh, p small spade, especially one used for roasting upon. — Prs.

bai loydo Yr female cousin. — V. bai, luydo. bäl'yam Yzh mucus from the mouth, phlegm. — Ar.-Prs.. cf. Sgl. bal'yām. V. nez'yo.

bal<sup>3</sup>ko Yzh <sup>o</sup>lko sh. bol<sup>3</sup>ka r, bōl<sup>3</sup>ko Mm hammer. — Cf. Khow. baloka. balka, Sgl. bal<sup>3</sup>k̄. Par. bâlu'kā. fr. Turki bolqa.

b) lūlo Mm the mouthpiece of a blacksmith's bellows '', kūra [cf. Prs. kūr a smith's forge?.

bi länd Yzh, 'and sh. r, g. Mm. g, bo land Z, G high, tall. — johānd b' as'tet Yr he is very tall. — Prs.

bi lar. G to love. -?

bi'ləxša Yzh, blax sh n. of a wild vegetable, growing in the hills, sauza.
 — Cf. Bad. Prs. Lor. bilaxša thin?

blacā·um Yzh to collect. — Khow. blacēiman. imper. blacāwc.

bam'boli Yp beard of the maize cob. — Said to be a Khow, word. Acc. to Lor. bambeδi (δ = !) is of uncertain meaning, but possibly refers to cropplants. Cf. Psht. bambal 'beard of corn' from Lhd.

bām-se'zīo Ysh n. of a shrub. V. se'zīyo. bande Y slave. — 'banda-i xākī human being; tu Xadāyen b` češy-a! art thou not God's slave? — Prs.

banda'wā·: banda'wŏvd· Yzh, r, banda'vā·.

cvovd sh to command. — Khow.
bandēiman.

ba'nafšo Yzh, sh violet (flower). — Prs. banj Yzh. Mm, bānj M(g). bānš Yg holly-oak — Khow. bānj.

bi'nās Ysh copious, complete. - dau let. pu'šāk, na'zen b' šūi 'pur šud'.

ban dox Yzh, p, ban dox sh hollow in a large stone used as a hand-mill for pounding rice in, zh'. — IA?

bandur- èuxo Yp wooden apparatus for pounding gun-powder.

bai:pmr Yzh, sh male cousin. V. bai. Cf. vrai min).

bar Yu on. In Prs. formula šahar har šahar, etc. — Prs.

bar bād Yu desolate, waste, — Prs. ba rābar Ysh equal, similar. — də tā h like you, yā b` alike: b tā nogrop it was not equal in weight. — Prs.

ba rābar .eśovo Ysh, kšowo b B midnight. Cf Shgh. barābar 'čāb Skold. barg Mm, ti, Z. G leaf. — Prs. V. pənk. bräyiko Yzh, g. bra sh r, Mm, brāyika g. b' ra f. Z sparrow. — < \*mray < mry- (v. BSOS, VI. 440. Cf. Sgl. məryog.

barq Mm, g lightning. — Ar.-Prs. V. reliwo.

bārik Yzh, ba rīk G. bā· Z thin. — Ar. Prs.

bô rân Mm. g, G, bō rōn Mti, Z rain. — Prs. V. wariyo, nove.

bu rinj Mm, bə´ G, br⁻ Z husked rice. — Prs. V. gərīnj.

brūt Mg) moustache. -- Prs. V. v²rvt. braxā-um Vzh to knock. -- Khow. braxē iman.

bar zenge Yu demon. diw. — ha rō də baya bar zənge noʻyor an ogre emerged there into the garden. — Cf. On. Lentz' här zan'ya.

bur! Yn tower (?) zh corner of a house.

câr bur! B fonr cornered. — rūyun
da bur! deh Yn pour ghee over the
tower. — Prs. bur! tower; cf. Shgh.
bur! wall Sköld.

bo<sub>l</sub>iko Yp small, round basker, made of thick twigs (v. Fig., — Cf. Khow, belu, bölu reed pipe (Lor.)<sup>9</sup> bār: bary Yzh. bar- g. bar- bary- r, bâr- Mm, :bar- LSIy to be satisfied; barav- LSIm to fill, satisfy. — Cf. Av. ham par-, Sak. hambaḍa filled, Prs. ambārādan to fill. r from past stem, cf. § 227.

brok Yzh, sh, g knuckle, hiphone, brök sh hnd. — da pīščan b° g. — Khow. blöy, bļok hud.

bos kən- Yzh to weep (??).

bist Mm, t, ti, sh, bist g twenty. - Prs. V. wisto.

bástiko Yzh shearers. — \*ham-basta-, cf. Skr. sambaddha- joined, bound together (Prs. ambasta) bound, stiff. etc. > 2

baš Ysh. u, LSIy a particle giving the verb a subjunctive force. Khow. V. § 256.

bāša Yg, bâ šo Mm falcon. — Prs.

bu šā·um: bu šavd·o Yzh to win, to be victorious. — Khow. bə šēiman

 $b\bar{u}$  to Ysh boots. —  $b\bar{u}$  to (pl.?)  $l\bar{t}$  o. — Engl. (through Hind., Khow.

bi vāre Yg awake. — b° šom. — Prs., but older borrowing than bi dār, q.v. Ct. angah, usxūbon.

biwo Yr, °a<sub>7</sub>a Mg, °o'go m widow. — Prs. V. wd'sərwo.

bāwar Yzh belief, trust. — b° kenem. — Prs.

bu'xōn-: bixēd Z to read. — Prs. boxš Yzh dividing, distribution. -Prs ? Ci.

baxš-im bayd-en and bax'ši-m Yzh to distribute food at a feast: baxš-im: bayd-om sh, boxš-am. boyd-om Mm, t, bayd LSIy to divide, distribute.—

tāam bayd sh he distributed the food.

-- Prs., or genuine < \*ham-baxš-. baxšiyo Yzh, in yduyo b' a stream divided into many rivulets. — Perf. of baxš. Cf. Khow. bāš, bašō; minor channel of a river < fr.

būz Mm female markhor. — Prs. Cf. Wkh. buz f. ihex.

ba'zār Ysh, bō'zōr Z bazar. — do b' in the b; yaī no bazāren he brought it to the b. — Prs.

 $bo^{\dagger}\check{z}\check{a}i$  Yzh,  $b\bar{v}^{\dagger}\check{z}\check{e}i$  sh bag, sack. — do  $y\bar{u}$   $b^{\circ}$ ;  $y\bar{u}$   $b^{\circ}$   $a\check{s}\check{r}af\bar{\imath}$  sh one bag full of gold coins. — Cf. Psht.  $b\bar{v}\check{j}a\bar{\imath}$  from IA (cf. Hind. bojh load?).

## C

ce Yzh, sh, ci u B what? — na maf ce zarūr sh what need is there for you? wos ci ilāj kenem u what remedy shall I nse now? — Cf. Psht. co, Sgl. ce what; Wkh. co-waxt, Shgh. ca-waxte when < Av. čit nsed as an indefinite particle). Cf. co mīn. ceb-um: ceb-um: cob-um: cob-um: cob-um Yzh, cob-um: cob-um Mt to pinch (e.g. with the fingers', gazīdan. — Ir. \*čimb'p- (ef. Wkh. čip- to pick?), or fr. IA., cf. Nep cepnu to press, squeeze, cimtanu to pinch (v. Nep. Dict. s.v.v.), Kshm. cipiñ pinching? V. cepio.

ci gyere Yzh mushroom, Khow. brangālu.

— V. xarpušt.

c³kən Ysh, r, ckən g, skən Mg. skın (g), skun m, s³kən Z pnppy. — Cf. Wkh. s²kɛn, skən, Sgl. ³skənok and v. Z s.v. and Tomaschek, p. 761. who compares Slav. \*šteno (Russ. šċenok. etc.) < \*sk' (of Asiatic origin?). Y c appears to be secondary. Cf. the foll. word.

c'ke'na Yzh, ck³ na g, ck∂'nake (pl.?) sh puppy. calan'durë Yzh window. — From Khow. calax'duri id., crossed with caren daru door-frame.

cə min Yzh what? — c trīk astet? 'či čīz ast'?' c' žūi? what do you say?
— Cf. ce and min.

cepio Yzh, ce sh pincers for pulling out hair. — Cî. ceb. v. māi-cino. ci pō-um Yzh to wink. — camaf c.

c'ra'ū Yzh, ō'ū sh. r. g, cə'roug Mm.

ce'rou; g, 'əu; g male markhor,

'trowoo" B wild goat, — Prob. borr.

from Kafiri, ef. Waigeli cōw <\*crōw?.

Kati šu ru, etc.

v roug və zo Mm female markhor. — V. mažoyo and būz.

co rox Yzh. cu roydo (perf. pte.? g spark.

-- Common Hinduknsh word. ef.
Khow. co rox, Wkh., Wershik. ce rax.
Ishk. ceraxak. Sgl. čeryazok, but also
Oss. ca xär.

caro'; o Yzh, sa ('r bustard? kabūtar rang, kā mē.cura. halāl ast. Prs. carda. — čarda not in Prs. lexx.. but v. Burhān ud-Dīn, Каттаган п Бадахшан р. 122 — pheasant, and cf. Prs. carz. cāl bustard, partridge carda a bay horse. etc., carad bay colour <\*qel-to-? Cf. Walde—Pok. I. 440 sq.). Cf. Psht. cārai 'bustard'. ces Ysh what? — V. § 210.

# Č

cāi Yzh tea. — c som drink tea. — Prs. |
cai-m: caid-om Yzh, cōi-m M'g, to sprinkle. cōy-: cēy- Z to sow, seatter. |
— < haca-hāy-"
</p>

vi. če, če, č Yzh, etc.. či Mm, G, Z not, nothing, don t. -- ču muro vii he may not have died; men rismat

č-karram I have not done any service: kone-a č-koni a do you do it, or not? ·aši ādam ĉi-ō Yr he is not a good man:  $\tilde{c}\tilde{u}i = \tilde{c}-\tilde{s}\tilde{u}i$  'na ratt': ro mon malmin če kenë-este Ysh are you not making me like this? pilf noro ra (ii sh the river) cannot be forded; či apoi Mm he did not come. uć kā ćī vīo Mm 'hēć čīzī na būt'; no no-of no xw ran ce astet there is nothing for them) to eat; to ie jūi subj., če švā imper. don't say; c-kene don't do, say (na gu); na waxt i as dont arrive late; či dale don't give: či tələwā gadāi Ysh don't beg. — G s.v. compares Prs. h)ēc Is ci. etc. an early lw. from Prs., or has a parallel semantic development of \*aiva-čit taken place in Prs. and Y-M? Cf. Gypsy & anything > nothing, V. češ.

ie, it Yzh, sh. u, LSIy what? why?

it B why? — ie xštof-este? why are you weeping? do bā; it is is of-otim Yu why shall I not go into the garden?

ba it na mērawim? mo xap it kīt' u rap ba it mēkina' tu it va-mon de'hē' zh, tu va-mon it dehe' g why do you beat me? tu it hor; i kene' zh why don't you work? tu iu iuī' yzh what ?) do you say? — Prs. — It is often only the context which permits us to distinguish between ie' not and ie' what'.

čei Yr something, čizi. — na to čei počámum I entrust something to you. — Cf. Madaglashti Prs. či(z thing.

čů: čůvd- Yzh, sh, r, čů: čud g, jův: juvd Mm, jů: t, g\, jův: júvd Z

to pick, curda B to choose. — Cf. Wkh. čip-. čůp-. čòvd to gather, Sar. cev-. Khow, capiman to pick, collect. čačk Yzh a kind of beetle. čáć r, g a long and slender, black and white wasp. - Khow. čač grashopper. malan unknown to Lor.. who has got čačk

buzzing'. Scarcely orig. Ir., cf. Orm.

ianč 'bee, tlea'

cad cast Yzh to fall, stumble. cast əm 'yaltid,am'; cadem 'meyaltam'. - Cf. the following words. -Scarcely connected with Phl. Psalter end 'to shake'. Bal. candag Cf. Bailey, BSOS, VI, 822. But note candag < Sindhi chandh.

iad-om: ča'dī-m Yzh to throw in wrestling. - za vto čadem, dur. pres. 3 sg. čadeste; men veto ća dim, mo ādam və mən iadi  $\tilde{v}$ . — Possibly < \*hača·hand· to make to sit down? Cf... cād-əm: cā di-im Yzh, sh to pour out. yauvo čādem zh, sh I let water into an irrigation-channel.

ra dūr Yzh. sh. r. g. sh also cā dūr turban. co dər Z veil. — Khow. ca dür turban fr. Prs. cādar veil.

cof Yzh ceiling made of reeds. čogoč, v. kyogo.

cogulo Ysh. °a r. i pl.?) zh. čaguli g hoof. — Cf. čigāli. V. symb.

či gali Vzh, sh, v r, či gali g. čan goli M sh', can'gol g, cong m, cang Z claw. - žiyo č. Ysh 'zad ba čang'. -- Cf. Sgl. cin gal. Or. čingal fr. Prs. rang(al).

čugu re Yzh. čík ri M(g) rhubarb. cugu re Ysh sorrel (čigiri), čigi ri r a plant with an acid taste. - Cf. Prs. čukri sorrel, Khow, cuku ri small, sour cherries: Orm. čuk ri rhubarb.

co pā-um. co purd Yzh. : co pārd sh. id-and Z to return, 'pas gaštan . — mīr ingua zh return here, Khow, acho vari: ¿yūa (! as sh return and come: wan corard pas gašt'. - Cf. Sar. wateib < \*awagaip.; Or. wicafs: wified. V. giand zənū-.

capul Z pit. ravine, gully. - From Prs. caral plait, fold, wrinkle, and not āyil, nayıl sheep-fold as suggested by Z.

čkalpi o Yzh. g golden oriole. Khow. mayōn.

ckyūgo f. Mm. skuga Z urine. -< \*ċašky° < \*ċaštākā-, cf. Sgl. ċū; ' V. mizyo.

čalo Yzh. čā sh mane. - Khow. čāl. iel Mm, čel g forty. - Prs.

čanli i Yzh, sh, li g stirrup, B horseshoe. —  $y\bar{u}$  čau  $l\bar{t}$  zh. — Cf. Prs. čaul erooked.

čula Yzh, sh, čūl Mg, m glans penis. sar-i-kīr: čāl Z, G penis. — Prs. čul, col penis, cf. G s.v.

eil yane Yp apricot kernel. — V. žir male. čili kyō Yzh, r, g, čilki o sh weeping willow. — Khow. cilīki.

čal-kirmo Mg n. of an insect. kərmuk. -- Cf. Prs. čalāk black beetle

cilim Yzh waterpipe. - I'rs. čāliya, v. kaliyo.

cam Yzh, g. p. LSly, cam Ysh, r. LSIm. cám Mm, G, com Mg, ti. Z, co m Mt. čhom (g) eye. - Av. cašman, etc Note Chr. Sogd, em-: ef. Oss casm. cans window, mask.

ca mã Yzh, sh, čámo B round brooch worn at the breast. - Khow. camu also in Kalasha, Bur. and Shina.

čimblerio Yzh, čum derio sh. čum p.

frying pan. — Khow. čimdōri. čūndōri, čon'dēri (ċumur iron+dorī ladle). ča mīn Y how? how much? ċemin B how, because. — č° kenəm? sh 'ċiqadrī, istāri — či-ṭaurī) bukunam? čikō kənəm?' tu č° vo xōi nəfs kenē? sh how do you deal with your own family? mo ċa mīn 'žaya? u what kind of place is this? 'ī stari žā?' čūi zh how do you speak' what do you say? če min lūro B how far? — ċc + min.

cumur sū Yzh spit. - Khow.

cimitkeryo B maid. — Khow. cumuţ ker.
cu'max Yzh, cax'mox Z firestone, flint.
— Turk.-Prs.

can Ysh, r ca na m, zh, g, ca Mm, cano g newborn kid. — IA., cf. Khow. chāni, Kati cā, Pashai chanīk f., etc. V. nar can, cānoro.

čen Yu? - čenoste = \*ć-kene-ste? · čika měkini.

čīne Yzh. nī g, čīnīno Mm cup. — Prs.

čua no Yzh, sh. Mm, čũo nō Yp threshing fork. Cf. Sgl. apčūn°

cand Yzh, sh, B, cad Mm, ced G, ced LSIm how many? how much? some.

— cand paisa yurdet Yzh how much money did you take? cand ādame? cand ki'mat kc kc'ne max wo 'yuram sh we shall buy it for the price you fix = can ke tu kene. hūy dalem sh, tō cand pūre (leyde) astet? r how many sons (daughters) have you? yū cad mīx Mm a few days. — The Y-form is prob. infl. by Prs.

cānoyo m, M(g) male kid, one year old.
 V. ca'na.

ci'nār Y, âr Mm oriental plane, cheuar.
 — Prs.

či nurro Yzh, sh, °rro r, g, 'cənurgo (r?)

Mm, cindərra g starling, maina (acc.

to zh = brüriko sparrow). Cf. § 44.
ču na Yzh lime. — IA.

činto B whip. - Prs. canda (lex.)?

cop Y, cop u, cap Mm. g, Z, G left hand), Yzh, sh also untrue, lie. — do cop sur'do Yu on the left shoulder. — Prs. cap.

cổ pĩ Yzh, sh, B, copĩk sh, g lie. — tu
co pĩk kene Ysh; tu co pĩk c-ke ne
don't lie: co pĩk kyt va-mən Yg you
lied to me. — V. cop.

cape Yzh, sh, ca pii pl. p door-frame.
— Cf. Prs. camba a large bar, spar, căm curved, cafta curved. a vaulted roof.

čpāč Ysh, οδοροδ Mm, αἐρῦδ Z after, back (adv.). — dukan där ἐρ šūi the shopkeeper went back; kə wa·δ č čīr miň δ asəm if l come back after four days: ž dalen ἐρ āγνοί. — Cf. Wkh. sibas, Sar. zabō. zabūδ. Prs. sipas < \*haċa-pasċā (not with Z < \*haċa-parštal), cf. Tedesco, Dialektologie, p. 212. — V. špāč, wa-čpāč. Cf. Ishk. ἐροšt.</p>

cu pân Mm,  $\tilde{c}\bar{u}^i p \tilde{o} n$  Z, LSIm shepherd. — Prs. ( $\tilde{c}$ - < fs-).

caro Yr store-room for grain, ambār: p hollow, pit in the cārsīr (q.v.); cora f. Z pit for storing grain. — drīem da c. — Prs. cāla vault, depository for grain, cār potter's kiln; Khow. cari pitted from small pox < Ir.

cire (ĉi re) m, Yzh, 'ir sh, g, Mm, g, Z, G, 'ĉirī Yr, 'i Yu. Mti apricot prunus armeniaca). — vo ĉīrief yurd Yu; žā čīrien u from the apricottree. — Cf. Yazgh. ĉi'rai, Prasun ĉi'rē. Kati 'cira. Ashkun ci'rā, Kshm.

- cer. Bhadrawahi cirō. But note also Armen. ciran. Cf. Laufer. Sino-Iranica, p. 540 V. cīryišēc.
- $\tilde{cur}$  Yp cross-bar separating the strings of a pellet-bow. Khow,  $\tilde{cur}$ .
- corda Mg, (g) fourteen. Prs.
- čir'grinj Yzh, sh milk-ricė. Khow. čhīr + grinj.
- cir viñzen Mt three days ago, se rūz šud. — \*caðru + azanya. Cf. žirizen, and v. čurmö.
- certir M'g a kind of cultivated grain or seed, dona. Possibly linseed from which lamp-oil is prepared v. Vavilov, Agricult, Afgh., p. 114. Cf. cirūr.
- $cir\bar{u}_{i}$  Z,  $\gamma^{i}l\hat{a}n$  G lantern. Prob. an early lw. from Prs.
- cīr rišče Yzh dried apricots. Cf. cīr c and Prs. kišta dried fruit. esp. apricots v. Vavilov, p. 452; Psht. dried apricot. cirk Mm. Z dirty. Prs. V. kiž ro. coro mī. v. c. oguščiko.
- ċm'mō Yzh. sh, 'ċūremo Mm three days ago. < \*ċaθru- + ama. not < \*ċaθwāra + ama as in most dialects v. Gauthiot. MSL, 17. p. 151). Cf. cirgyīzen, pċūrma, ċurmosāl. ċoromī. ċur mak. ċär mäk Yp the wool on the spindle. Prs.</p>
- cirom Yzh, in . na c no šuya near the river. pēš-i daryā ?.
- coro mɨ o guɨcɨko Ysh, 'cor o g index finger. — coromɨ fourth, cf. cur mö. V. caraŋ guɨc.
- curmo sāl Yzh, sh three years ago. V. cur mö.
- caran guisc Yzh the index finger, g the four fingers, gist sh id. \*Prs
- car-pa'yalyo Yp stone lid of the caro

- corpo yī Mm, cárpā yī G bed. Prs. V. žen.
- čārsīr Yp elevated platform made of brickwork, in one corner of the house.
- čār wəl Yzh headman of a village, čārbū, — Khow čār wēlū headman of several villages O'Brien'. — V. arbūb
- cir'wašk Yzh, cur sh resin, gum Khow, tum. — Prs. čarwiš, čarhiš fat? V. rūyno, wūziyo
- catrle. Prs. cār vāy m. Z small cattle. Prs. cār pāya. Taj. corvā sheep. Cf. LSIm cfür-pālaf obl. pl. cattle.
- čar.c Yzh. g, p, Mg, čor.x m spinningwheel. — \*Prs.; cf. čarč.
- ċar xo Yzh avalanche of stones. Cf. Wkh. Shgh. ċarra id. < \*Prs. — Khow. ċokūl id. \*ċak'ra la-` is a parallel formation.
- čarx-i fa lak Ysh the Milky Way. —

  \*Prs [ef. Khow. čārfalak. aec. to
  my Gawar-Bati informant. V. pado.
  čar xánvk Yp handle, crank of a spinningwheel. V. čarx.
- eñipea Yzh, u unripe apricot. 10 eñrien eŭrwakof avor Yu bring unripe apricots from the apricot-tree. Cf. Sgl. en wêl. Wkh. eu wan apricot.
- ces Ysh whatever, čes B, čis LSIy what?

   čes ke Xədāiyen lön vizi ke Xudāi
  dād Cf, ce. ces < čes <

  \*cisčit'
- ceš Ysh, coš Z. G is not. hāc huce ceš there is nothing thec care nest, yo vira non šifien ceš this burden is not my husbands, tu Xadāyen hands ceš at are you not God's slave? tu do āf xahar ces ā have you no news

about them? no xu yān na  $\gamma \epsilon n$  'ce's there is no bread for eating. — Cf.  $\dot{c}e$ , acc. to G compounded with  $\partial \dot{s} \ll \Delta v$ .  $a\bar{c}\dot{s}a$ . but this is phonetically improbable.

ceso Yzh, ca sh. cesa p, cese Mg, cesa f. Z the pin of a spindle. — < "castrā/ī, cf. Psht. cāṣāī. Orm. tisk < \*cisk . Kurd. tašī, tesī spindle.

ča tîr Yu tent. — da asmīno č'rīo; da ĉ loh ŝināmi viet. — Khow. ča tīr, in its turn fr. M. Ir. \*ćātēr, ef. Prs. ċādar, -ir, Russ Iw. šater. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 660.

cšīr Yzh, p. LSIy (zh also cšīr, c's'īr, p c''s'īr', čīr Ysh, g, r, u, B misheard for čšīr!), čfīr Mt, g. ti, čφīr (sh). ċfār m. LSIm, ċi° Z, G (G also či fâr). ċa'fīr MFB, ċavīr Y, acc. to G (from what source? four. — ċīr mix Ysh. ċir wulc sh. ċfūr-pâlaf LSIm (obl. pl., cattle. — Av. ċaðwārō, etc. Cf. § 102.

cof Yzh antler. - Khow. Lor. cof knob on ibex horn. Cf..

cope Yzh knuckle. — Khow. cop knuckle, twig 'cf. preceding word'.

čuwa (= \*ču va?, Yzh something. — m>n, č astet I have something. — V. če. ča wuk Yzh whip. — Prs. čābuk.

caxt Ysh piece of wood used for tightening a rope. — Cf. Prs. caxidan to twist.

čix-. v. tix-.

cīy: cūy: Z to freeze, to feel cold. —

Cf. Prs. cā(h)īdan, Zaza cī- to feel cold, Sar. pa-ci- to become cold,

Orm. câk cold, and perhaps Khow.

Ir. lw.?) coi.ik, cho-ik (Lor.), cohik

O'Brien) to be frostbitten. Z compares also Shgh. řeīy-. V. pcīo.

661. v. čai.

čuži ya Yzh. yak zh, g, yake pl. sh,
čē<sup>†</sup>žiy Mm, ċūžio;o (g) <sup>c</sup>i ya Z chicken.
Cf. Badakhshi čuča, Madagl. čūčik.
Prs. čūja, etc.

čāi žuš Yzh. čāž sh tea-kettle. — Prs.

#### D

da. do Y, Mm, Z, do Ysh, n, Z, do G, etc., into, in, at, etc. - Y: lo voi de kyεi he entered into the honse: novur do kuĉio brought it ont into the street;  $ni^{\dagger}\tilde{a}$   $(n\partial^{\dagger}\gamma o\gamma)$   $d\partial$   $hu\dot{c}i^{\dagger}o$ went out into the street: da yn ma'žit šūi he went into a mosque; žio da avyuš he pnt it in his lap; za da. sāharo dyum Mm I shall go into the desert: šūi darūn də kyoi Mm he entered the house; šūi na Čitrāyī. da Čitragi rəsi Ysh he went to Ch. and arrived there; do urjug sur do Yu on the right shoulder; wu'zir do kyoi ko jo hon rūpā yo Mm he saw that there were many rupees in the house; da iščī; Yzh under the roof; do to apir astet Ysh he is in front of you: da laxcio nigio Ysh he took it out of ??) the bag; da axrat Yu finally; la to barābar equal to you; - Prob. < Av. antara cf. Prs. dar not with  $G_1 < Av$ . da. Greek  $\delta \epsilon$ . Cf. § 219.

då Mm, g. (g), (sh. t, Z. G ten. — Prs. V. los.

dā um: davd-um Yzh to smear. \*han-daw. Prs. andūdan, ef. Av. frā dav. - V. sā.

de bāl ISIy, da' m behind. — Prs. early lw.) dumbāl.

dadram. v. dram.

dīδ (? Ysh after, on account of — po yū horγ dīδ 'barā-i yak kār': čīr miž dīδ 'čār rūz bā'd'. — δ was not heard in any other word.

def-: deft Yzh, sh. duf-: duft Mm to clasp, seize. duf-: duft Ysh, Mt. duf- Z, difta B to fight; : deft Ysh. u, dif: dift Z to catch fire: dufta B to begin. — də fum, dəftum Yzh, do fam, dof tam sh, dofam, doftam Mm, t: xāpui difte Yzh I started coughing (čašpida kat-i mā); dəf təd do hory Ysh they started working. čāšpīdan; 'lā mən če defa sh don't fight with me, 'kat-i man jang na šawīd'; yūla dəft Ysh it caught fire, dar girift; vo (! lažīno dəft Yu the wood-pile caught fire, suxt. - Possibly really two verbs. \*han taf ya; and \*han-dab- \*han dafs-, cf. Z s.v.v.). də göni pl. Yr twins. — Prs. dūgāna. V. luäneke.

degaza ye (pl.?) Yp forked rest for a matchlock. — Prs. \*dū găza.

da'hā-m: žī-m Yzh. sh, r, də hā m: źī-m g, duh-um: žī- Mm, do-am: žī-im t, de-, da-: žiy-d Z, dah -: ži'ya G, deh -: žia LSIy, m to beat, strike, place. voto da ham Yzh, da hām fto sh, zo vto de hām g, ze fte döam, doam et Mt; zo väi da'ham Yzh, zo vēi d'hām sh. za vai dv'ham Mm; tu či va-mon de hē? Yzh, tu va-mon či dehē? g; da'haf zh 2 pl.; tu vou de! zh. 'dea sh heat him, zo/mon vto žīm zh, fto ži im sh. mən vto žim g, mun ftə žīim Mt; tā vəmən žīit Yr, tō vəmən žīt g, tu vo mən žiīt sh. žīet Mm; žio wof Ysh; mon vlo živom Yg v. § 248), zə/mən vəto žīyəm vīo r v. § 250'; mon vto žīm stom g. zo

voto žiom-ištom r v. § 247 . — žio da av uš Ysh, do 'v; uš žio u he put it in his lap; lažīno deh Yu build a pile; ro 'yasp' pa lān žiō u he saddled the horse: mīwa'yê ži et sh they planted fruitbearing trees, war valbīn žīdm r I winnowed it: t'fak da ham (pret. da ha-im! zh I fire a gun; soro da ham žiem mannre: ni mckikya da ham zh I dive, gab diah sh speak; rrūtə žie baš sh if he cuts his beard: man do va to to gap g thy word struck my ear. -- $\dot{z}i$  < Av. jata. with dah- etc, ef. Shgh. de., etc. (cf. Rep. Afgh., p. 78'. Cf. especially Sängisäri de- ze to beat.

duh'qân Mm, dehqân LSIy, m agrieultural labourer. — Prs.

duk Yg the wheel of a spindle. - Prs. dūk woman's spindle.

do ku čo. v. kučio.

 $du^{l}k\bar{a}n$  Ysh shop. — Ar.-Prs.

dukan'dār Ysh shopkeeper. — ai d¹; d² qurd yū alāno: šəlo dukan daren. — Ar.-Prs.

dala Mt marmot, weasel. - Prs., cf. Sgl. dela.

däl-im: liñ-m Yzh. däl-om: h-im sh. r. u. g: dal- lī(y- (liy) Mm. t. Z., dāl- Mg', : līy- G to give. — no man ces delum? what shall I give him? no won a mūno dālem Ysh I give him an apple. namən dale, nā mun del give me; 'na-mən 'vi da'lır don t give me; dil 3 sg., dālet 3 pl., zo yāre nā yen dälim zh I give him assistance; mən nawən na zen li im: yän na maf na zen līo, lī'et 3 pl., yū a'lāno lī vio Ysh he had given a pome-granate. — Av. daðā- dāta-

cf. Shgh.  $\delta \tilde{a} \delta$ . Reg. the dissimilation in  $d \tilde{a} l$ -, cf. § 52.

dul Yzh, sh, dūl p the hopper of a mill.
-- na dūlen. -- Prs.

daula dâr Min rich. — Prs. V. bãi, akâbur.

dölk Yzh, sh, r, dəlk Mm. delk Z. doll B lean, bad. — Prs. dalq.

drlmrl M(g. straw, ear of corn — P1s.

dulmul unripe grain. cf. Panjshiri

tut·i·dulmul half-dried mulberries

Andreev, On the ethnology of Afgh.,
p. 23°.

da len Ysh below. — yā mara ži d āyōi. —  $da + len < \tau abana$ . ef. Sak. dīna below.

dau'lat Ysh possessions, riches. -- mrad do; niāst sko do. -- Ar.-Prs.

drl·r zi gar Yr n. of some entrail. -- Cf. Skold, Mater. 261 dil-dzigar.

dəm Mm bellows. — Prs. V. pa'īnc.
dəm Yzh, sh, B hreath. — yā dəm sh suddenly. — Prs.

dəmülen Yzh at noon. — də + malen. də māmo Yzh, damōmo B large drum. — Prs.

dāmone pl. Ysh foot "hem") of a mountain, dāman-i kōh. — Prs.

dāna Ysh, dá ná G wise. — Prs. Cf. Iānawo B.

drāi Ysh hither (?). — wo maya drāi avāze bring the man hither?. — Cf. dram.

drī-m Yzh, drī-m drī-o sh, drī-em.
drī-m r, driā-m: drī-um Mm, drī-am
g: to pour into, throw into. —
yau:o da zu yum = drīm, Yr I
pour out the water; mayaken hāy da
tārazā drī o sh the man threw the
money into the scales, drīo. drīet sh
'andāxtan'; you drīem da cāro y

I threw the grain into the corn-bin, koryo o'-ary drēi driyo) zh the hen lays (laid, an egg; yaržo drīm sh I shave ') my beard, - But cf. also tuyum dra-im Yzh I sow; droyam M'g' I shoot, aim at xiram dirāim I throw into the threshing ground. 1 thresh: drai LSIy, derāe LSIm put ye on; derye LSIm threw. Proy-: deray to throw. — The material does not enable us to decide whether all these forms belong to one verb  $(dr\bar{a}i - dri\cdot)$ , or not. Note that Khow. drēik '< Ir.?') means 'to pour out, to throw, to sow and also 'to sliave'. - Z compares Av. drāvayato make to run'; better < \*han-d\*. Cf. dro .

daro Mm, o g, ra Z valley. - Prs. V. ko'ša.

d'ro'um: dura i-m Yzh, dro'um: dra ī-m
sh, drō-um: drī-m g, d' rō-um
dy vī-m r, d' rəw-am: 'd'wrīy am Mt.
d' row-um: du'rīy-am m, deraw: durəy
Z, də'raw: G, duriya B to fear. —
drə'vīy-m vīo Yr I had feared. —
< \*han draw: Cf. drī-.

dā ru Ysh, -āi sh, u medicine. — d -t bīhu šī u; wo d la mon astet sh I possess the remedy; cos dā ru vio. — Prs. Cf..

dārui Yzh gunpowder. - Prs.

di'ārĕ Yp looking around, vision. — Prs. dīdār.

dīr Yzh, sh, dir B. yu dūr, yu Mm, i'dūr Z other, another. — dīr maṛa another man, yu dūr sál Mm last year. — < \*antāra- with ā- from atāra-, katūra-, cf. Sak. handāra- Psht.nōr, Wkh Hayward dirikh ??. Cf. § 166.

dur Yzh, g, Mm, dūr Ysh, r, B, G, dur Mt, dər, dur Z to day. — dur luro pādo šōm Ysh I have gone a long way to day. — Cf. Sgl. nēr, etc.?

da rīv Ysh, u alas. afsēs. — hai d'! — Prs.

derak Ysh cognizance, perception. -maraken d' čšūi the man did not
perceive it. mālum na šud. -- Ar. Prs.
dark comprehending, finding out; cf.
Wkh., Sar. darak, Shgh. derak.

dril Yzh, sh inflated skin for crossing a stream. — Khow.

dram Yzh, u inside. — da-drām tīm, da-dram šom Yzh I euter; də bāş da-dram č-oi u 'dar bāş darūn na rau!' dramen LSIy inside. — < \*antarahmi?

drūn Yr, g, B, drun sh, drūn zh bow. — Khow. drōn.

da'rūn Mg, ti, Z belly. - Prs.

da run Mm, (g) into. — šūi d da kyoi m; na da rūna (g) inside. — Prs.

drust Ysh all, complete. — d° molk. — Prs.

drušć Yzh, sh, d<sup>u</sup>r<sup>2</sup> g, drīš to r, d<sup>u</sup>rišk Mm rough. – Early lw. from Prs. durušt.

drūv-am: druvd-am Yzh, drūv- drūvdsh, r, druvda B, drubda LSIy to dance. — druva zh imper. 2 sg., druvda r inf. — Cf. Sogd. δr'wβ-, zwb- (v. MSL, 23, p. 126). — drpoints to horrowing.

drawā-um Yzh, dəra-wdw-ān- G to terrify. — V. dəro.

där xufto Yzh covering of the smokehole. — Cf. Prs. xufta enrved? droxum Ysh, r, g, Mm silver. — Khow.

— Note that the word was also used by  $\mathbf{Mm}$ .

draxt Yzh, g, Mm, B, to Yr, te pl. sh, draxt Mti, dr Z, G tree. — draxte māžet Yzh the trees are moved (by the wind). — Prs.

dar'yā Ysh. 'yâ Mm, G. yō Mti river. — Prs. V. yau<sub>2</sub>o.

dörz Yg weaving. — d kənəm I weave. — Prs. darz seam.

dorzkur yuz Yzh, sh. ryūz sh, r weaver, spider. Cf. § 193. V. ustada.

dəsto Yzh handle, hilt: 'ta Mm, Z (plough) handle. — Prs.

dust Yzh, düst Z, G friend. - Prs.

dīš-im. dišč-im Yzh to think. — \*handaisya\*, ef. Wkh. dīš- to know. Phl. handēš-.

dašk' Z steppe. — Prs.; early Iw. duš'mon Ysh. man Mm, do Z enemy.

- Prs.

dūōva Mm the second watering of the fields. — Prs. \*dō-āba, cf. Shgh. dáhâv.
 V. livdē, 'xōkova.

dīw cāw Mm. dīu cũ g torch — Prs. dīw cũb deodar.

dwözda Mg. (g) twelwe. - Prs.

dīz-əm: dīzd-əm Yzh, 'dīz-am: dīzd-am sh, dīzda B to bury; dīz-am, dīzd-om Mm.: dīzdo LSIy to gather, collect.
— dezdat Ysh they huried. — \*handaiz-, Skr. sam-dih- a heap, mound. dīzo Yp. in paləf d- squatting, yak jāi bukunī'; Khow. bļacawe 'collect'. — Prob. from dīz-.

duzd M(g), Z. dəzd G thief. - Pis V.  $\gamma \ddot{a}l$ .

## D

didan'wo Yzh cotton thread. - Khow. didan'u Lor. cotton fibre.

## F

- fia Y, â Mt, fīyo ti, g. a m. fīyo g wooden spade, shoulder-blade, fī ya G, fəya m, Z spade. — <\*fayaka-, ef. Prs. fih oar, spade not with Schwyzer. KZ, 63, 56 < paŷ-!. Wkh. pēi, Shgh. fe, Or. fai, Sgl. fi. Par. phī, Sängisäri fī fe. Mazand. fiē, Talish hiya.
- f'o 'ci-im: f'o 'ci'r-em Yzh to cleave, tear asunder, fci-im M g' to cleave 'a log', foci'evd-um tore asunder. Cf. pčegiy: pčegiy- Mm to cleave? V. potišā-, and cf. § 238.
- for indiam: for inord Ysh, for land-um zh to put away, hide, faga mēkunim. jūrd, for inordo she took the eat and hid it.
- fa gyike Y2h, faigyiko g. pa'kiki (? r. fagika B, fagikef obl. pl.) LSIy song.

   f. žam Y2h I sing; f. ža g 'bait bəkən'. < \*aβhang- < \*abi-hang-, ct. Georg. hangi melody (lw.); Goth. siggwan, etc. (regarding IA forms of the root cf. Bloch. BSL, 31, p. 62,?")
- fīγiko Yzh, r, go sh small, wooden spade. V. fīa.
- fkyiyiko Yzh, 'go g, r, ifkigo B alone. —
  (i)fk < \*ēvk- < \*aiwaka-, cf. Sar.
  iwj.
- fro i Yzh chip of wood.
- fro-ū: fri-ō Vzh to melt. warfo 'ar'zīz) fro-ū the snow (the lead melts. - \*fra rī-, cf Skr. lī-.
- fār-əm: fat-əm Yzh, sh, r, far-: fat- g, fōr-nm: fēt-əm Mt, fatta B to catch, Khow. dosiman. fāto wo par-əf Ysh he seized the mice; fət zh he seizes. Cf. Bad. Prs. fārīdan to want?

- fāru Vzh, sh mill-broom. \*frā-ruc. ef. rufo?
- far b) Mm fat. Prs. V. lan dik.
- $fri_{r0}$  Vzh, r.  $f^{*}r^{2}$  sh.  $f^{*}ri_{r0}^{2}a$  Mg.  $^{2}a \cdot g$ , igo m.  $^{2}iga$  f. Z flea  $^{2}fru\tilde{s}i.k\tilde{a}$ , ef. Psht. arrivin, Yazgh.  $f^{*}r\tilde{v}\tilde{s}$ , etc., ef. Z s.v..
- f)āi;o Yzh, f<sup>3</sup> rā;o sh yoke-rope. \*fra·yugā-, cf, Sgl. fərya; yoke, V. yūelo.
- frá; bil Yzh, sh, r, fro; bīz Mg, fraçol bîl m sieve for grain (acc. to Mm used for mužuk. — Cross between Prs. faraxbīz and ;albīl. Cf. Wkh. frazbīz.
- fer yāmə (= e? Yzh, fər g. fra sh, r, fir amo B. fra ama LSIm he-goat; frayomiy Mm, g. früyömioyo (g), frayomiy Z he-goat, one year old. < \*fra-gāmaka-: ef. Psht. waryāmai male kid: Par. rhayām spring. Similarly Psht. manganai young of sheep or goats born early in the season: manai autumn (< summer. \*pra-gāma- also in Kafiri; ef. Prasun pāmə. Kati pr'ome, Waig. prāmā kid, one year old: possibly also Pashai dlān he-goat, Gawar-Bati plan goats (coll.) < \*pra-gāmaka- not < \*prāmaka-. Cf. the following words:
- för jömček Yr female calf, one year old, — Cf. Wkh. fər jəmč In.? id., and rəgām. Note the place-name Fergamunj in Badakhshan.
- fravingo Mm, fra venga g. fravenga g she-goat, one year old. - \*fragānākā·, cf. Sgl. fər yəm. V. pren jio.
- for mē Ysh it may be, būšad, vii. wos wa šūi no tat kyēin-a, da kyēi tā formē-ā? has he now gone to his father's house, or will he be in my

house? da xãna i mā bāša; dukan dār fər'mē. kua'tin fə... whether he be a shopkeeper or a rich man, ...; woko cəs 'kāmat fərmə' = rīi,' will there be some money of Cf. LSIm ze ferme ki ā im I may be. — Prob. Prs. imper. farmāy. V. § 254.

fərmo-um Yzh, : fər-misc-əm Yzh, sh. g, . fərmisky-um Mm, fərmiy-: fərmisk' Z to forget. — dərāum ke fərmo um Yzh I fear that I may forget, rərmiscəyəm r perf. — Cf. Wkh. ramuş-. Prs. farāmuš- etc. Acc. to Henning ZII, 9, p. 185) the root is \*muš-, not myš-, and this explanation would suit the Y—M forms, but note Orm. §ramōt, Par. nhāmur, which point to a root in r. Cf. § 132.

furang-tfak Yzh European rifle. — \*Prs. f>rs- Ysh to spit, fris-: fris7y Z to blow one's nose.

frāspìy Mg rafters. — Cf. Prs. farasρ. firāsab, farsīb the main roof-beam, Kohrudi rasp 'tīr' < \*frā·spā-.

fursoro Mm, forsàra MFB, ef. LSI psaro down. — Cf. the formation of Lat. praeceps?

frušë Yzh muzzle, snout. — Khow. fros, in its turn fr. Ir.

fəršə më Yzh, °ə g, °išəm sh, frišim r silk. — \*Prs, cf. with f- afrīsam. and فريسه (Garʾāsp-Nāma, 603). — V. vrīšum.

firšon-: firšoy Z to shake trees. — \*frašan-, cf. Bailey, BSOS, VII, p. 777. and Brahui šana, šanikā scattering of comfits. V. uṣān-.

forx-om: forxi-am Yzh, : forxi-yo g, furx-firxoy Z to stool. — \*fra-rixyaef. Wkh, rox, Ishk. yarx 'excrements'' fsāy-im: fsēiy-om Yzh, r, : fsäi-q-om sh,

Jsay-im: Jsary-om \zn, r, : Jsary-om \14 -- Kulturforskning.

sā-im g to stand up. —  $fs\bar{a}i$  zh imper. 2 sg.;  $\bar{s}p\bar{a}\bar{c}$  na  $t\bar{v}$   $fs\bar{a}\bar{i}$  sh he rises after you;  $fs\bar{a}yo$  hu ro be rose here —  $fs\bar{e}i\gamma$  is the perf. stem.

fsādro Yzh, sh, g. r, psī? B spring (season). — \*upa-sāradā.' v. §§ 127. 165): ef. EVP s.v. psarlai (also with \* sārad-) and Zaza wasārī, Maz. avasor. Sak. pasāla- with \*-sard-.

fusfe sīya Mm, fəsfə sīyo g a small insect, locust (which makes a noice, sadā mēkuna). — Onomatopoetic word.

f'skō Yzh, p, g, fsho sh, f's'kō r, fsha Mt, g, 'a :g), fvska m, f i' ti, fi' f. Z, fska G nose. — Cf. Sgl. fusek. < 'fuz-k, connected with Prs.  $p\bar{v}z$ , etc. v. Horn. s.v.'

f'skaf-surv Yzh, f'skə sur<sup>a</sup>v r nostril. fšīi Yzh very soft. ripe fruit, fšī B rotten. — < \*fxšīy < \*upa-xšīta-, cf. Bal. šīay to rub away. Oss. ixsiin, fexsuyun to he rubbed off (Shgh. xtum hare < \*xšita-dumba-?, Skr. an-upa-kṣīta- uninjured.

fšarm Yzh, g, šfarm sh, šfor<sup>3</sup>m Mg, m. šfår<sup>3</sup>m G, šerm B shame. — Av. fšar<sup>3</sup>ma<sup>3</sup>, Sak. kṣārma<sup>3</sup> (Bailey); cf. Benveniste, MS<sub>1</sub>., 23, 402 sqq. — V. šarm.

fšūv um: fšuvd-um Yzh to suck used about a child'. — \*upa-šăp-. cf. šu vā-.

fša'ī Yzh, f' šayı sh short-breathed, fto, v. tu.

f tana., v. f činā..

fxa um Yzh, fxaw fxévd Mt, fxō um fxēvd-im ti to shear sheep. -- \*apa-.cab' Cf. Sar. pxau- and Slav. .xabiti to destroy'. V. pərxau-.

fxot: fxa tī Ysh, xat- LSIm to seize.

agree, consent. —  $\tilde{c}^u$  fxatiyo Ysh she did not believe it, na girift. fâxtaga Mm. foxtago g ring-dove, fâxta. — Prs. fyēl(i) Mm, fēl g lie, untrne; cf. fēl LSIm intention? Scarcely < \*apa-hadya-. fīz Yzh, sh, g, u, r, Mg, (g), t, fīz ti, t, fūz Mm, fuz B breast, forepart of an animal. — Cf. Wkh.  $p'\bar{u}z$ . Sgl.

believe: fxat-: fxatay Z, LSIm to

fīz-yasti Mt collar-bone. — V. šūiko, i pa'rā-yasti.

### G

gab da um Yzh to open (a door). yadā-ī Ysh begging. — g təla ūm I beg; g ləγān give up begging. — Ar.-Prs. gof-um Yzh, gaf-: gaft Z, : goft LSIy to kiss. -- Cf. boh. ququrt Yzh sulphur. - Prs qil Yzli, r, gel sh elay (for pottery). — Prs. V. mil'zuz, xa'larzo. gul Y. Z. G., B. gəl Yu, gil Mti flower. - žo a'mun vo gəl āvər Yu pick the flower from the apple-tree; guile kšči et sh they planted flowers. găl Yzh. sh hoil, small-pox. — Cf. gul, and Khow. isprū flower, boil. gūl Mm, g, Z, G dumb. — Prs. gōl stupid. V. kūr. gul gūn Yr red. - Prs. V. sorx. gulra'men Yzh a kind of poplar. - V. raimeno. gi las Yzh, sh, as Mm, os Z cherry. gulsambare Yzh n. of a flower. - Cf. Khow, gulsambar red convolvolus,

qul-i sambār, gul i jafarī; Palola gulsambar: cf. Prs. sumbul hyacinth. gala'wān Yzh, 'vān u shepherd. — yū g viō; găla vânen vo naql ;urd u. Prs. qalabān. qu nã Ysh sin. — mon ces  $g^{\circ}$ ? — Prs. ga naske (pl.) Yzh straw of wheat or maize. — Khow. ganask. gungəstə Yr dumb. - Prs. gung. V. gūl, kür, ef. kun zaste. qap Ysh, g word. — qab di ah sh,  $g^2$ deh g speak; vo mon gap yurā sh hear my word; men do yū žo to gap speak your word into my ear. - Prs. go ro Mm, ce g, ce Z knot. — Prs. V. yu'rex. ga'rai Yzh Kafir silver necklace. -Khow. gərāi. gīr Yzh, g saw. - Khow. V. arra. gard Yzh, dry, rotten, Khow, ronj. -Lor. suggests that Khow. rone 'a disease of corn in which the leaves wither' is the word intended. Prs. gard dust, etc., is not known to be used in this sense. grrdo Yzh, gird Z round. - Prs. gord-um: gošč-um Yzh, u, gerd-: gašk' Z to turn round, become, gaštan. gorde zh pres. 3 sg., goščim u I became; koviyo gošč u she turned into a dove. - Early lw. from Prs., cf. Sgl. part (with y-, also, if correct, in postča B to return), Khow, pard-, but Psht. garzēdel to walk about with q- (< Prs. \* $qar\delta$ -). g, )rah Yzh, sh eclipse. - Khow. grah. garm Yr, gərm Mg, Z warm. - Prs. V. piç and Γarmai.

gram bešu Yzh, sh, be šane g neighbour.

 $g^{3}r\bar{i}nj$  Ysh, r. gr g husked rice. —

-- Khow. V. am'sāyo.

Khow. grīnj fr. a Prs. dialect. V. burunj.

gir vān Yzh, `bān sh, giri'bān r, ^ân Mm, gərivön Z shirtband, collar. — Prs. V. hasa īne.

V. hasa ine.

guš wör Mm, gū m, Z, guš wöra Mg,
earring. — Prs. V. pūārike, kadrənə.
gat Yzh, sh, p rafter, acc. to p the
beams surrounding the smokehole of
the Chitrali lantern roof. — Khow.
guv. guvd Ysh, g, r, u, : guvd. Mm.
gūv.: gūvd. Z, guvda B. LSIy to
burn, sōxtan, Khow. palēik. — yūļu
guve sh 3 sg. — Apparently from
\*han-kaub.'v.

guvā-: guvəvd Yg to put fire to.

gox Yzh hollow; sh. g. r, Mm stem of a tree. — Khow. gox hollow, hole, hollow tree.

gūy- Mm to knead. — \*han-gauš-, or, better, \*han-gṛš- (v. § 132, ef. Prs. ṛāštā kneaded, mixed, and v. ågungg. gňya Ysh just is, as if, thus. — 'guya da Dra'wuso vĩo he was as if it were in Drosh: as far away as D.; wos gũya kṣṇ now do like this, ālī amī kāre bukən. — Prs. gūyā.

gyib, gyip Yzh, Mt, gip LSIy lost.—

g šāi Yzh, g šui Mg he was lost.

— Early lw. from Prs. \*gumb, gum.
gyibō Yzh to sink (tr.).: gibəvd g,
gibōv Z, gibavd B. LSIy to lose.—

da yauyo gyibōim Yzh.— V. gyib.
gyib lsnikè Yzh, 'ə g mosquito.—V. maxše.
gye'r-em: gyešc-em Ysh to walk, to turn
round, g(i)yašky Mm to turn, pass;
giyar: giyašk' Z to pass over.—
yu čad miži gyaškyat Mm a few
days passed, gašt; au'qāt-iš gyašky
he passed the time, guzarān-iš šud.

— \*Prs. Cf.

gyēr-: gyēšē- Yzh to forgive, r to pass, guzāštan, gyēr- gyēšky Mm to pass (tr.). — Early Iw. from Prs. \*giòār-, or from some dialect form with -y-. cf. Madaglashti gyāšt, pret. of guzārto leave behind. — Cf. also giyār:: giyēt Z to carry across, etc.

gaz Yzh ell. — Prs
gu zar M. m. g, Z ford. — Prs. V. pilf.
guza rān Mm livelihood. means of
existence. — g i i šūi. — Prs.
gaż dumba Mg. t. o m. o g. r sh
scorpion. — Prs. V. kur mo.

l,

qr ze Yzh, sh,  $q^{\gamma} zz$  r pick axe.

yau, v. yawo.

yī·um Yzh. γīu·um: γivd·um M(g,, γīw·:
γūvd Z to spin, Khow. ga·iman
(= γēiman. — Cf. Sgl. yiw·, Wkh.

z̄up·, Sar. žeib·, Shgh. žīb·, Yazgh.
γəb· (v. Z s.v.) < \*gaip·. — V. zīγe·.
γο(h) Yzh, γūō sh, γō r, γū g, Mm, g,
γūw Z excrements. — From Av.
yūϑa· we should expect \*γūx̄.

 $\gamma \bar{u}$  Yzh, g, p, B,  $\gamma \bar{u} \bar{t}$  Ysh, r, Mt. g,  $\langle g \rangle$ , ti, Z, Junker, LSIm,  $\gamma \bar{u} \bar{u} !$   $\langle ? \rangle$  Mm,  $\gamma \bar{u} \bar{s}$   $\langle ? \rangle$  G car. —  $\gamma \bar{u} i$   $l \bar{a} r$  Ysh listen,  $g \bar{u} \bar{s}$   $d \bar{a} r$ ; d a  $\gamma \bar{u} i$   $\bar{z} \bar{i}$  o sh it struck his ear. — Av.  $g a o \bar{s} a \cdot$ 

γū B deaf (Tom., p. 206 translates "tief"! Prob. due to some misunderstanding. Scarcely < \*a yauša·; u bār Mm. \*ār Z dusteloud. — Ar. Prs.; rādəm Y, röndəm Mm. g, ti, "əm t. g), γā dum G, γο Z, randam MFB autumn) wheat. — Av. yantuma·, Wkh. γi dīm ; \*-āma·, Sgl. ; ōndəm. Cf. Charpentier, MO. 26, p. 131. V. af sīrne, pa īzane.
</p>

yadəm-ləro vo Yzh wheat-harvest.
yad'min nayan Yzh, sh, yadə'min n° Mm
wheaten bread. Cf. \( \text{Fandum\bar{t}}n \) n. of
a place (\( \bar{E}\text{Fanshahr}, \) p. 228°. V.
ar\( \bar{s}\sigma^{\text{imin}}. \)

gafs Z fat. — Cf. Tajiki gauz, gazb fat, thick, Badakhshi gaus thick (stick), Shgh. gafr.

γίγιο Yzh, g, γe sh, γί<sup>3</sup> p, γίγο r cowhouse. — Cf. Shgh. γecūd, Psht. γūjol < \*gau-katī. V. pəˈrīvur.

 $\gamma ik\theta$  Yzh. sh,  $\gamma ik$  r,  $\gamma \overline{\epsilon} k\theta$  g penis. —  $< *g\gamma \bar{s}nuka \cdot i$  Cf. EVP.  $\gamma \bar{e}\eta$  (and Prs.  $marz - g\bar{u}n$ ), v. § 117.

yēik-skədəm Yzh circumcision (prob. pres. 1 sg.). — Ct. skəd- and v. nai'levd. yūi-kiž'yō Ysh ear-wax.

yal Yzh thief. — Av. ga $\delta a$ -. Psht.  $\gamma al$ , Wkh.  $\check{\gamma} \bar{u} \delta$ . — V. duzd.

yūelo Mm yoke-rope.  $-<*y\bar{u}_{\gamma}elo$ ?
V.  $fr\bar{u}_{\gamma}elo$ ?

γūlak Mm, g, °ak G, γu'lak Z pelletbow. — γu'lak skuta pusteka Mm (?).
— Taj. γūlak .cf. Z s.v.), but Prs. γu lēl, Bal. galōl, Lhd. lw. γulēlī. The IA words mentioned Nep. Dict. s.v. guleli are borr. from Prs.

γu'lɛk Yzh dewlap. — Cf. Prs. γδlak 'money-till, save-all' (< 'sack, bag')?
γal'tan-. γaltand Yzh to roll (tr.). —
Prs.

γalv Yzh, γalv sh, γalv r, γālv g, γōlv Mg. γōlf (g), t, (sh, γolv m. γolv Z, G, γalf LSIy, γā° m dog. — γalv rōve Yr. — Av. gadva-.

¡āmu Yzh a kind of pulse not grown in Lntkoh (pāyān ast); sh pulse from which roasted flour [talkān] is made ¡āmû; ˈ¡ömu Mg ˈdōna misl-i mu¡a. šōxəl'.— Cf. Vavilov, Agricult. Afgh. pp. 114 yomuʿny 'Ervum Ervilia'

(but acc. to Desmaisons, Dict. Prs., šaxal, šāxňl: Hind. arhar Cytinus cajan). γumino Yzh, g, γa'm° sh, ογ'mīno r podex, anns: γ° rēγ g anus. — Cf. Wkh. guh-rūda guts, v. γο(h)?

γūnia Yzh, γūni'o r, γūni'i sh, γūni g
(pl.), 'γūni Mm, g, (g', ti, 'γūnoy m, Z hair. — yū γ° zh. — < Av. gaona.</li>
: γο'nīgo Mm, xnī'ga G sneezing. — mun γο'nīgo I have sneezed. — < \*x'γnaiš, cf. Prs. išnōša. Psht. nžai. Yazgh. ši'nīxu., Oss. axsnīrsīn (onomat.) γūniko Yzh, 'γūenike (pl.?) p doorhinge, — Cf. γū?</li>

yənil: yəne lāi Yzh, ya'nēl: yani'lāi sh, yanil g to bleat, to bellow. — vəzo yə'nile, yəne'lāi zh, ya'nēli-a sh does it bleat? vəzo, yawo ya'nilo g. V. anuv-, pyāy.

γar Yzh, sh, r, γar g. r stone, hill Mm, G, γār Mti, g mountain, hill Mg hill-top'; Yzh. r, Mm also 'pass'.

— Av. gairi., Psht γar mountain, Par. gir stone, etc.

γar Mg adulterer, kat-i zan i diga mēkīna.
— Prs.

γοτο Yzh eluster of grapes, Khow. γruc. γu rŏi m, Yzh, sh, r, γο° g, γ° räi Mg, (g), ti, °əi m, Z, °ai G earth, dust. — Cf. Yaghn. γ'rik, Sogd. γr'yk (not with xr as assumed by Henning, BSOS, VIII, 585, but Yazgh. x°rik': possibly also Sak. grīkam clay.

pix Ysh clod of earth. Cf. pix (\*'ball' < 'bullet'?'.

ya'rīb Ysh poor. — Ar. Prs. V. lur wo. yar bīl Yzh, sh, °īn r, yal bīl p, Mg, Z. yəl bīl (corrected from °īn) Mm sieve for flour (for wheat Mm). — you y kənəm Yp. y° yūrdam p, wōu yal bīn zīəm r. — Ar. Prs. — V. fraybīl.

yar'base Yzh sod, clod of earth. — Cf.

γarγ Yzh, sh, g, r, γorg Mm, γarx B heavy; γōrγā f. M(g) pregnant, foetus (da darūn-i zan ast). — Av. gouru. γεr nānu Yzh whirlpool, eddy. — Khow. γεr nānu, γεrd³, in its turn fr. Ir.

Cf. BSOS, VIII, 664.

yurūi'rang Yr grey, dusteoloured. — Cf. yu'roi.

γur vum: γurd-um Ysh, r, γur um. γurd-um, γu'rīvd zh, γu'r-um: γūrd-um g, γūr-um sh, : γurd u, γurv-am: γ³ruvd-um, γuruvd Mm, 'γ¬rv-am: γ³rivd-am t, γ¬rv-¬m G. γ¬rv: γ¬rivd Z. — γure 2 sg., γurct 3 pl. Yzh; max wo 'γuram sh we shall buy it: zo 'xabar γurum sh, γu'ra(h) sh, u, γurva g imper. 2 sg.; vo m¬n gap γu'rā sh hear my word; γurd yū alāno sh, vu to xai vrai 'γurdum u, γal'būl γūrdam Yr, γurdogum perf. u. və luγdaf γu'ruvd Mm. — Av. grab, etc. V. \$\$ 129, 151.

 $\gamma ur'vo$  Yzh, sh, g, r,  $\gamma u^{\circ}$  Mm,  $^{\circ}d$  g,  $\gamma \partial rva$  (g), t,  $^{\dagger}\gamma i^{\circ}$  ti,  $\gamma \partial r'va$  G.  $\gamma i^{\circ}$  Z throat (exterior). — < Av.  $gr\bar{v}\bar{u}$ , or < \* $grw\bar{a}$ - (cf. Greek béph, etc.)?  $\gamma arvaden$  Yzh yeast.

yurvo-ku'luxa Yzh Adam's apple.

yori-bombur Ysh large, yellow wasp. — Khow. yōli-b'ūmbur.

үшгі cā-um: үшгі cavd-um Yzh to swallow. үйärike (pl.) Yzh earrings. — \*gaušabytaka-. V. gušwör, kadrənə. rurp Yzh steep, precipice, sh deep [water].
— Cannot be connected with Phl. yavr, etc.

yur pakə pl. Ysh the temples. — Cf. yurp. V. poxa yak, šâxek i-sar.

γis Yzh thread made of goat's hair. — Av. gaēsa-, etc.

yīse Yzh plaited bottom of a bed. — Cf. yīs.

'γuskən Yzh. g, r, 'un sh, γūs'kun Mm,
'γūskən g, 'en Z cowdung. — \*gausakana-. cf. Par. sayön, Wkh. səgīn,
Orm. Pskan, etc.

raše Yzh, u, i sh, g, r, Mm. Jy Z. ya śł G good, well. — wən isto ke 'yaše' Yu he said 'well'; yaši ādam ō r he is a good man; niv yaši kit zh the rain does good; yaši kaky g boil it well; mai yaši these are good. - Cf. Prs. qaš delicate, handsome, TPhl.nw. qs- to be happy? yuš Y, yūš Mm, g, Z, G flesh, meat. -Acc. to G, fr. Taj.  $y\bar{u}\dot{s}(t)$ , which I have not been able to trace, and which must, if it exists, be of E.Ir origin, just as is the case with Par. yūš. - yūš and Psht. ywaša < \*qaustră- a form remodelled from \*gau-šta-, (Prs. gošt, cf. Av. aoštaand aostra- lip', cf. Sak. ggūs'ta-(\*gau-st-, v. Bailey, BSOS, VII, p. 413). viška f. Z fur-coat. — Cf. Ishk zušt.

yu've Yp. yuvya Z wooden trough. —
\*yaub paka-, cf. Norw. dial. kaup
wooden bowl, etc. (v. W. P., I, p. 561.
Cf. also s. Sgl. yov.

yavő Yzh, p. LSIy, "wo Yr, g, yowo sh.
"wa Mt, 'yōwo m, 'a g, g', 'e (sh.
"a Z, yâ wa G cow. — yawə anuvə
Ysh, y yanilə g, y bayaz kiteste r
the cow bellows; yaw-a'vazəm sh I

bring the cow; mo ravo sh this cow; vau vastem lo kerem r I bound (released) the cow (poss. -au m. in some of these examples? . — Av. qav-. gavarso Yzh, gaw sh, g. r millet, qāl (Panicum italicum`. - Cf.  $g\bar{a}wars(a)$ , Shgh. jäwaus, Bajui juwaxey (Sköld), Kurd. gārīs, göris, Saka gausä, Par. gûš, poss., with different suffix, Psht. 70°t (cf. Psht. wēšta 'hair': Av. varəsa-?). V. yūrzun. ra'za Yzh a room.

γάz-əm: γazd-əm Y, LSIy, m to run. —
Ir. \*găz·, cf. Yazgh. γaz·. Shgh. žāzto run, Oss. γazun, qazin to play,
make display of one's horsemanship.
— Reg. Ir. \*gāz· to dip, drink, v.
nuyāz; cf. also \*gaz· to bite, sting
(EVP, s.v. āγzai); \*gāza- shrub, etc.
v. Sgl. yūz); \*gāza- fat (EVP, s.v.
γūza, cf. Khow. zāγ, Yazgh. zēγ fat?).
γuz γāp Yzh, sh, g very dirty.

: ;a'zavd um Yzh. °əvd sh, °evd u to make to run. — wos yaspē γατərdət sh 'aspara dawândan'; yasp γαzevda baš u; paga γa'zavdum zh 'v.s. v. paga). — V. γăz.

"o'žī-m: 70ži'ī-m Yzh to stumble. — Cf. Wkh. gač- to totter? Connection with Old Engl. cwacian 'to quake'. etc., is possible.

## H

hāċ Ysh, uċ Mm, əċ G, heċ B no, any.

— hāċ kuċi ċcš it is nothing; uċ ku
ċi vio it was nothing. 'hēċ ċīzī na
būt', hēċ kuċ B nothing. — Prs.

[h)oċ Yzh, hoċ sh melted fat (au karda:.

— Khow. (Lor.) hōċ cooked fat,
dripping. — V. səbrīm, vāzd.

hade m. and f. Yzh, hade LSIy, hadda

B slave. — \*han-taka-, ef. Wkh.
anday, Sar. indīj. Cf. 'ida, idiko.
ha damo Ysh, ao r, an'dâm Mm limb;
a dam Yr body. — drust adam Yr.
— < Av. handāman-. Khow. ha'dām
has the appearance of being a lw.
from Y!

hand Mm. hand t. and g lake. — Ar. Prs. hanz, Taj. havd. V. žāi.

hãy Yzh, sh, LSIy price, money, pūl. — ma xō'nam, 'na tō 'hūy dalem we shall buy it and give you the money; čan ke tū kenë, 'hūy da'lem Ysh whatever you do, we shall pay the price. — < \*wahāka·. Prs. bahā. Khow. wāy > Wkh. way, borr. from an earlier form of the Y word? Cf. Brahui (< \*Bal.) gwācī commodities < \*wahācī·. ?, Oss. wæi 'sale'.

hukm Ysh command, order. — ba hokm-e Xadāyen. — Ar.-Prs.

hāl, v. māl.

'hālo Yzh polo-stiek. — halo xodəm 'bāzī kardam' (?, -- Cf. Khow. hal goal in polo fr. Prs. hāl.

haule Ysh (garden) wall. — Khow.
hawAlli court yard (Lor.), Panj. haweli
enclosure for cattle, etc, < Ar. Prs.
hīlak Mm flour-sieve. — Turki elek,
alak. V. yarbīl.

ha'lāl, °ār Ysh lawful. — h° muzdurð ken. — Ar. Prs.

halwä Yzh, sh swects. — Ar.-Prs.

heno Yzh scabbard. — Khow. hanu. henody Mm ont of breath. — \*an antika.

cf. Av. anti- : ā-anti-) inhalation. Cf. Barthol. 1F. 7, p. 59.

henju Yzh tamarisk. — Khow.

har Yzh, Z all, every. — Prs.

, hu'rŏ Yzh, sh, u, wuro, ūra Mm, wūra Z,

kə yūi kyei huro astet Ysh he saw that there was a house there: fsauo ho he rose there (da amin jāiš : rə'siet ho Ysh they arrived there: ho da bāwa r. niâst wuro Mm he sat down there. - Av. avadra. Psht. war. Kurd. ora. hargeno Ysh on all sides ?. - ho haulen pazai'et they built a wall all around it. - Cf. har?

hory Yzh, sh, ory r, hor(g) g, org Mm, ary t, arg Z, LSIm work. - 20 wum ho kanam Ysh I do this work; po uū ho dìδ sh 'barā-i yak kār'; hōr konem g. Ary ike nam Mt, horkun B work (: \*hory kan) arkirim G work (for \*ara kirim). - Cf. Wkh. yark, Sgl. arī. Phl. ark. etc. V. Barth. Miran, Mund. I, p. 10; Bailey, JRAS. 1930, p. 18.

harko Yzh, hão sh upper part of the back, between the shoulders. - Turk. arga, ef. Sgl. ar ka, Khow. Ar ga. harko-'yaste Yzh spine.

hork Yzh scar. - Khow, holk, höbk (Lor.). hasa ine Yg collar; oso zh haudkerchief. - Khow. h)osērni (Lor.) haudkerchief.

hosta'ganu Ysh, osta'gane zh ploughhandle. — Khow. hosta gāni.

hai wan Yzh animal; sh mad, ai win G animal. - Ar. Prs.

ha'zār Ysh, a'zōr r 1000. — Prs.  $h\tilde{a}zer$  Yzh a sigh.  $-h^{\circ}$  xiščim I sighed. hazorčan gölo Mm centipede. - \*Prs.

# K(Q)

ke, ka Y. M that, when, where, if, so that, who, whatever. - Cf. §§ 210, 261. - Prs.

wura LSIm, hūré B there, — užūr ' ki'ō Ysh hard work, labour, duty, ploughing, kulba. — na xāyi ko kīt he gives himself trouble, agar no max istet ko za rūr sūi if it has become a duty that they should speak to us agar ba mā gap zadan  $zar\bar{u}r$  šuda ast). -< \*k(a)rš $\bar{a}\cdot$ ? V. \$ 132, cf. kugo.

> kối Ysh, u. kau Z. koui B who, anybody. - kōi-ste? Yu who are you? na koi āvoit? sh whom what' did vou come for? kōi vurdo fərma? sh 'kī airifta bâšad'' moi kōi-kān fərmā' sh to whom may it belong? V. § 210. — Av.  $kahy\bar{a}$ , cf. Wkh.  $k\bar{u}i$ , Sgl. kō(i). Cf. nakōi, kə dī.

> kŭ Y. Mm. Z. G where? - ku šu əf vio Ysh. 'kujā rafta būdīd?' ku liščut u 'kužā dīdī?' xōyo kū šūi' zh where did he go himself? to vār wos kā-ā? sh where is your friend now? kn oi? u 'kšā mērī?' kū ki tu šūyit, 20 asom p wherever you go, I shall come; kū və'det Mm 'kujā burdī?' Av., Prs. kū. V. kužā.

> kū Yzh mouutaiu; kūh bar kūh u in Prs. formula). -- Prs. V. yar. 'aābəl Yzh strong. — Ar. Prs.

ka būt Yzh, dove coloured, Mm. g, ti, Z blue. - Prs.

kač Yzh a kiud of silk or cotton, 'paxtawārī', sh pilan (= pila?, g spider's web. - Prs. kaj silk of little value. V. kač-kurma, kač-žōy.

'qačio Yzh, ka'čio sh scissors. —  $pa k^c$ vrūtof dea sh cut your beard -- Ar. Prs. ku'čio Ysh street. — ni ā də kuči o go out into the street; do-kuro zh outside, B without; de-keo LSIy outside. do šom zh. - Prs. kūča.

kać-kurma Yzlı silk-worm. — V. kać.

ka čīr, v. xa čīr.

kač žõ? Yzh eloak made of kač q.v.).
kə dī Yzh, Z, kedi LSIy. ē m who?
which? — kə dī a roi? Cf. kidi-či B
nobody. — Cf. §§ 119, 210. V. kyem.

ka'dūi Yzh, ko° r, ko'dū g eucumber. — Prs.

ka'dam Yzh step, pace. — Ar.-Prs. ka'drənə Ysh earring. — Khow. kari dreni. V. gušwör, yūayike.

kaf či Yzh, sh hollow below the sternum.
Cf. Burushaski (Lor., -askāpun id. as heart + khapun spoon). Cf.

kafčio Yzh, g. Mm, °ičio Ysh, 'kafčia f. Z. °i ya G kafči B spoon. — Prs. V. nar-kafči.

kufélliy Mm stockings. V. žirabe.
käfila Yzh, köfile sh caravan. — Prs. kafas'tūr Yzh cage. — Ar.-Prs. qafas + tūr (q.v.).

köfše Yzh, g. °šo sh, kofško r. kafšo Mm, °a f. Z. kafš G shoe. — Prs. kugo Mm plough. — < \*kṛšakā·, cf. kiō, qṛāṛ? V. § 132.

qvā<sub>γ</sub> Yzh, p. °āx sh. ki āγ r. °ārγ g. qvo Mt, qvo g. (g). (sh), 'quwo'γ) m, kuvā Z. keraγ LSIy, kūa m, kyāx B bull. — Reg. the uvular fricative v. § 33. — Cf. Sgl. kužūk, Yaghn. 'Ujfalvy' kšak bull. Saraghlani (Z) kišo 'cow'. — Derivation from \*kṛšāka-improbable. Cf. ki'ō.

 $k\hat{a}\gamma\partial ko$  Mg throat (interior of). — V.  $\ddot{a}lq$ ,  $st\bar{u}\gamma a$ .

 $k\tilde{a}_7\partial z$  Ysh letter. —  $k \cdot k\partial_r o$  he has written a letter. — Prs.

ka hal Yzh lazy. - Ar.-Prs.

kuh'no Yzh, koh'nö sh, kuna Mm, kūnaga Z old, ancient. — Prs.

kāk Ysh. r thirsty. -- Prs.. Taj. qāq dry. V. trušna.

kāka Yzh, sh, r top of the head. 'kaka g back of the head. Khow. khak. — Cf. Badakshi kāk-i-pā, Shgh. kôk-e-ling leg above ankle, and v. ušk-mäžiko, šâxek-i-sar, wuškiostia.

kāko Yzh. 'kako Mm. 'kəkā (g) annt, koko B father's sister. — But cf. Prs. kākā father's brother.

kūiko Mm, kuika g, kuo ti. kūnī ka G, kūyka Z stone. — Genuine (ef. Wanji kup stone), or derived from Prs. kōh? ka kŭk Y enekoo. — Khow. kakū, Sar. hakkūk, Turki kakkūk.

kāky·im: kakyi'ā·m Yzh, kai ky: kai kyēsh. kēky·am: kēkyi·ām r, 'kāky·im:
he kyī·m (keˈtyī·m) g, kəčiy·am:
kutyiy·ō Mm, kəty-: kətəy- Z to boil,
cook (Z only intr.`. — ¡aši kaky Yg
cook it well. — < \*kat-? IA? Cf.:
kəˈtyōv-: kəˈtyēvd- Mt, kətōv-: kəˈtĕvd Z to
boil (tr.).

krk<sup>y</sup>i<sup>†</sup>i Yzh, ke° sh, kiki k<sup>†</sup>i (? r. kυk<sup>y</sup>ε ; α Mg, kυj<sup>†</sup>go m cooked, ripe. — Cf. kāk<sup>y</sup>·.

kūkya Yzh, °ia r, ° tyo sh. Mm. kə tya G. kūkyo B short. — IA., cf. Shina khuto, etc., Wkh. kət. Sgl. kut.

kə kyaro Yzh, °āro g Kafir dagger. — IA, ef. Gawar Bati ka tāro, etc.

kə la Yzh, sh, G when interrog and rel., — kala ā γοyit? tro kyēi kəlo öγöit when you come to a house. — Av. kaða.

qalı Mm. g fort. — Ar.-Prs. V. li zo. kwlač Yzh, qə löč Z fathom. — Pis. kəlf Yzh, p. kulf Mm. ti. qulf Z lock. — Ar.-Prs.

kulyo Yzh a kind of wild-growing vegetable, kūlya M(g) vegetable, eaten with porridge (birūn i āš mendåza). kaudakā-, ef. Prs. kūya (كو يه, but also written کوبه. BQ!, sweet esculent herb, licorice? Or cf. Kalasha kölu 'chive'?

kala kəri Yzh wrinkles. — Khow. kalakali (Lor.) wrinkled.

kala-mayzīgo Mm, <sup>o</sup>iga Z brain. — Prs. \*kalla-mayzī. V. (pusur-mayz.

qālin Yzh, kā līn sh, g, u, kálin Mm rug (?). — Prs.

ka'lando Mm, kə landə ti pickaxe, mattock. — Prs. kaland. V. gr'že.

ka lāpo Yzh down, -- k° .covdam I descended. -- Badakhshi kalapå sloping down, Shgh. kala påi down, Ishk. kalapo low. Cf. Khorasan Prs. kallapå downwards, v. l.enz, Pamir-Dial., I. 171 a.

kal pič Mm, °īć Z turban. — Prs. \*kalapīč. V. ča dūr.

kaləy Z soot. — Cf. Wkh. kat-δīt <
\*kata-dūta-.

kaliyo. v. kye leu.

kām Yzh, g, r, k'ām sh, kâm Mm palate.

— Prs.; cf. Khow. khām.

ku mā Yzh harlot. - Khow.

kūmio Yzh big basket, carried on the back.

kām lad Yzh, kac g back-tooth, — V. kām, lad.

ka manek Yzh bow for teasing cotton. —
ko daham 'gāla mēkinam', Khow.
hiçešiman. — Prs. kamānča id.

ka'mān-i Rus tam Mm rainbow. — Pis. V. mīra av'lasto.

ka'mar Yp pouch for gun-powder. — Cf. Prs. kamar belt? V. kuti'ā.

kamar band Yg belt. — Prs. — V. su;-məlān.

kimat Ysh price. — Ar.-Prs. — V. hū?.
-hān Ysh, Z affix of the predic. gen.
V. § 214. — mən-kān, ta-kān amaf-kān

(§ 203. amən-kan, aməf-kan, etc. § 206. köi-kān § 210.

'ken-am. ked-am Mm, kan: kid- Z to dig. — kēdo və zə min dug in the earth. — Av. kan-.

ke n-em. kə r-em Yzh. sh. u. kən-. kər- g. kə'n: ke r- r. ike n-am Mt. yiken-. yihər- m. (i)kən-: i;kər- Z, kə n-. kər G to do. — kene sh 2 sg., č-hir kəne Yu you cannot na mētānī; kit, kuīt 3 sg.; ke nam 1 pl. sh. u. ke net 3 pl. sh., ken imper. 2 sg. sh. kene 2 pl. sh. u: xo šāne kə ne sh make merry; mən orp ke'rəm r I worked; wo'mən xa las kə ret sh you released me. kərəm sh I have done, kid vio he was doing. — Av. kar- (kərənav.. The element (y)i-, which appears in some of the M forms, can scarcely be an ancient prefix (wi-?.

kə nī- Ysh, in wos na xa yīn lə zo kə nīum now 1 shall have a castle made for myself. Or: let me now make . . . — Causative or subjunctive?

kun om. ku nā i-m Yzh, kun-om: kunā i-m g, kūn-om: kū nā i-m r, : kū nāy-am Mm, kŏn-: kŏnōy- Z to copulate. — Z compares Prs. kūn. but cf. Orm. kīn-: kwul-. Caucas. Jewish kūn-kerd-, which point to a contamination betwecu kūn and the verb 'to do used cuphemistically cf. Horn, Np. Et., 259'. Cf. Sgl. ken.

kinčaka M.g., kin'tika, kin'h Z small girl; kinke LSIm girl. — Somehow related to Prs. kanīz,ak, Auromani kənaća, etc. \*kanyačī > kinč.\*

\*kando Yzh, sh. kānd Mm plough-share. -- \*\* \*kanando \*- Cf. Prs. kanand hoe, spade or instrument for turning up ground which cannot be ploughed. With dissimilation Prs. kaland pickaxe, and further kuland, kulang through contamination with the word for 'crane'). But cf. also Psht. kunda plough-share,

kund Mm blunt. — Prs. V. mīky.

kandraq Yzh trench, ditch. — Khow.: cf. Prs. kandag, xandag.

kun'dūt Mm dust-storm.

ka'nariko Yzh wart.

kunj Yzh, Mm corner of a house. — Prs. V. burž, šungā.

kēn Yzh cave. - Khow. kēn.

kun dūk Yzh, kunduk sh, g wooden bowl larger than a padriško. — Khow.

kun aste Yzh, g, kun sh, kun str r, kūn sy Mm, t, g, kun g' Z, kun G deaf. — Av. kartna-, Psht. kūn, etc. Cf. the similar suffix in gungosto.

kankalo Ysh iron kettle for porridge not recognized by zh). — IA?

kap Y, kop Mm. g. (sh), kap G, kop B fish. — Cf. EVP. s.v. kab. The -p renders the word suspect of being borrowed (from Wkh. kūp?.,

kop Yzh, g, r, kob sh, kob Mm little, too little. — kop šūi Yzh it became too little; hūγ kɔb no'yor sh the price became too small, kam šud. — < \*kam(b)na, Av. kamna-, etc.

ku pər, v. pukor.

kār- kišč- Yzh, kɔšć-, kɔši'i- sh. : kıškv

Mm to sow. plant, kōr-, kišk Z to
plough. — gu'le kšči'et Ysh they
planted flowers. pāšīdan: ket zh he
plants — Bad. and Taj. have kår-:
kåšt, not \*kišt-, yet borrowing from
Prs. is probable. Cf. Sgl. kīr-.

kir Yu, in č-kir kone you cannot. Cf. ikor konom Z I can. V. ken.

With dissimilation Prs. kaland pick- kir- Yzh. kər- r to cut down. — Cf. axe. and further kuland, kulang kər dah-.

kūr Yzh, kur sh, g dumb. — Cf. Ishk. kar.

g a rīb Mm, g near, close. — mə kyai q°
g this house is near. — Ar. Prs. V.
naz'dīk.

krabėrė Yzh wool of lambs. — Khow. kābraiļi, etc.

karbəsa Y, karbosake pl. sh, kar vaša Mt, sh, kawung<sup>gy</sup>y Mm lizard. — Prs. karbasa, °pāsa. °pāša, etc., cf. Sgl. kərvišik, etc. — V. z<sup>3</sup>gārmyə.

kurb > 8 Mm blind. — Cf. Prs.  $k \bar{u} r$ . V.  $y \bar{a} de$ .

kār ga maker of wooden troughs and plates, tabak-trāš. — Searcely fr. Prs. kārgah workshop! But cf. Psht. kāra large wooden vessel?

kəro'γunu Yzh, sh cattle infesting tick.
 Khow. kor'γuno. kōr'γunu [Lor.] tick.

kur' yudə Yzh, °ūt sh bramble, siāh xār.

— With °yudə cf. Prs. kunda log?
kar yəz f. Yzh, g, ° yəz r. 'kargas Mg
black and white eagle, Khow. bizbar.

— The M form is a modern lw. from
Prs. kargas, cf. Sgl. kor'yos. With z
also Sängisäri k'ar'g'az, Brahui kargaz.
V. ukâb, šiž.

kar yasp Yzh small, uneatable fish.

kiram Yzh bug which eats the grain.
— Prs.

kur mo Y, žu'yus h° g scorpion. kurmo Yg, kurm Mm insect (?), kərm Z worm. — vo k° pis'to Yu he asked the scorpion (gaždum). — Genuine, cf. Prs. kirm, etc.

kur mīko Yzh bee. — V. ag min kur mīki. kārun Yzh, owun sh army. — Anc. 1w. fr. Prs. The meaning of the Y word supports Fr. Müller's derivation of  $k\bar{a}rw\bar{a}n < k\bar{a}ra$  (Horn, Np. Et. p. 185), which has been rejected by Hübschmann (Prs. Stud., p. 85 and others.

kurpo Yzh, opo r. Mm. opa G. Z bedclothes. — Bad. Prs. kurpa quilt, cf. Sgl. kurpë.

kurpa'ša Yr mosquito — Prs. \*kūr-paša. Cf. Ishk. id.

ki rāţ Yzh Kafir cheese. — IA (e.g. Pashai ki rāţ), but not Khow. ef. Ashkun Voc. s.v. ce'la).

hur'sī Yzh, g chair. - Ar.-Prs.

ka'răst Yzh, g, r, ke° sh, 'kərost Mg, t.
'ka° m, 'kə° Z. G hide, skin. — Cf.
Sgl. korost hide. Psht. krāsta felt.
(Impossible etymology proposed by
Markwart. Caucasica, 6, 32.

kurušo Yzh Angelica.

kər'sav: kər'savd. Ysh to stir soup, etc. kwrūt Yzh "not made in Lutkoh". g. Mm. 'tə Ysh dried curds. — Prs. hor tus Mm cartridge. — Ind. fr. French.

karvon kuš the morning star. — \*Prs.,

cf. Wkh. karwān-kuš.

kar vasë Yzh, kar'bos Mm. °ōs Z cotton.
— M fr. Prs.: Y fr. Khow. kar'vas in its turn from Prs. karbās, which is of lud. origin!].

kirio Yzh, keri'o sh, ker' g, kir yo r. kirya Mg, t. 'o m, khiryä g). kə'rəya Z, kəri'ya G hen. — \*kşkiyā. cf. Prs. karg, Psht. čirg, Wotyak (lw. kureg, etc. Bnt cf. Shgh. čuž, čaž kər in kər da'ham, žiēm Yzh, kər dam r to fell a tree; pa kəra skəstēm zh I felled. — < \*krta-. Cf. Sgl. kud ken.

h' re Yzh, yūk'rıy Mm closed — ken-Yzh also means 'to close'. kere Yzh. kərə g shield. — Khow. kheli, keri.

kero f. Yzh, ka° sh, ko° g, ko° r.

kē° p, 'kero Mm, kērika g, kēra Z.

° ra G knife. — nuvə rum vo k° Yp

I took out the knife. — \*kartiyā·.

cf. Psht. čāra, etc.

Thurð Yzh numb, stiff with cold. Khow.  $kau\varphi$ .  $-k^{\circ}$  šūi.

kāriak Yzh, <sup>o</sup> āk sh yoke-peg. — kāriihke pl. — Khow. kāri, fr. which also Wkh ke ļī.

\*kṛīnsar Yzh, sh combined walking-stick and pickaxe. — Khow. krinzāl pickaxe, klīnsār (Lor.) alpenstock.

kro.e Yzh inerustation, seab of a wound.
Khow, klök hard, stiff of a hide, etc.

krowi)-yaste Ysh knuckle, ankle-bone. — V. brok, axrigula, boda, trəboda.

'kös-: 'kist Yzh, r, koros- sh to search for. — 'dš köse-ste' Yr čiš mēšūrī' koro'sem vīo sh 'mēšurīdim'. — Fr. Av. kas- to see, get sight of'

kus Yg, Z, kus Mm, g. kus vulva. — Prs. V. šino.

kuso Yp straw of maize.

kosk m. Mm, Z. G. kūsk Mg. (g). ti, t barley. — Cf. Yazgh. kåsk, Arm. kask Hibschm.. 515', but Prs. kašk, Shgh. cūšć, Sar. čūšj. V. 'yeršio.

'köskən nazan' Mm barley bread'. — Prs. kaškina, Arm. k'aškēn (Húbschm., 257., V. aršə min.

qasam Mm oath. — Ar.-Prs. V. wor. qissa Yu tale. — Ar.-Prs.

kö ša Yzh, g, köš sh, r valley. — \*kaš š a-'armpit', cf. Kabuli Prs. ba; al-ı köh nook at the foot of a hill?

kaš Z piebald, multicoloured. — Cf. Shgh. čūž, Yazgh. k'aw, Ishk. čō!. Psht. gaž. -š- points to borrowing. kišča Yr plough(ing. kišču-yuz LSIy cultivation. — V. kār.

kuščo Yzh, p wooden frame for carrying hay on the back (v. illustrations in Vavilov, Agricult. Afgh., figg. 40, 70.

kuš mum: kuš māi m Yzh, : kix mōy-am Mg to vomit. Cf. kašpa Z saliva? kn šūn Yzh, sh smoke. — Khow. V. lūi.

k' šer Yzh, r, kšyar sh a kind of pea, Lathyrus sativus, patek. — Cf. Wkh. k'roš. Acc. to Agricult. Afgh. pp. 112. II4 it grows in Sanglech, but not in Munjan. V. pateko, xurmuγo. ki šār Yp spike of wheat, etc.

ka tā Ysh plough. - V. kugo.

 $ka^{\dagger}t\bar{\imath}$  M(g) mixed. —  $k^{\circ}$  kerem. — Ar. Prs.  $q\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}$ .

ke'tiu Yzh, kə'tyü g, kə'töb Mm. — zo
nā-to kiti'ü da'lım Yzh, mən yü ko
astət g. — M fr. Ar.-Prs.; with Y
cf. Khow. kiteb, Wershikwar kitēp,
with imāla.

kautia Yzh, sh, g, o'tio r, 'kaftiwa Mm, o'o g, kotia B butterfly.—V. par wāno. kuti'ā Yp small pouch for gunpowder, carried inside the ka'mar.—Cf. Prs. qūtī a box in which precious stones etc. are carried?

 $ki'ta\gamma a$  Yzh,  $^{\circ}\gamma a(n)$  sh wild almond,  $b\bar{a}d\bar{a}m$ . — From Kafiri. cf. Kati  $kte < k\bar{a}nt\bar{a}$ .

kua'tin Ysh, ko'tin g rich. — no yū kua'tinen muz'durə ken Ysh take service with a rich man. — Khow. koa'tīn fr. Ar.-Prs. \*quwwatīn. V. bāi, dauladār.

ku tān Yzh large water-fowl, 'kulān' ?). ku tox Yzh, sh, 'ax Mm a kind of sour milk made from dūy (māst mēzana,  $d\bar{u}_{i'}$  mendâza; ktəx Yg kand $\bar{u}_{i'}$ ?. — Cf. Sgl.  $k^{u}$ təx fr. Tu.-Prs. katax, qati $_{i'}$ .

kuta'xin Yzh bread made with kutov. V. arsəmīn.

 $k^{3}ty\bar{o}v\cdot$ , v.  $k\bar{a}k^{y}\cdot$ .

kūt Ysh coat. - Engl.

ko fine Yzh, i g, ine sh middle-sized hammer. — Kbow.

kiţo'rī Yzh dried mulberries. — Khow. V. tal'kān.

'kovio m, Yzh, 'kōvio sh, iya r, 'iyo (°ūyo') u, koū g, kouya Mm, 'o g, 'kôwūya Z, kāwū'ya G, kowū B pigeon.
— kōviyo yošč Yu. — Cf. Prs. kabūtar, Wkh. kibit, Sgl. kō'vīð, Khow. Iw. kovōr, etc.

kovz'dūz Yzh, kaf'dūz sh cobbler. — Prs. kafšdōz.

kowito Yzh fig. - Khow. ko(w)it.

kyei m. Y, Mt, °əi g, °oi m, °oi ti, kyai Z, kyēy G house. — loyōi də kyei; no xoi kyein; tro kyēi, tro kiyēf loyōi; asəm nə kyē'yen; no xoi kyēyen Yu; šūi da'rūn də kyoi; yū kyoi, x\*roi kyayi Mm; mə kyäi qa'rīb myend kyä'yī qa'rīb Mg. — <\*kataka., Prs. kada, etc.

kyof-um: 'kyoft-um Yzh to groan. — Ct. Prs. kafūdan to burst, erack. foam?

kyīfo Yzh, kyū° sh, r, kyīfe Mg, kifa Z, kūˈfân Mm hump (of cows). — moi kyūfo Ysh. — Cf. kūˈfōn Z camel's hump. — Cf. Prs. koha, Kurd. kêf, Sgl. kīf < \*kaufa; but Psht. kwab, Or. kūp, with p. — Reg. Wkh. kip, kap, Sar. kiep v. Wkh. s.v.

kyo'gō Yzh, p, čo'gōo sh, kyoyo B pear.
— < \*tongo, Khow. tong.
kyahre Yzh anger. — Ar. Prs.

kal.

 $ky\varepsilon^{\dagger}l\bar{e}u$  Yzh, sh, kaliyo Mm, ćāliye ti.  $k \partial l \tilde{i} y a G$  key, bolt. — Anc. lw. fr. Prs. kilīd.

kyall vereno Yzh, vareno sh white headed, bald-headed eagle. Cf.  $ky \in I$  and Wkh. kalmury. vereno < \*grdnu-. cf. Skr. grdhnúeager, greedy. qr'dhravulture?

hveliko Yzh, sh, kvaliko r, kve g. 'kaliko Mm, 'kal@ika g, kyālyaka g) jaw. — IA, ef. Kalasha kālyak, etc., Par. kalagi da nan front tooth. V. ni šok.

kyäl-yaršio Ysh beardless barley, 'kal-jau'. Cf. Agric. Afgh. p. 302.

kyem Yzh, kyem sh, ki'yam Mm, keyam Z which? - mo kyem ādam? Yzh ¹ī kudām ādam ast'? kyəm ādam? sh. — Cf. § 210. V. kədī.

kyümder Yzh, kyəmdər sh, kamder Mm. kemder LSIy younger, kandir Z smaller, kando'ra G little finger. k° vraya, vrai, vrōi younger brother. - Prs. kamtar.

kyemalyo Yzh skull. — Av. kamərəδα-, Sak. kamala-.

kyunyo Yzh, kyunyo sh,  $ky\bar{u}^c$  g, r. kungyurgo Mm, kendarga Z magpie,  $\gamma alb\bar{e}k$ . — \* $k_{I}$ šna(pa) $k\bar{a}$ - (?), cf. Sgl.  $k^y \bar{e} v z \bar{a} k < *k \bar{e} z v \bar{a} k < *k z \bar{s} a p a k a \cdot$ Wkh. kirtepe, kitipei, Shgh. kixepe, Sar. kargopč, etc. (v. Z s.v.); Khow. lw. ki šipi. Shina kašap, Wershikwar. vašēp.

hyi po Yzh polo-ball. - Not Khow. kyir f-um: kyir fai-m Yzh, kyir fay-om sh, kirfa'ī-m r, eīrf-əm; cirfa i-m g to sneeze. - Onomatopoetic. cf. Wkh. štròf-.

kyēl Yzh, kyāl Mm bald-headed. — Prs. ; kyārāzo Yzh, co sh small wooden spade with long handle, used for opening and shutting irrigation rivulets. -Cf. Prs. kirāz harrow, Orm. hurāii. Wanetsi krāz spade.

huesa, v. xšīr-kuesa.

k#ssi na Yzh forest. - Lor. suggests connection with Khow. tes-puk (t-) a kind of shrub. -- V. 'fangal.

kūzo Yg, o r, Mm jar. - Prs. V. so fo. qiza'gi Yzh small bridle. — Ar.-Prs. gaiza. V. aw lan.

ku šā Ysh where? — da-kušā? kšā! — Prs. kujā, cf. Madaglashti kušā < \*kšā < \*k(u)jā.

ku'žo Yzh, sh, Mm crooked. - Cf. Sgl.. Prs. kūž, etc.

kužke Yzh, ho sh, oke p. ga g, kūžikā f. Z, kujka B hair (of the head). - kuška nrašim Yg. - \*kaučilock, curl, cf. Prs. kōž curved, Skr. kucati bends, Sogd. kuz'k 'chignon' (Benveniste, JA, 223, p. 229).

krživo Yzh, r dirty.

koživioko Yzh a kind of red and white duck. — Cf. kaš.

### L

la, lo Y with, together with. - ze la to or kalnim Yr I work together with you; la mon astet sh I possess. Cf. §§ 166, 218. 220. — Av. haba, Psht. la.

la-, v. lak.

līu Mm rotten, bad, ganda; līw Z, G bad. - mai raši, wai liwi these are good, those are bad; līu kerum I stooled. — Acc. to  $G < \Lambda v$ . daēva. Ishk. lēw night-mare, lēv mad belong to a dialect with  $l < \delta$ . Ishk. leu

stupid, blunt, cf. Prs.  $l\bar{\imath}w$  stupid, foolish, may have the same origin.  $lo\bar{\imath}a$ :  $lo^{\dagger}wai$  Yzh,  $law\bar{\imath}a$  LSIy to graze (tr. and intr.). —  $x^{9}\bar{\imath}u'w\bar{\imath}a$   $lo\bar{\imath}a$  the shepherd grazes the cattle);  $wo'r\bar{\imath}a^{2}$  the sheep graze: no-lawayen LSIy to graze. — <\*dab. cf. EVP., s.v.  $bl\bar{\imath}a$ ?

lũi m. Y, hy Mm, g. ti, lĩ (g), lũy Z, G smoke. — Cf. Prs. dũd, Wkh. δĩt, Sgl. dĩδ, etc. — V. kušūn.

[uū Yzh, lū g pine-marten, Khow. rušk. li b·èm: li bāi-m Yzh, 'lib əm Mti to card wool, Khow. dumiman. — Cf. Sgl. dəmb-, Khow. lw. dum-. With Ir. \*dumb- cf. IA tumb- in Panj. tumbnā to tease cotton, etc. (v. Nep. Dict. s.v. tunnu). — Prs. dafta 'weaver's comb' for \*dufta?

laba kow um M(g) to smear, plaster. — Ar.-Prs. labk mixing (flour with honey, etc.), mixture?

lə ban əm Ysh : lə bad əm sh, r, l vân :  $l^{j}v_{\varepsilon}d$ - Mm,  $l^{j}v_{\varepsilon}n$ -:  $l^{j}v_{\varepsilon}y$ - t, (g). livon: livoy- Z to winnow, bat kardan. - wou labadam Yr. - Cf. Sgl. davin. Wkh. būn-, Shgh. de'vēn-, Yazgh. devan- to winnow, Av. dvan- (dvasa-) to fly, us dvanaya- to throw up Sak. uusvan.), bata 'winnowed'  $= l^{\gamma} c \bar{\epsilon} y$ , Yazgh. & evūd, not 'coarsely ground' (v. ZAirWb., s.v.; Scheftelowitz. ZDMG 59, pp. 690, 780). — Psht. lwan-: lwast- to winnow, Ardistani band-: bas- to throw (Bailey, BSOS, 7, p. 771) < dvan, influenced by \*ban(d). Cf. also Orm. ban. Bakht., etc., van- to throw 'away', cf. NTS, 5, p. 14.

lad Y, lod Mm, lõnd g, (g), t, lõnd ti, lod Z. lât G, lād LSIm, lànd MFB tooth. — Pl. lade Ysh, lodi Mm. — Av. dantan-, et. Sgl. dānd, Wkh. dendih, lānd.

lo roī, v. tī.

lurdo Yzh, n, luy'do sh, g, p, lə r, lərda Mti, g, °ä(g`, lərdo m, lurdâ Z, lər'da G daughter. — tō cand lərde astet? yū lərdə, x'roi lərde Yr; obl. lərdən, lərdəf Yr; lur'de pl., ai 'lurdeo sh. lu lurdi vi'at; və lurdaf ruruvd, mai 'lurdi niāstat Mm, lərdi pl. Mti. — Av. durdar. Sgl. wuðərð, Wkh. ðərd, etc.; et. Oss. 'xo-dird husband's sister (°dird \*'girl').

luγdi<sup>\*</sup>ko Yzh daughter (demin). la<sup>†</sup>γafči, v. lə<sup>†</sup>vaxče.

ld'yn-am: lo'yod-am Yzh, r, ldyod-o sh, ldyot u, nayo'n-am (?): lo'yod-om g, : ldyōd-om Mm, loyada B to lie down, to fall asleep. — ldy'ne zh 3 sg.; loyot u, '.cau kat'; lo'yoda waxt sh evening. sko loyo šuyam r perf. (?); stīnyo šūi ldyodə g he lay down on his back. — Mm would point to Ir. \*ni-gan-, not -\*kan-. Cf.

Pran-um: Prad-um Yzh, sh. r, nayān-um. nolyad om g. logon : logend Mt. (g) to throw away, to pour out, 'partau hardan, partaftan'. - But note also Pyend-om Yzh 'partau kardim', Pyendom Yr I send away, 'mēfiristim': P red-om I poured out, 'tit kardam'; Prend-um Mm, 'tit mekunam': li'gädum(?) 'tīt kardum'. — gadāī ləzān Ysh give up begging partau, wo vira ləzado da kyēi da xāna bār partaft` sh: xosto lyadəm da xu'rum r I threw the grain into the threshinggronnd. - \*ni gan., or, if Mm ligad. is correct, \*ni-kan, cf. Prs. afgandan, etc., (v. AO, I, p. 249; Bailey JRAS, 1934, p. 515; Henning, ZII, 9, p. 172).

 $lo^h$  Y,  $l\bar{o}^{'}h$  Yg, lv Mm. sh', (g',  $l\bar{v}$  t.  $l\bar{o}$  g,  $l\bar{v}$ ,  $l\bar{o}$  Z.  $l\bar{o}^{w}$  G two. — lo naha'rī Ysh two loaves,  $lo^h$  miž, loh pūre sh:  $|lv| lv_i di$  Mm. — <\*duwa. Av. dva-, etc.

loh-o'guščo Ysh span from thumb to index finger.

loh rīnj Yzh douhle. — Adapted from Khow. jurinj.

loh'saxo Yzh a period of two years, Khow. jusaxa (not known from other sources!). — sax- < \*saxwan- from sakto pass the time? Cf. yū'saxo.

la'jöm Mm, g. Z. lo° ti bridle, bit. — Prs. lijām, cf. Sgl. la'jām, Shgh. la'jūm. etc. V. aw'lān.

la-ken- Ysh, r, lak- M(g) to let loose, leave, la'kra B to leave, lâken LSIm keep. put. — rau lo-kərəm Yr I let loose the cow; wo pəş'ko la kər sh; wos pilyirü lakam M(g) now I break a wind. — Cf. Sgl. la-ken. Wkh. la-cer. Shgh., Or. lā(k)-, Khow. lw. lakoman I let go. leave.

lāmo Yzh, sh, g, LSIy, la° Yr. B, lāmo Mm, °ε g, lâma G village. — 'žōī 'lāma vī'et they were from one village: mo 'lōmo žowan Mm this village is his. — G compares Av. dāman-creature, creation, place of habitation (in an eschatological sense); cf. Sogd. δm world. Similarly l.hd. lōk village < world.</li>

ltm Yzh, g, lèm r, lom sh, Mm, (sh), lòm G, lum m. Z tail. — < Av. duma- (< \*dumbma-) (\*dumba- would have resulted in \*lub etc.).

lamdo f. Y, 'lo' Mm, 'lōmada Z hem. 'dāman .— <\*dāmantā pl.?cf. Benv.

Gramm. Sogd. II. 79°. cf. Psht. laman. V. avländ.

lõmago Mm snare. — Psht. lūma, Wkh. δing. etc.

lomoira Mt swollen, waran karda, — A perf, ptc., cf. Prs. damīdan to break out in pimples or swellings. lomailen Yzh, li g. no sh half-full. — \*haða-maðyana-. V. malen, nim kālo, nīmoper.

ls mon sm: ls mi m Yzh, lsmo n-sm ls mi m sh to rub. — <\*ni man(v),na-: ni-matita- (cf. Gr.Ir.Ph. I. 2, p. 212). cf. Av. mant- (pres. manā-). Shgh. se mān-, etc. V. magy-.

löndekä, v. landik.

lenju Yzh, lyänju(y) sh strip of willow's bark. — Khow. lēnžu.

luäneke pl. Yzh, luano'kə sh, lū eno Mg twin(s): lūini m both. —  $< {}^{\bullet}duc\bar{\imath}n$ -, or \*duwāna-? Cf. Sogd.  $\delta(y)\beta n$  pair (Gramm. Sogd. 2. p. 140'. Shgh.  $\delta\bar{\imath}\bar{v}^{n}n$ , etc. two. — V.  $d\ni g\bar{\upsilon}n\bar{\imath}$ .

lānawo B wise. If correct, ancient lw. from Prs.

lan'dik Yzh, landok sh, zak B fat adj.; löndekü M(g) belly, škāmbe.

linga Mm, ling t, °ga m. Z calf of the leg. — Prs. lang. V. ilira, neliko. langau Yg bucket not known to Yzh. — V. mašerba.

linigon Yr, lu: Mm, lo: g (not known to Yzh) hand-mill. —

la poir (! Yzh glitters, Khow. lapoiran, lapessa B to sparkle. — Khow. V. § 231.

lār-: 'lāt- Yzh, sh. 'lōr- Mm, g, lōr lēt Z to have, lâr- G to give ?. — lat zh he has; la'təm sh; lato he had: zo vəta gap yā lārəm zh I hear your word: yāi lār sh listen; xabar lāram sh. tu \*štī lõrī Mm have you anything?
- Cf. Prs. dāram, etc.

ləˈrī-m: ləre ī·m Yzh, läˈrī-m g,: luriy-am Mt. luˈrī-am: luˈrī-em (?) ti, lūrīy-: lūryīy- Z to reap. — Cf. lə raucä Mt reaper, 'gandum ki mēdrawa'. — Cf. Sgl. deräy-, Prs. durūdan.

lira Yp the drnm of a spinning wheel (v. III.). — Cf. Av. dāru., Prs. dār wood, beam?

lūr·vm: 'rust·vm Yzh, sh, lur·: rust·r,
Mm, t, ti, Z, rul·Am Yr to flee. —
stūrei 'lūrət Yg the stars fall. —
<\*raud-: rusta-, cf. Av. raod- to
stream, run.

lu  $r\bar{o}$ -um Yn to put to flight. —  $z\bar{o}$  vto  $l^c$ ;  $\bar{a}s!$   $t\bar{a}$   $l^o$ . Cf.  $l\bar{u}r$ .

lūro Yzh, sh, g, °ro r, lv'ro Mm, lə're g,
°a, lū° Z far, distant. — yo ādam
lu'ro Yzh, wo âdam lu'ro Mm, wənd
ādame 'lūro astet Ysh, wə kyüi lə re
Mg; dur luro pādo šom I have walked
far to-day; žo lura'ran Ysh, že
lūreren LSIy from afar, az dūr. —
Av. dūra-, etc.

le rafso Yzh, la rauso sh, r, la refso Mm,
a g, da revsa Z awl. — Cf. Prs.
dirafs, which has influenced Z's form.
la royo Yzh clear sky. — < \*idrakā-, ef.
Oss. ird; Skr. vīdhra-: Palola bīdri,
etc. < \*vīdhriya-; Khow. yudur <
\*edhra-?). Possibly borr. into FinnoUgrian. v. Paasonen, Ostjak. Wb.,
Nr. 157 (ētar) and ef. Kola Lapp
vierhta, which acc. to information
kindly supplied by professor Collinder
may go back to \*větra.

l'rnyus Yzh, sh. l'rūc r, l'rīc Mg, t. ti, l'rēgus m, l'r yūx, lryūx lryūs', lyūx G sickle. — \*drāta- < \*dātra- + kusa- (?). v. Göteborgs Högskolas

Årsskrift, 36, pp. 68 sqq. Cf. Yaghn. d'råt, d'rås < \*drāθ·, Sogd. δr"š (JA. 223, p. 219) and v. EVP. s.v. lōr. lirs Y. līrs Mg, lurs m. Z goat's hair. — Cf. Wkb. δirs, Shgh. δοδε, and v. NTS, V, p. 43, s.v. drassam. Cf. also Prs. dirs a threadbare garment, a camel's tail, and Khow. jošk (O'Brien) finc hair of yak fr. Ir. (cf. još ten < \*doš)?

l'iro'vo Yzh, r, wo sh, l'i avo Mm reaping.
lor awa ti reaper. — l'i kenem, yikenum
I reap. — Ct. Prs. dirav. V. lori.
lur've Yzh, wu sh, wo r, āð g, lo'rā B.
'leravi Mm, le'revi ti sick, ill. (poor
Yzh). — zo lur've Yzh I am ill;
pādšā lur'vā šāi sh; mon (mox) u'zīr
'lurvo 'viem r I was (we were ill
yesterday. — Ct.:

lb'rova Yzh. lorovo B, lorawe G illness. — man la'rova zh I am ill, I feel pain. — lur've < \*a-druvaka-, ef. Av. drva-, Sogd. δr'wh sound, fresh; larovo < \*a-drawyā- (??); scarcely. with G. from \*draywi-, ef. Av. driγupoor, weak. — Cf. also Bal. durāh, Brahni d'u'rāx well in health < \*drāwaxa-.

l'rīvā Mti, Prīven t shrub, bush used as fuel, pūš.

larza Yzh, g, zo r trembling. — mon lz kit I tremble. — Prs.

larze Yzh, ozi (pl.?) sh, 'lārzi p, 'lorziy Mm, lōrzi t sheaf of corn; 'larze Ysh sheaf-band. — Cf. Talish darz sheaf, Av. darəz- to tie together, etc.

lā rū Yzh melon, tarbuza. — Khow.

los Y ten. - Av. dasa. V. dá.

lo'so Ysh. r. la g, la zh, Mm, lā sa G, 'lā Z, lâsef' obl. pl. LSIm rope (made of goat's wool'. — Cf. Prs.

dasa thread which remains in the loom, Bal. dasag thread (?'. Shumashti Dardie' dass thread (fr. Prs.), Skr. daśā- tringe.

leso Yzh. loo r. loo g, leo Mm wild oats. — Cf. Sgl. da sin.

last m. Y. lost Mm, Z. löst Mg, (g), ti, låst G arm, lāst Ysh arm below elhow, hand. - žuwānen wa alāno da lāst kər Ysh the young man took the pome-granate in his hand; 'na to tro las ko rum sh I put it in your hand; last ūzdəm g I wash my hands. - Not lw., but with dissimilation fr. Av. zasta-, as in other Ir. dialects. laste Yzh, 'i p. 3 sh handle of a spade. las(t)-bot Yr, g, lasten-be sh wrist. tra ban ta lasbo da Yg (?).

los-wist Yr 200, hazār (1.

los yū Yzh, g, iyū sh, r eleven. — Cf. Khow. još ī.

lišč-, lišky, v. wīn.

laštokun Ysh saddle-cover (? . V. jalov. latrok Yzh, lāt<sup>3</sup>rik sh wild chive garlic. used as a vegetable. — Khow. latruk. livde Yzh. a sh second irrigation. dūāva. — V. dūōva, avzino.

lieden Yzh, sh. liº r, g, Mm, g, livdani pl.?) Yp, liv den Z fire-place, Mm also n. of a constellation, cf. Kalasha idhon tripod: Idhonek constellation). — \*daiga·dāna· (Prs. dēgdān) with dissim. of  $\delta \delta$  v. § 52). But  $r < \gamma$ ? lsvor Y, Mm. or g, luvar m. Z, lswar G door. - yū lo novor Mm he appeared in the doorway. - Av. drar-, cf. Sgl. vor, Wkh. bar.

l' voro Y, D'veriko Mm, luvera Z roofboard, rafter, - Originally doorplank? — Psht. barga rafter is prob. borr, from IA.

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lovaxče Yzh. la vafći sli large conifer, torch. — V. pelicyo.

ləra za Yzh, sh, r baked dough

liv zīn Yzh. 13° sh, r. g. 15v 20 felt. ləvz-nāmyo G coarse cloth, palos, lors B thick. - Cf. Prs. dabz thick, coarse (as cloth); -in is an ad). ending.

la-verzana rüso Yzh bat (: winged fox). Cf. la and rarzero. V. šabparekilar, živderaus.

lu wist Yzh, g, lū r 40; isto los r 50. - V. § 202.

la.v čio Ysh, r. p., laxčio zh, Mm, g. °a f. Z small goatskin bag for keeping tiour sənār. — lə pado da la sh threw into a bag; da la céief yurdam r. laxi- < \*laki- < \*laik. ef. Sgl. dēcak, Wkh. Sock ??

lax'sire Yzh, laxsərə sh, g, ere r yaxsəriy Mm, g, yaxsere Z ice. -Cf. Prs. xasăr, hasar, hasīr (yar +  $s\bar{a}r$ ? Regarding l. cf. \$ 78. List of Place Names: Yakhserighar. lyoxe Yzh, sh, loxo r itching or: it itches?'.

li zo Yzh, sh, le sh, r, g, lizox B fort, gala. Cf. Lizo Mm n. of a village. — li zo kə'ret, lə zo kə'nīum sh. — Cf. Prs. diz, Chr. Sogd. dyz, etc.

lauz Yzh, labz G word. — Ar.-Prs. V. rői. lūž om: lānd om Yzh, r. Mm, t. Z. lū. 4-:  $l\tilde{u}_{i}d$ - Ysh,  $l\tilde{u}^{i}$ :  $l\tilde{v}_{i}d$  r to milk. — < \*dauć- a secondary present base made up from \*duxta-, cf. Wkh. δic-, Shgh. δūj-, Par. dūċ-, Sgl. dėš-, Psht. lwas-3l < \*dauxs. What is W. Oss. docun (cf. firun to cook)?

la žino Yu pile of firewood. - vo lažino žafa ū put fire to the pile. - "ničayanā, cf. Turt Phl. ni ii- Henning. ZII. 9, p. 182', Skr. ni-ci- to pile up. V. paržīn.

lāž vər Yzh lapis lazuli. — Prs.

# M

ma, mo Y, md M this. - V. § 206. mổ Mm, g month. — Prs. V. mux. 1 mā·um. mavd-um Yzlı to masticate, chew.

² mā-um: mav d-əm Yzh, sh, māv-um: merd-um Mm, morda B to measure. weigh. - mām də tāra zū sh let us weigh; mav'do, mav'det sh he (they) weighed it; rizān māum Yzh ' $x\bar{u}b$  sanjidim'. — Av.  $m\bar{a}(y)$ -, or IA.

mão Yzh, g, mã o sh, r, muyo Mm, ca (sh), muya g, ca (g), meya Z sheep (Ysh, Mm also female oorial), - \*maišā-, Av. maēša-. V. mīya.

ma'cio Yzh, sh, r, 'io g, 'mačio Mm, g, öä (g), māčia Z, mac LSIm she dog. migya Y ringdove, fāxta, Khow, kalkūr. - Uf. Sgl. māčik, Taj. māča, Early lw.

nor (Lor.) a 'kind of dnek', māci'xor (O'Brien) 'kingfisher', an adaptation of Prs. māhixwār heron. Note the - incidental? - similarity to Nep. mätikore kingfisher.

mōčie Yzh, o sh artisan, blacksmith. - Hi., etc. moci cobhler.

mū-čino tweezers, mūči na G scissors (?). - Prs. V. cepio.

mēdī Ysh? — In novur mo 'az baral badar (usū) kat' (: took it out from his bosom'.

ma'diri Yzh, g seam. Khow.

modra'ye Yzh, mond' sh, mulrügi Mm silver neckring (from Peshawar, ace, to Yzh' — Pl of "modra, cf. Ishk.

murdik small ring (v. Sgl. cammərdikiq), Phl. mudr ring, V. § 88. maf Yzh, sh, möf r, Mm, Z you. V. \$ 203 sq.

magam Ysh verily. - m° max yū pādšā astet hut you have a king. - Cf. Par. magam possibly, unless, Shgh. probably. Fr. Prs. magar?

măqy-im: ma'qyī-m Yzh, g, r, 'maigy-em: mai'gyī-m sh, mäigy-em: maigyī-m r, mogy-um; mugi y-um Mm, mogy-am; megi'ā m t, mog': mēg' Z to rub (with the hands), to wash clothes, Yg to crush, 'mēmālim'. - Cf. Sgl. mānd. to rub, smear, Wkh. mānd. mand to ruh, shampoo, prob. fr. IA., cf. e.g. Palola mand., Kshm. madun to knead, wash (v. Nep. Dict. s.vv. marer, mārnu). — Cf. also Yazgh, marn- to twist, rub with the hands, but rn would not account for Y-M $g^y$  (v. §§ 121, 133).

- V. fâxtaga.

maci xor Yzh kingfisher. - Khow. maci - mir Yzh, sh, r, Mm. g, R mer Yg, Z, G cloud;  $M\tilde{e}_{\gamma}$  Yp n. of a mythical horse (cf. IIFL, I. p. 165: Par. Air, Taj. Abr. V. also Wūi) - Av. maēya., etc.

muyo Yzh, sh, r, mūyo g, °a Mt, (g), stur-mugo m bean, Vicia faba, bōkula (cf. Agricult. Afgh, p. 112 - not mentioned from Munjan). - Borr. from Pkt. mugga- phaseolus mungo? (Saka lw. māmgä?. V. xur-muyo. möyiki (pl.?) Ysh, müryik B hail. — Connected with the preceding word, cf. Wkh. mužek hail: Sgl. mužīk pea; Shgh. ma'šak hail: ma' pea?

may'mun (nayan' Ysh bread made of muyo. - Reg. the suffix, v. § 193.

moyuso Y, mayəsa Mt, məyəsa (g), moguso m, maxsa g, magusa f. Z, - ū sa G fly. — \*makasā-, cf. Prs. magus, Wkh. maks, etc.

mazz Y. Mm, t, Z, māzz Mg, maxs ti marrow. brain. — pusur-mazz Yr = mazz-i sar Z brain. — The a points to borrowing from Prs.

maha lam Yzh mending (clothes . - mº kenem.

mxh mān Yzh, sh, mi mân Mm, mỹ môn Z guest. — Prs.

mahmi zā um: mahmī zavd-um Yzh, sh to make to fly, flee, mēparim (intr.!,, Khow. ušturēim. — Cf. Prs. mahmīz kardan to spur a horse.

 $m\bar{t}k^y$  Vzh, sh,  $mek^y$  g,  $mi^yg^yo$  r,  $mi_7io$  B blunt. — Possibly early loan fr. Khow. mutu  $(t > k^y)$ , but cf. also Wkh. muq, Sar.  $m\bar{e}aq$  (Shaw) blunt.

māl Ysh, u goods, property. — wo māləf avṛɛt Ysh they brought the money: vo māl-hāl līm nōn u 1 gave him all kinds of goods (māl-hāl) 'māl-i hāl ba n̄ dādam'. — Ar. Prs.

molo Y, molo Mm, mala t, mola G here. — tu nišā malo Ysh 'tu īnjā bišī; maf male nixit Mm sit down here; za ži malen (obl. form?\ Ysh 1 am from here, mā az hamījā. -< \*imaðā, cf. Sogd. mð, Sgl. möð(ak). mūl Yzh, mōl Mm stirring stick, used in cooking flour (ard puxta mekunan). -- Cf. Wkh. mul, Psht. molai fr. IA, cf. Lhd molhā, etc. -- V. tiwaniy. milyo Yzh, sh. milya Mti, molgo m, milyiga g white, clay, used for plastering the outside walls of a house,  $-< *mrdak\bar{a}$ , cf. Skr. mrd, Prasun mīrė. - V. qzl, ši fon, xa laryo. Cf. also:

mil'vuz Yzh red clav.

molk Ysh kingdom, realm. — drust m. — Ar. Prs.

milkondi Yzh n. of a flower. — Khow, milkon, mulkhon a small violet, bellshaped flower, violet.

mullākəriya G goose. — Cf. Gawar-Bati mullā-cirgo fr. Psht.)

māləm Yzh apparent, known. — nā-mən māləm-i it appears to me. Khow. sarēiran. — Ar.-Prs.

mərlāim Yzh, blāim g soft; məlāima zh slowly. — Ar.-Prs.

mal-mīn Vsh. m.ilmin B thus, in this manner, amtarix (: ham- or īn tarīq).

— m šilaxe šūi he became so destitute; wo mun m će ke nē-este sh why do you act thus with me? — V. molo and -min.

malen Mm half-full, Z middle, — V. loma'len; domâ'lan G at noon, du'malen Z between,

məlān Y, muo Mm, məlan g, on g, ti, Z, məla G waist, Yzh, sh, Mm (mulonf) also belt; məlân G, məlönlərgina Z belt. — mlān trāžim Yr. — Cf. Av. maidyāna-, etc. V. surməlān.

malane oguščigo Ysh. m² °ščo g, mala noguščo r, mala nigo āgušk#o Mm, male nig âgušk#a Z, malene ga G middle finger.—\*madanaka-, Wkh. məlung middle, cf. Av. maδəmahe ərəzvő (gen.). — V. also Miliyeg.

mulrägi, v. modraye.

maiilis Yu festival, assembly, music. --Khow. mailis fr. Ar. Prs. majlis, cf. Taj. maylis.

ma lax Yzh, r, Mm, g, t large, yellow locust. — Genuine, or lw. from Prs. malax [note the vocalism.

māmo Yzh, sh, g, mām r, mâma Mm, G,  ${}^{1}m\bar{o}m\ddot{a}$  M(g),  ${}^{3}a$  Z grandmother: māma Yp old woman, kampīr. — Wkh., Shgh. mūm, Yazgh., Sar. mâm. Cf. Z s.v.

maina Yzh starling, mynah. - IA. man, etc. me, my. V. § 203 sq.

-min Y. In cas-mrn? of what kind? (yo cəs-min žāndār? Ysh; ya cəs-min vīra? sh 'ī či bar ast?' tō nām crsmīn? sh what is your name?); čamin? how (much)? (v. s.v.); ces-min? what? (čis-min LSIy what? to nām čes- $m\bar{i}n^{g}$  B);  $mal-m\bar{i}n$  (v. s.v.). — ·min appears to give the pronoun an indefinite meaning. Cf. also mo man vrai min B this is my brother. mind Ysh, LSIy so much. - mind daulat 'hamīqada do'; vo mind

ābādiof so many fields (obl. pl.;  $m \ni n \quad min(d) \quad xismat \quad k \ni rum \quad I \quad have$ done so much service. - Cf. ind.

mandraye, v. madraye.

munyo Yzh, sh inflated sheepskin, sənāc. - Anc. lw. from IA, cf. Waigeli moka, Khow. manu. etc. skin-bag for ghee? V. laxčio.

mānjo Mti bed. — IA., cf. Panj. mañjā (but not in Khow.). Wkh. manja, Badakhshi mānja.

mo'rem: mu'rem Yzh, r, mu'rem: mu'r-o Mm, mə'r-əm: mə'r-a G, mur-: mur. Z to die. - mo're pres. 3 sg., ma ret 3 pl., ma rīsta Yzh 'mēmurad'; mu'ro he died. - Av. mar-.

mīra Y, Mm, Z, o ra G, mīro Mg, g', t, ti; mīra cām Ysh, u sun. — mīra rəsin Ysh 'aftab rasid'. - Av. miðra-. mīr-čoja Ysh to this side, mīr-čujua turns back (?. Khow. achi yari. < \*ham-iðra? — Cf. vračo-a.

moreč Yzh, oač sh, g mulberry. - Khow. m²rAč.

mardum pür Yzh boy.

mar'gas Ysh iris. — Prs. nargis.

mīryo Ysh, muo Mm, mirya g, mīryiko Yzh meadow. — \*mārgā-? But cf. SgI. mēry < \*margya-. Av. marəyā-.

mor yo Yzh, sh, mo r, ma g, moryi (pl.), 'məryika Mg, oaka (g), murgiko m ant. - < \*marwikā-, ef. Av. maurvi-. etc.

muryu'lum Yzh, r down of birds. -Khow, muryulum down; Wkh. margilam (Shaw) goat's down. - Ir.? mr'kič Yzh carded wool, Khow. pi ženu. mīra-av lasto Yzh, sh, mīra-lamdo r rainbow (· "the sun's sleeve or hem") — V. ka mān-i Rustam.

mirmu'sān pary Yzh rat. - Cf. Khow. murmu šān kalau rat (Lor. myr myšān field rat, Shina mīrimuša ferret, weasel). From Prs. \*mirmūšān 'master-mouse', cf. Wkh, mīr-

mara Ysh, r. LSIy, mēra LSIm, G man. - Pl. mayë Ysh, r; yū mara ži da len ā'yōi Ysh, yu mara hor kit g a man works; ai mara sh o man! lio no maraken sh he gave it to the man: no maraken da apir sh in front of the man, yo mara  $\tilde{z}^{u}$   $k\tilde{u}$ ? from where is this man? maraken yard sh the mau seized it. - Cf.:

mer Y, mer Mm. g, (g), ti, mar (t), mer Z, G man, vir. - me žiroi mere hor kenet Yg these four men are working. - \*martya- (hardly M. Ir. \*mert < mart + mērak, v. Barth., Miran Mund., VI, p. 55).

morro Yzh, g. 'muro sh, r, mur'da Mm, Z. mu'riy Z dead, dead body. - V. marmrs Yzh, g, r, G brass. — Prs. masko Yzh. r, ko sh, g, maska Mm, de g butter. — Prs.

māst Yg curdled milk. — Prs. V. poya.
mīšc Yzh, sh, mu° r, mušky Mti. mu° t,
mu° Z, 'muškio Mm. 'mīškye g,
mīškya G, mušt Yg fist. — Av.
mušti- (Yg lw. fr. Prs.), cf. Wkh.
mīst, Sgl. mīt.

mišća Yp sheaf of corn. — Cf. Prs. muštī handful.

miščo'70 Ysh, ou70 g, mišči7iko zh shecalf, one year old. — V. muškoya. maška Ysh, mašk Mm, mäšk g inflated skin, used for crossing rivers. — Prs. V. dril.

muško'ya (pl. muško'i) Yzh, sh, g, miškō'i (pl.?) r. muš'kayi Mm, miš'käyi g. t, (sh), mə° g) newborn, male calf. məš'kāəy Z male calf, up to the age of two years; məškāī G ram, sheep (?).
— \*ham-huškaka-, cf. Par. tōr-pī calf, one to two years old ("dē-licus"); Phl. Psalter 'xšyrky weaned.

mašer ba Yzh, o sh bucket. — Khow.. fr. Ar. Prs.

miš tor Yzh, °ər r prince, mehtar. — yo kyei mištərān.ē Yr this house helongs to the mehtar. — \*masyah-tara, Prs. mihtar.

mušti Yzh, sh silver necklace (from Chitral). — Khow, mušti.

miwa Yzh, mēwa B fruit. — Pl. mrwa γε Ysh fruit-trees. — m° žiet they planted fruit trees. — Prs.

max Y, mox M we. — V. § 203 sq.

max Yzh, mōx m. Mm. Z. mâx G peg.

mēx. — Genuine < \*maxa-, cf. Psht.

mōžai, mažwai < \*maxšu- + aka-? +

But Prs. mēx < \*maixa-.

mīx Yzh, sh, r, xa g nail. — Prs.

mux Y month. — do yū məx sh in the course of one month. — \*māhaxa-, cf. Sogd. m'r? V. mo.

mu xāliš Yu? — 'zə da šeri'et m°-əm''').
max'mudi;o Yzh. mamü° B dagger. —
Ct. Khow. mehmūdi, mahmūdī Pathan
dagger, Prs., Psht., Sar. bihbūdī, Wkh.
bibhūdī. bēbi dī. Kalasha meha būdika'tār.

mu'xan Yzh, sh veranda. — Khow. muxān.

maxše pl. maxše'ī Yzh, maxši ī<sup>n</sup> pl.

sh, max šī p, māxši M.g', 'mayaxšiy

m mosquito. — Av. maxšī.

miž m. Yzh. Mm. g, t. mīž Ysh, r, M'g', ti, Z day. - do yū mrž sh in one day; no yū mixen Ysh for onc day; xśo ro tā mīx sh night aud day; čīr, uxšo mīx sh; yu čad mixi gyaśkyat Mm a few days passed,  $\check{x}\bar{\imath}^{\dagger}r\dot{a}i\ mi\check{x}\ t.$  — Cf. Sogd.  $my\delta$ , Yaghn.  $m\bar{e}t$ ,  $m\bar{e}\vartheta$ , etc., Shgh.  $m\bar{e}\vartheta$ , Sgl. mēi (ef. also Markwart, Ungar, Jahrb. 7, p. 100). Junker SHAW, 1914, p. 13) compares Lith. mētas year, time, Alb. mot year. This is perhaps possible if we assume an Ir. form \* $m\bar{a}\vartheta ya$ - < \* $m\bar{e}tyo$ -. Sar.  $m\ddot{a}\theta$  shows that the word does not contain an ancient diphthong (Or.  $m\bar{\imath}\vartheta$  may be of Shgh. or.).

möxe Yzh, sh, <sup>2</sup>θ r, g, <sup>1</sup>maxıy Mm.
i t, <sup>2</sup>θy m. Z stick. — \*māθaka·,
cf. Shgh. mâθ, möθ.

 mižen Yzh. g, 'mižen r, Mm. (g) noon.
 Ancient adj. to miž, cf. Bartangi mivoin day.

miya M male oorial. - V. mūo.

mayo yo Y, °aga Mm, mōyaya g, °aga Z. maya ga G, māyaga LSIm, mayeyo y mare. — \*mātakā-. Cf. Prs. māda, mādiyān. mo'yan Mm, mayan LSIm trne. -- Fr. Prs. māya substance? V. 'urzu: maza Mm taste. — Prs. V. xāl. mīz Yzh, mēz g table. — šitāhan že me zán Yzh under the table. -- Prs. mīz-em: mīzd-əm Yzh mēz-. mīzd sh, Mm to urinate. — mīzet 3 pl. — Av. maēz-. Cf. mīzyo.

moz-em: 'maše-im Yzh, sh, r, maz'am: mosky-am Mm, maz-: mošky t, mazmošk' Z, G to kill. - vətō mōzəm; mox wou mašcom Yr we killed him, zo fto mo"zəm sh; mozē-em tā sh 'mēkšī cm tu'; mən wou mašcim sh: ro śir maščet Yu they killed the lion; vo barzange mašč u he killed the ogre; agar Nadāi cu mašče vīi, ogim sh if God has not killed me. I shall come. — Shgh, moz- means to ent, form (v. Xuynoni Alifba, p. 32); but cf. Orm. maz- to break, Psht.  $m\bar{a}t \operatorname{broken}(<*masta\cdot, \operatorname{not}<*maxta\cdot;$ prob. not Par. mac. to cut, hurt). maza'dār Yzh savoury, tasty. -- Prs.

mozdira Mt the day after to-morrow. - Containing \*azn-?? V. sū7'yāmo. muz'dura Ysh service, pay. - no yū kua tinen mo ken take service with a rich man; mo kro; wo mon mo na kyed vio he used to serve. - Prs. 'mīzyo Yzh, mē sh. mizya Mg. miz da

v. miz-) Yr urine. - \*maizakā-, ef. Wkh. mīzq. V. mīz-.

mūž. mūzd Yzh, sh, mūž. mu d Mm. muž-: muyd Z to move (intr.), to be swung. — draxte mūžet zh the trees are moved (by the wind).

mu'ža-um Yzh, mu'žav-: mu žavd- sh, mūživda B to shake, move (tr., mūjert B earthquake.

mažovo Yzh, g, māžəyo sh female markhor. — Khow. ma'žė;.

mi žäriko, °ki pl. Yzh mist, fog --\*mižakā-(kā-), cf. Zaza miž, Prs. mizga a dark sky.

mažnum-bit Mm hanging-willow. - Prs. \*majnūn-bēd. V. čilikyo.

mižis te Yzh thigh-bone, sh hip-bone, g arm above elbow (?). — Khow. mužusti, mu'justi thigh, npper arm (fr. Ir., not fr. Pkt. minja), Cf. Sak. mijsā marrow < \*mayzyakă; - Cf.also Sgl. asta-mayzik, Wkh. mayzī upper arm.

ma'zīt Yu mosque. — da yū m' šui, da mº lo yoi. — Ar. Prs.

# N

no, no Y, M for, to. - na mon del give me: na pādšān na sa lāmat šut Yu they went to salute the king; no šīren 'škūr kenam let us go hunting for the lion; cpāc šūi na du kānen sh he returned to the shop; na koi ā; vit? 'ba či āmadī?' 'xšīyem-esto no coi za rūrien sh we are weeping ont of necessity. V. § 216. - Av. ana over, along with, on.

mon del give me my wages; muzdu ri no, no Ysh, etc. LSIy, na Z, G, LSIm not. - no poč išto, no yox išto, no p<sup>3</sup>xuft<sup>2</sup>m <sup>1</sup>što, no ušiyād<sup>2</sup>m išto he said that it was neither hot nor cold, and that he was neither tired nor hungry; no no-of no xuran ce astet. no n-ayestan če astet there is neither anything for them to eat nor to wear. - Av. na, etc. V. ce.

na-um: 'navd-um-Yzh to pour out, to empty, Khow. ulēiman. Cf. Skr. snāvaya ? nai M(g) reed. — Prs.

nii-m: no vor-m Yzh, sh, : na vor u, noyor-əm r, ni-am: nəyar-am M.g. nəyar-am(?): nəyar-am m, niy-: nəyar Z. never LSIm, novor y to come out, emerge, appear, Khow. nisiman. ni ā də kuči o Ysh go out into the street; na yor do kucio; mīra na yor zh the snn rose; yū barzange na vor u.  $p\bar{a}r_{i}e \ no_{i}o_{i}r_{i}et$  sh the mice appeared; ya to huy kab no yor this your price appeared to he too small; yū ažder nor (?) Yu a dragon appeared; pilf novo ra čti sh (the river) cannot he forded; yū lavor no vor Mm a door appeared. - < \*niš·i·: niž-gata-(> \*nirgata > \*nigarta-, v, § 113?): cf. Par. nī-: naryō, Orm. nis- (\*niisa.): nayōk; Sogd. nīž-.

nou Y, nau Mm, no ū g, (g), (sh), t, nau Z, G nine. — Av. nava.

nəb Mg, nəp ti dew. — Cf. Bal. namb,
Prs. nam dew, moisture: Sgl., Shgh.
namb moist. — V. pražyār, šak lām.
ni cāy Yzh, sh, r, g the shady side of
a valley. — Khow. nichāy. V. nosīy.
na dram Ysh inside. — n° na yur vo
inside the throat. — V. dram.

nif Yzh, g, nīf sh, Mg, (g), t, ti, naf Yr, 'nūfa Mm, Z, °fa, nâf G navel. — < \*nāfa(ka); Yr fr. Khow. naf, in its turn fr. Ir.

nəfs Yzh soul, individual, own family.
— tu camin wo xōi nəfs kenē? how
do you deal with your own family?
— Ar. Prs.

nig': nig' \(\pi\) Z, : nigi \(\pi\) Ysh to pull out.

— da lax\(\circ{c}\)io n' he took it out of
the bag, 'ba dar kart'. — \*ni-k<sub>1</sub>\(\circ{s}\)-?

Cf. § 132.

nāyo, v. s.v. xužbūi. noyo-um nə yavd-um Yzh, sh, no yā-: . noγaud- r, no γa·ūm: no γavd·um g, nə gō-um. nə gavd·um Mm. nə γōu· nə γevd-ə (g), nigōw- nigēvd Z to bite, gazīdan, Khow. čokik. — Phonetically < \*ni-kap·b·, ef. Greek κάττω to swallow, snatch with the teeth, etc. (v. WP, s.v. qap-)? Cf. also Shgh., etc. anjāv- to seize < \*han-hab- Z compares gňv- (q.v.), but this is scarcely possible.

na'yen Yzh, sh, g, 'nayən r, Mm, g. Z.
nayn G bread, food. — n° na-wən lio.
nayan worum Yg I eat bread; no
xu'yān n' češ sh there is no food
to eat. — \*nayna-, cf. Gauthiot,
MSL, 19, p. 129, cf. also Yazgh,
δο'yān (Skold). — Brahui nikān
'rations, meat' fr. a lost Bal, word
of the \*ni-kāna- type.

novor, v. nii.

noγo¹sār Yzh, negusār LSIm below, pāyān. — Anc. lw., cf. Prs. nigū,n'sār turned upside down, etc. Also Sor. has nuyuşār down.

nə yuy: nə yušc- Yzh, nə yūy- nə yuškə Mm. neyūy-: neyišk- Z, nuyuš- ə; nuyuškə G, doyuja(!) B to hear. — <\*ni-gauš-, cf. Yazgh. niyuw: niyoxt, Psht. nywaž-: nyut-; Yaghn. duguš-(< \*nauš-).

nuγōz-: niγēzd Z to swallow. — Cf. Wanetsi Psht. γōz- to drink.

no yuže Yzh snipe.

naharī Ysh breakfast, bread. kilėu
— lo naharī two loaves. — Ar. Prs.

naql Yu tale, story. - Ar.-Prs.

nika'nā-um Yzh, sh, r . nika navd-um r to dig. — The k points to recent compounding. V. ken-.

nwkrâ Mm, nwqra g, LSIm silver. — Ar.-Prs. V. droxum.

nəl Mm, nəli (pl.) ti reed. - NWPhl. nad, Prs. nai, Khow. nol, nol rushes from \*Y? — V. nai, näliko, x<sup>3</sup>šlāni;o. nai lā-um Yzh, nēi lō-um sh, nēi lā-um: nēi lavd-um r, g, ni lāv- Mm, nīyalovniyalerd Z to make to sit down. tə fto neilöum Ysh. — \*niyāl- < \*ni-šād- (Or. nōd- Z, but nōd- Lenz. neθ- Shgh., with θ from the intr.\, nix-.

nai'lo-um Yzh to eirenmeise, Psht. sunnat kawum); nailerd zh, sh circumcision, 'čulburrī, da jā ki mānda' ('remains''. - \*ni-dab-? Cf. Wkh. nəbarn-.

nciliko Yzh, g calf of the leg. - Cf. nəl. V. ilira, līnga.

nəliv-um nuvöst-əm Mm, nilv ti) to lie down; : nu wostey Yzh lying flat: nīlv. Z. nuwdst Z. G to sleep. -'nilvä Mti imper. 2 sg. - < Av. ni-paiδya·: \*ni-pasta-. Not, with Z. connected with nailā-. Cf. nivīlo.

nām Yzh, sh. nâm G name. - tō nām crs-mīn? Ysh: ba nām-e Xadā sh. — Prs.

no mái Yzh appears. Khow. nayūran; nimēd M(g) became known, mālum šud; nəmōy- Z to appear. — yū ādam nəmäi. - Cf. Prs. numāy-: numūd. nim kālo Yzh half-full, - Khow, nīmkalau, V. loma'len, nimopir.

ni mekyika Yzh diving. - nº da ham I dive.

no mālyo Y, namalyo Mm, "olija g, olya f. Z. odlya G salt. - \*nama- $\delta(a)k\tilde{a}$ - v. Gauthiot, MSL, 20, 19), ef. Sgl. nəmeyð, etc.. Sar nimaðj, Sak. namve, etc.

no mon Yzh target. - Cf. Prs. namūk butt, target?

nīmopir half-full. — Cf. Prs. nīm-pur. V. nīm kālo.

 $n\bar{a}myo$  Mg. ti felt.  $-<*namat\bar{a}$ , cf. Sgl. numoð. Prs. namad, etc. Pali namataka. etc. lww... V. livzin, uiston.

na māz Yzh prayer. — Prs.

nəmāzdi gar Ysh, ne m° zh afternoon. --

or \*ni-hād-. Cf. Av. ni-šāδaya-. V. : n∂'miz Yg winking, nemig-: neməšk' Z to shut the eyes. - From \*ni-mi2. or \*ni-mic-, cf. Sogd. nymz'y (Benveniste, JA, 223, p. 241). namajs., Bal, mičāć, Prs. miža evelashes. But Ishk. numul., Skr. nimis- with -s-.

nīno Y, 'nēno Mm, oa g, a (g', oa, -° & Z, nen G mother. — Cf. Prs. nana, Sgl., Wkh., Or., Khow. nan, etc. nano'yō Yzh, p a single grain. — < dānakā. (v. § 135), cf. Prs. dāna corn, boil, Psht. dial. nīnē roasted grain, Waziri nāna grain.

nina māšće Yzh, ašća g, nīna mara sh, nīno° r spleen. — V. spərzə, šišpāzək. nar Ysh. g, Mm, g, Z, g, naro Yzh, nor r male. - Prs., or genuine?

u'ro ū Y, n' rowy Mm. g, 'swi ti. nə rawəy Z, zauwi G black; nord ū Yzh pupil of the eye: cf. nərowi čoggō. — < \*an·arušaka·? Phonetically possible; we should expect e.g. Mm \* $n^{j}ruyiy$ , but a change of -uyi-> -uuv is conceivable. - Acc. to Hess Orient. Stud. in Honour of C. E. Pavry. p. 139) Av. auruša- means 'red; but cf. Oss. ors, etc. 'white'. nar bəz Yg he-goat. - Prs. V. fer jāmə. nar can Ysh. r. yusa xō nar cen zh he-

goat, one year old. - V. ča'na. Cf. fer ame.

narkaf čī Yp wooden ladle without a handle, used for flour. — V. kafčio. — nar as a prefix indicates size or strength, v. narangušč, narirau, nar zū, and cf. Brahui nar-aurūt extra strong khurūt.

narkire Yzh, sh, °ə r, °ərə g, °ınıy Mm, g, narkiri (sh), °iri (g) coek. — V. kirio.

naran gušč Yzh, sh, nər' g, nuran gišt r,
gvšt M(g', ogušt B thumb. — Prs.
(with št > šč in early lw), cf. oguščo.
usturoguščo. V. s.v. nar-kaf čī.

ma ranj Mm orange. - Ar. Prs.

nari rau Mm a kind of vegetable, rau.

— V. riv.

na ruš  $\mathbf{m}$ .  $\mathbf{Z}$  cat.  $\mathbf{-}$  < \*nar-vuš <  $^{\circ}$ puš,

nərowī rog go Ysh a kind of pear. — V. nəro ü.

nar worya Yzh male lamb, one year old.
- V. prasi lane ware, warziko.

nar zū Yzh pus, matter. — Cf. Psht. zawa. Sak. ysū pus, and v. s.v. narˈkafcī. nə rīz-: nərīzd- Y, Mm. nəˈrīz-: nərizd t. nerīz-: nerīzd- Z to lick. — nerize Yzh pres. 3 sg. — Av. raēz-, Sak. rrays-. Sogd. rys-.

nasēn Ysh, in drost məlk n´ nəvn ram gāštim sar ba sar ?\.

nis- Ysh to take out. — Only form noted is nisa imper. 2 sg. — Cf. Sogd. n'y's, I'sht. nis- to take \*ni-yās->; Yazgh. yas- to take away. V. nəvor-. nusiy Mm. nisiy g the shady side of a

valley. — Cf. Prs. nasā(r). nasar, etc., Fars dialect nisā; cf. also Sgl. nišorm. Wkh. niširm and v. Par. Voc. s.v. ni sōr. — V. ničā<sub>v</sub>.

ni'askė Yzh, sh. nyoskye g. nīes'h'ny Mm, niezye (g'. niāzyila (t) yawn. -- n a vazem Yzh. sh, no kenam Mt I yawn, no astet Yg they yawn. —

nasi āt Ysh advise. -- zo fto no kenəm.

— Ar.-Prs.

ni āst, v. nix. niastiko, v. s.v. palo.

nas mār Yzh snuff. — Hind. nāswar (Psht. Iw. nāswār.

ni šok Mt jaw, no šâk G cheek.

naškel Ysh, LSIy, er B bad.

 $ni^{\dagger}s\bar{a}n$  Yzh showing. —  $n^{\circ}$  dahem. — Prs. našpotty Mm. — Prs. V. hyo'gō.

ni šāž-m: nišā žī-m Yzh. sh. ni šāz- r, ni žāž-m: nižā žī-m g. ni jāš-um: nijašt-um Mm, ni jāš- (g), Z: nijest-Z to show. — \*ni-žaš- (v. § 75) < \*ni-čaš-, Sak. najsaş-, cf. Z s.v.

niv Yzh; nōvo sh, r, novo g, nōve pl.?, sh, novo B rain. — nīv yaše kīt the rain does good. — Cf.:

nov-e: nīvd-o Yzh, sh.: nīvd-a r. navī nīvdo Mm, nāv-. nīvd Z to rain. wos nove Yzh; nəvdəyo šūi perf.— Cf. Sgl. nav-, Av. nab- to moisten, possibly with semantic change due to association with nabah- sky. Scarcely connected with Prs. nāwīdan to lament, as proposed by Z. nor with nawoyō, etc. (q.v.).

nəvço Y. °a Mg. 'nuvgo m. nüvga Z beak. bill. — < \*(h năbakā, cf. Prs. nauk, nol beak, Saka nauha point (\*nabaxa-) and, possibly, Germ. \*nabja- Engl. neb, etc., Lith. snāpas. nəvçiko Yp n. of a pink flower. convolvolus? Cf. nəvço.

ni vilo Mti bedding, na wal-virga Z bed.

— \*nipādā-(?-, ct. nəliv-. V. kurpo,
pəlas.

novnoyo Yp, now negiho sh pasteboard. baxter (v. III.).

no'vor: novo p. Yzh, sh, :nu'vop-um p, ne'ver-um M(g), nowur LSIy, nevar m to take out, draw out. — no'vīt Yzh pres. 3 sg; xām cū nowor g don't take it (the bread?) out unbaked; že san'duken ce nova'rum sh I take something out of the box; novup, novu'pam sh pret. 1 pl; nuvo'pum vo kēpo Yu I took out the knife. — \*ni-bar. Sgl. newar., Orm. nawar., cf. Par. nep-(?); Av. niš-bar.

nuˈväš-: nuˈvišč- Yzh, sh, nuˈvöš-: nu-ˈvöši- r, nvaš- g, nuˈvöš-: nuvašt- Mm to comb. — kuška n° Yg I comb my hair. — < \*niˈpuš(š)a- (v. § 75) < \*ni-peks-, cf. Waz. Psht. lmēžəl, lmatai (v. EVP. s.v.).

nu'viš:: nu'nt Yzh, sh, nūš:: nuxt- g, nu'vuš:: nu'vuxt-, nu'višky- Mm, nu'viš-: nu vuxt- t, newūš-: newūxt- Z. nūiša B to write. — Not a recent lw. from Prs. niwēsam: niwištan. With nuvuxt, etc. cf. Sogd. np'yšt, npxšt- (v. Benveniste BSL, 29, pp. 106 sqq.).

naviš'to ken- Yr to write. — Prs. The compound verb is in common use in Afgh. Prs.

nawo'yō Yzh, sh, nāwo r, naw'yo g, nowogo Mm mill-race, cf. nawāi G 'chute d'eau'. — Not connected with novo rain, as suggested by G; but cf. Prs. nāwa gutter, tube, Kandulāī nāwa ausgehöhlte Baumstämme die als Wasserleitung für die Wassermühlen dienen', ctc. Cf. Sgl. nəˈwōk.

nowo'yo Yzh, noū sh, nū'wiy Mm, nove B new. — Av. nava + ka-, Sgl. nuwōk. Psht. nawai, etc.

nu'wāre Yzh excuse. — n° kenəm I excusc myself, Khow. is pen koman. — Cf. Skr. nivartaka- removing, abolishing, etc., nivartana- repenting, etc.?

no wīsa Yzb, °is sh. g, 'nəwus Mm, nawiso g), 'nawəs Z grandson = pūren pūr), nephew. — Early lw. from Prs. nawāsa? Cf. Sgl. nəˈvəs, Wkh. nə pūs.

no woso Yg, nuwo so r, no wasiko zh, no sh, nawso Mm. a Z, nawcsa (ka) M(g) granddaughter. — Cf. no wisa. na waxt Yzh (too) late. — no c-as don't come too late. — Ar. Prs.

nax Mm floor. — Khow. nax id., Or.

nōx terrace, sleeping platform, Shgh.

nēx vestibule, etc. — Cf. naxdaru.

nəxō: nəxōai Yzh. naxō r, g, niō M(g)

to drip, to drop from the eaves. —

nəx¹ōc, nəxōi¹c Yzh, nax¹ōe r, ¹niōi

M(g) 3 sg., nax¹ōi-stə Yr, g dur. pres.

— Derivation (as a denominative) fr.

\*nəx(š)ō < \*niš-txa (cf. ava-tka-,

Wackernagel, KZ, 61, 190) is improbable.

nax čīr Ysh, Mm, g, g), G, nakšir B male ibex. Prs. V. žumānē.

nax čir pəzäxe Yzh, g, °xien sh male oorial (?). V. pəzexi. Cf. miyo. nax čir vəzo Yr, g female ibex.

naxidaru Yzh, sh, g roof-beam, bâlâ-i tīr. — Khow. naxdāru. Cf. nax.

nâxun Mm, con g, t, nōxn M(ti), con (g, Z nail. — Prs. V. a'naxno.

naxš Mm, nāxši (g) song.

muxta Mm bit of a horse (?).

ni x im: ni āstem Yzh, g, em: əm sh, ni x im: ni ost am r, ni āst u, 'ni x um: ni ost am Mm, t, ni x : ni yōst Z, : ni asta B to sit down. — ni x Yzh, Mm, ni x t Z pres. 3 sg.: ni x a Yzh, sh, r, ni x ā sh, ni s a LSIy, nil v a m imper. 2 sg., ni x yzh, ('maf 'male')

nixit Mm imper. 2 pl.; ni āst so dukan dara Ysh he sat down (. stayed) with the shop keeper; bad ni ast wuro Mm then he sat down there: do voi kyēi niāstet Ysh they sat down in their own house; mai luydi niâstat Mm these daughters sat down. But žinkiko (yū akābur) niāsto Ysh a woman (an old man) was sitting, loh šināmit niāsti sh to girls were sitting (v. § 196); niastdydm Yzh, r, niestogom (g!) g I am sitting. - nix- $< *ni\vartheta < *ni \cdot h(i)\delta$ -, cf. Shgh.  $ne\vartheta$ -. niāst- < \*ni-hasta- (Shgh. nūst), or, more prob., < \*ni-šasta- (Sgl. ni<sup>1</sup>lōst, Sar. nālūst). - Cf. Sgl. nīd., Wkh. nezd. V. näi lā.

nǐ ya Y, Mm, °o g sour milk, dūγ. — \*nītaku-, cf. Sgl. nīδuk, Sak. ñye. Connected with the Kafiri-Dardic words: Kalasha nīu (nīl), Kati nīvā. etc., Dameli nīt id.: cf. Skr. (nava-) nīta- fresh butter.

niyâ-əm G I plant. — Early lw. from W. Ir. \*ni-òā-?
näi zoYzh, r, na° sh, nai za Mm spear.—1'rs.

nāi zoYzh,r,na sh,nai ta Mm spear.—Prs nāzda Mg, (g), c'da (sh) 19. — Prs.

naz'dīk Yzh, sh. r, nə g near. — mo ādam n Yzh; mind ādamen n astet sh. — Prs.

nez 70 Yzh, nr sh, nəz 70 r, g, nəz 70 Mg, nız 7d (g), niyzə m, nazuk G nasal mucus. — \*nez d)gā < nāstikā-? Ct. Par. nēšt nose < \*nāsti-.

nation Ysh irrecognisable, strange. — zo n`wīnəm 1 see something strange. — Khow.

P

 $p\theta$  Y at, on, for,  $p\theta$  Z with. — V. § 219. —  $\Lambda$ v. paiti.

 $p\bar{n}o$  Yzh,  $p\bar{i} \partial y$  Z rotten:  $p\bar{i}y$  Z to rot. — Cf. Sgl.  $p\bar{u}$ , Wkh. pitk. Shgh.  $p\bar{u}\delta j$  (v. Z s.v.). Av. pav. Reg  $\bar{v} > i$  v. § 150.

Yzh. pəz g-am: pə cəq-am. pəcə gi-m pəz qī im sh, pčeqiy em(?: pčeqiy em Mm, : psigi-am t, pcig'- pcig'ay- Z to cut, cleave, burridan, Khow, chinik. - mən lo so pəz gyo sh 1 cut the rope,  $p\partial z'qy\bar{o}-m$  sh it cut me (?). pəzai et sh they cut (brīdan); pəciqyo zh 'burrida šud' intr.?'. - Cf. pčix-: pčišk' Z to be torn. - pəcəq-, etc. < \*patsind-, \*pati-synda- (v. § 121).</pre> pčišk' < \*pati-systa- (v. § 131), pčiž-, if = \*pčiš-, might be a secondary present, as \*pati-srd(y)a would result in \*pcil-. Cf. Prs. gusilam Horn. Np. Et., 922).

piệ Yzh, pəệ sh, r, g, piê B hot. — Khow, pəệ. V. garm, suzōn.

pēio Yzh frostbitten, Khow. čõistai. -- Cf. čiy.

pičili Yp a plant with yellow flowers and thick edible leaves. — Khow. pi čili šax purslain. xulfa.

pcūrma Mt four days ago. — V. curmō. pādo f. Yzh. sl., pa² g, r, B. pōndo Mm. ²ə g. pōda Z, pāda G road, path (the Milky Way Yr. cf. Gawar Bati Phont id). — dur luro pādo šom Ysh I have walked far to-day; ra hē šiū, da p² ayōi he started and came on to the road. — Av. pantā etc. Ostyak pənt from 1r.?; cf. Z s.v. Note the fem. gender also in Sak. pande and in Psht. plā), the existence of which in Ir. renders doubtful Bloch s ex planation of the fem. in Kafiri (Kati put. etc.) and Dardic Studia indoirauica, p. 19). Reg. Av. nt cf. § 120.

pai dā Ysh, r appearing, born. — pūr p° šūi sh a boy was born; jinko zə mōn pai dā kīt r the woman bears a child; zəmōn pai dāī(?). — Prs.

pa drešho Yzh, sh small wooden milkhowl. — \*pari-dāsya-kā (cf. § 127). cf. Prs. dās pot, pan?? — V. xšīrkvesa.

pādšā Yzh. u, šā sh, pōdšō Z king.
yū pādšā pūr, pādšāan pūr a prince: max yū pādšā astet you have got a king; na pādšāan lī et they gave it to the king. — Prs.

pu f-um: pu fāi-m Yzh.: p'u fōi-m M(g),
puf: pufōy Z phūa B (but pufa to
burn! to blow, breathe. — Onomatopoetic, cf. Sgl., Or. puf-etc. (v. Z s.v.).
pufānek M(g) a kind of mushroom. —
Cf. Taj. pufuk mushroom. V. pufpui far Yzh, sh, päi fär r, päi fer za mīn
g steep hillside, pēfer B mountain.

g steep filistic, pefer B mountain.

— Tomaschek (BB, VII, p. 197)
writes péver, and compares Av.
"pawra-"!

paga Yzh horse-race. — p<sup>z</sup> ¡a zavdum. — Khow.

pāg'zo Yzh, pāki zo sh, pag'zō, pazyō r, paz'go g, pâki zā Mm, °i za G. payzyo(!)

B clean. — you pazyō šūi r. — Prs. pākīza, and Khow. paz'gā, pag'za fr. Prs.).

piy Yzh onion. — Possibly < \*pitāka-, or \*piyi-; cf. Prs. piyāz, Phl. pidāc (with dialectical development of -t-?), or piyi-; cf. Yazgh. pi yēg (Sköld).

puγο Yzh, po'yo sh. r. g, puγο Mg,
'a (g', γa t, (ti), pugo m, pəga t. Z,
'γa G, pegāh l.SIm long hair,
woman's hair. — \*pŭkā ?

paiyalyo, v. čār-p°.
pai'yumbar Ysh prophet. — Prs.

puka ra Yp leather strap placed between the two strings of a pellet-bow. — Cf. p³kore; Khow. apaq, Palola dhat also mean both 'mouth' and 'strap of a pellet-bow'.

poskore Yzh, pwkoro sh, pwkor r, pkor p, LSIy, kwpōr Yg, pūxor B mouth: kwpor Mm, kppor g, t, ti, kwpar m. Z lip. — < Anc. Prs. patikarapicture, cf. Prs. paikar picture, countenance. face. From 'face' to 'mouth', 'lip' the semantic development is possible. V. yirv, pŏršik.</p>

pa'koro Yzh, sh, g, pa'köl r, pa'külo Mm, på'küla Z wooden cap. — Cf. Khow. pha'köl. Madaglashti pākül, Shgh., Ishk. paköl, etc. — Y pa'koro must be an ancient lw.

po kor Yzh rung of a ladder.

poky Yp, pokef (obl. pl.) LSIy husks. — Khow. phōṭ. Cf. sabūstaf, pa lo.

pa kyiky Yzh. sh, po'kyuky Mm, po'kīk m. Z woman's cap, veil, burqa.

pa lau Yzh pillau. — Prs.

pale Yzh, sh straw of wheat, etc. —
\*IA, cf. Skr. pala- straw?
palo Yzh husks.

palo Yzh, po'lo sh.  $p\delta^\circ$  r, g, ' $p\delta$ lo Mm,  ${}^\circ\epsilon$  g, 'd (g), 'e ti, 'a t, Z, 'e'la G foot. —  $ni\ddot{a}stiko$   $pal\epsilon f$  dizo Yp squatting. — \* $p\breve{a}d\ddot{a}$ -, cf. Av. pad(a)-, Sgl.  $p\bar{u}\delta$ , Wkh.  $p\bar{u}^id$ , etc.

pil-em· 'pišė-im Yzh, : 'pišky-em M(g) to break wind. — Av. parod- (pərəδα-). V. pil<sub>2</sub>·o.

pol Yzh footprint, — Av. paδa·, Wkh. poδ. Prs. pai, etc.

pölə bɨlökə Yr ankle-bone. — V. brok. plāc Yzh Kafir cheese. — Kati pr'oc. Is also Psht. pöca cream-cheese, cnrds a lw. from Kafiri? pelicio Yzb, g, "iä M(g) fir-tree, torch.
Cf. Khow. pūić (Lor.) fir-tree, torch? Ancient d > Y-M l, Khow.
y. But c: ć and the vocalism?

pū lād Yzh, sh, g, od r, fā lâd Mm, foo G steel. — Khow., Madaglashti, and Wakhi have forms in p, but Sgl., Badakhshi, Taj. have forms in f.

pilf Yzh, sh, r. pəlf g ford. — pilf noyora čii sh the stream cannot be forded. — Av. pərətu-, pərəθw-, hu-pərəθw(y)a- (v. §§ 102, 128). V. gu'zar. pa'le o'guščo Yg toe. — Cf. 'palo.

pilyo Yzh, 'pilyiyü Mg a flatus. — wos po lakam M(g). — Cf. pil-.

pilo'yo Yzh, pe'lōyo r wooden cup;
po'lōyiko p small wooden tray, smaller than a poško(q.v.'; piō'lega Z. piyâle ga G cup. — Early lw. fr. Prs. piyāla, cf. Wkh. pīl.

püliko Yzh foot-board of a loom. — Cf.

pe'lek Yzh, pu'lok Mm, po'lok t, pr'lek (g), po'luk Z, G eyelashes. — Prs. palak. V. pa'naxko.

polem Yzh, sh, polm sh, r, palum Mm soft, smooth, fine. — polm kirem = yārem Yg I ground; yau polmo šūi r; yūen polma g the lobe of the car. — Cf. Khow. 'pālum (padum, palum Lor.) smooth, Wkh. pal(a)m soft, smooth, fine powder (and Prs. palm dust, earth?). But Sar. pâdm soft, smooth. Originally belonging to a dialect with  $l < \delta$ ? Note also Oss. fælmén soft (fælm fog).

pilam'ru Yzh cloak, čakman; pilamru wurž sh woollen thread, pilamui : pilamrū?) žūy sh man's cloak. — Cf. Burushaski pilam woollen homespun.

pa'lan Yzh. sh. g,  $\hat{a}an$  n saddle,  $p\bar{v}lon$  Mm. g, ti donkey-saddle. — vo yaspo pa'lān  $\hat{v}i\bar{v}$  Yu he saddled the horse. — Prs.  $p\bar{a}l\bar{u}n$  (from a dialect with  $l < \delta$ . cf. Wkh.  $p\bar{o}\delta n^{2}$ ).

pa'lang Yzh, sh, p' long r, plang g, M(sh), p'lang m, g leopard. — Prs. V. âzâda-p°, xar-pəlang.

plār-: prīst Yzh, sh, r, prīst g, prlārprāst Mm. polor-am. porāst-am t. polör · porüst Z, polâr († to sel). p'ler Yzh pres. 3 sg.: mon wo prestom sh I sold it. — < \*parad·· \*parasta·. parad has been abstracted from the weak form of athematic Av. para-daand has been treated as a simple verbal stem. Cf. Psbt. prolat., ploral (with the same metathesis as in Y-M, v. § 137); Sogd, pr'd., Sak, parā-, Orm. prāy-, Gypsy of Qain  $par\bar{u}\cdot\bar{\imath}dan(?)$ . — Shgh.  $par\delta\bar{a}\delta\cdot$  < \*para·dada·, Sgl. parδē· < \*para· daya-, Wkh. purutk < \*para-rātakapurund < \*para-rand ??.

po larz-om: po lišč-em Yzh, po lörz om Mg. to wrap up (a bundle). — Cf. Sgl. pē il- id., Prs. padarza, a wrap; er, payarza a bundle, Psht. blē idəl to swaddle; Orm. palašt. 'to wring. fold' < \*pari-dršta-?.

pə lās Y. <sup>2</sup>as Mm blanket, matress made of goat's hair, — Prs. palās.

pärlästiko Yzh, pə'sh, parlasto Mm armlet. — Cf. lasto.

păm Y, pâm Mm, pōm g, Z, G wool.— Cf. Sgl. pām. Prs. pašm. Bal. phim, Oss. fasm, fans, etc.

puma Mm, g, a g avalanche < \*pisman, cf. Skr. pis to crush?

pumbaraš Yzh beacon, bonfire — Khow. pāmbaraš. peno Yzh, pao g, pao r, pono sh, peno Mm, oā (g), penā t, pēne g, e ti, pena G palm of the hand. - There is no trace of r in Ir.: Shgh.  $b\bar{e}n$ , Wkh. pun, Kurd. pani, panadest, Phl. Psalter pn'- Reg. Av. parana. which has been transl. 'palm' v-Meillet, MSL, 20, p. 290.

pu Ine Yzh, 'i sh bellows, - Khow. phu ini.

pānjomo Mm five days ago. — \*pancamā. paintr Y, Mm, Z, G cheese. - Prs.

pānš (pāntš) Yzh, g, onj sh, r, u, LSIm, one Yp, pốnž Mm, one g. t, (sh), nš g), panč Z, G five. — panj vanca.

pe'näxko Yzh, pä g, pa'naxko r eyelashes.  $- < pas(m)axa + k\bar{a}$ , cf. Av. pašna-.

ponzda Mg, 'g) fifteen. - Prs. pānžwist Yzh, pānjo r 100. sad.

panio Yzh, g, panio sh, pangyo Mm, e g, ogiya (g), a t, pan'gye ti, pan'q'a Z heel. — \*pāršniyā., cf. Shgh. pērnak, Av. pāšna-, etc.

pānā Yzh, o g, pina sh, r, pānay Mm. pio g. pinky (sh), pūna B feather. -Cf. Par. pon, etc. < Av. parana-.

pa něk Yzh, sh, u, pa nak r, p, pū nuk g leaf. — vo čirief la ponokaf...yurd Yu he took the apricots together with the leaves. - Cf. Sak. pārra-, Psht. pāna. etc.

pũp Y, pấp Mm, G, pốp M'g, Z grandfather paternal and maternal'. - ('f. Wkh. pūp, Arm. pap, but v. Sgl. bobo, etc.

pāpos Yzh, pa g, pā pus sh, pa pūs r, payos Mm lung. — IA (cf. e.g.

Ashkun pa'pus': but the Khow, word is now Asqār. V. dil-i žigar, šuš. pāru Y, po'ru m. Z horse-dung. — Cf. Ishk. poru, Badakhshi pårub, Taj. porū (Z, Semenov, etc.). But Prs. pārī(b) (\*pāda-raupa- 'what is swept off at one's feet?'), diall, porū wooden shovel, pārūća vessel to carry earth and clav? V. xaškon.

pero Yzh podex, pero Mm, a g, Z, e Mti, pere t, pēra (g) hip. — Cf. Phl. pārak, parīk (Tavadia, Sāyastnē-šāyast, p. 87). Connection with Skr. pāli- margin, edge, bosom is not prob. — V. 'piščan, mižis te.

ru pāyo Ysh; pānj wulē u. — Av. piro B, pīra LSlm. wa pir y before, earlier: pīra-was ta G forwards — < Av. paurvyu-? Cf. Sak. pīro before, in front, Shgh. piro before (ABC, pp. 32, 41).

pir Yzh, sh, r, por zh, g, pur Mm, Z, G full. - por kenem Yzh I fill; por šət sh many came, 'pur šudan, bisyar āmadan'. -- Prs.

pu ra-um: pyve'ī-m Yzh, pu'rā-am: purviam sh. prāv-am: par vī-əm r, pu rovum: pur'vī-um Min, po rov : por viet, : pər'vī- (g), pəröw-: pərvəy Z, : perwī-LSIy, privia B to find, obtain. ps revd zh pres. 3 sg., ps ravet 3 pl.: č-pur viam sh 'na yāftim'; v pərviarāf perf. 'na yāfta būdīd'(!). — < \*pariap-, ef. Wkh. parvē am to attain v. Z s.v.)?

pur Y, M (Ysh, g also pul) son, B boy, pūser (? B son. — ¿A mon yū pū! am boh pure, astet Ysh I have one son (many sons); tu mon pul sh you are my sou; mon no pūron amāno līm sh I gave my son an apple; at pare sh o sons; no xoi parof sh to his own sons; wo mon pūrəf
u'šāwa sh call my sons; pūr, pūrən.
pūrē. pūrəf r; yū pūr, xiroi pūri
Mm; pūr kir (g) she hore a son. — Av.
puðra-, Wkh. pətr, etc, but Sgl. zōt.
pūra Yzh son. — Demin of pūr. Cf.
s.v. vən-.

parčam Yzh a girl's front-lock, °čām r a lock of hair. — Prs.

parlgušče Yzh, sh, parguškuy Mm, g, gišku ti, guškuī G, porgušču LSIy finger ring. — Cf. Khow. Iw. pulugguštu. Wkh. plongošt and Yzzgh. pər waxt. The forms with l are prob. of Prs. origin, with pul., pal. < pari, just as in palwanda bale, bundle; palähang bridle, halter (āhang tether), palandīn lintel, jambs of a door (cf. Av. aidya.). But I cannot find Pis. pulangušt mentioned by G.

pàry Y, pōry Mm, g, porg Z, pôrk G, perx B mouse. — pārye noyo'ret Ysh; fāto wo 'paryəf he seized the mice. — Cf. Sgl. pōrk, Wkh. purk, and v. Notes on Shgh. s.v. pūrg.

poruy Yzb, sh. peruy m. Z holt of a door. — \*pati-ruga-, cf. Greek λύγρος flexible twig, etc., possibly connected with Engl. lock, etc.?

poru $\gamma$ lan Yzh, sh hole forc the doorbolt. — V. poru $\gamma$ ; cf. § 145.

pĕra¹hān Yzh, sh. pira¹ān r, ¹pīran Mm shirt, pī¹rān m. Z woman's shirt. p² li'o Ysh. — Prs.

parkand LSIy half. — loh rupeo p° 2½ rupees. — Cf. Phl. \*kand fragment (?) (cf. Nyberg, Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift. 1934, 2, p. 67)?

purum Yzh, sh cotton, mattress filled with cotton-wool, paxta. Khow. purum cotton fibre (Lor.).

pa rında Ysh, parandagi LSIm bird. — Prs.

pa'ran<sub>l</sub>iko Yzh steep part of a road on the face of a cliff, parri. — Cf. Skr. parana- crossing?

prenjī'o Yzh, pran sh, r, prenjio, ijīko g she-goat, one year old. -- \*parana-čī- belouging to last year, cf. Psht. pcrān yesterday, etc.?

parə'paţi Ysh boil, sore — Khow. pər pat (Lor.), parpaţ small-pox, or a similar disease.

pārse Y, par sīy Mm, pēr siy g rough roof-beam. — \*părsaka., but cf. Khow. isprāsk, ceiling, Wkh sipask. Shgh. sipāšc rafter < \*us-parsa-ka-(-čī-)?

Yzh, pər's-əm sh, g, r 'pist-ım Y, G, purs um: pist-əm Mm, pərs-: pēst-, pist Z to ask.—zo vto pp'sım Yzh, zo fto pər'səm sh; zə pər'səm-istə sh I am asking; wül pər'sɛ sh ask him (2 pl.); pād šāɛn pis tō sh, u the king asked; zənief pis tɛt sh the daughters-in-law asked; pistəyəm r I have asked.—Cf. Wkh. purs-: purst, Sgl. fərōs-: fərōt, Av. pərəsa-: paršta-.

pərsə'yë Y. 'pursəgo Mm, 'ara g, 'pūrsärä 'g), 'pursərē t, pursi'ga t. Z rib. — Av. pərəsu-, ct. Wkh. purs, Oss. pärsk.

pra sāl Y, pro sâl Mt, presīl Z last year. — \*para sarda, cf. Orm. prasul, Prs. pārsāl. V. yu dūr sâl.

prasi'lane ware Ysh male lamb, one year old. — \*para-sydanaka- (cf. \*syda- in Orm. prasul, Par. payâsur last year. Cf. af sinyo (v. § 126'. V. prenji'o, waryiko, nar-worya.

pro šū Yzh skirting board of eaves — Khow, prēšu (Lor.).

 $p \tilde{b} r \tilde{s} i k$  Yzh, g. p. bo (?) sh,  $p \tilde{a}^-$  B lip.

— Reichelt (ZII, 7, p. 149) compares Sogd. prš lip. Tomaschek (BB. 7. p. 200) assumes that the original meaning was 'rim' and compares. Av. pərəsu- (v. WP. II, p. 44 sq.'. But rš? — V. s.v. pəkore.

p<sup>3</sup> rīvur Mm, 'prīvor g cow-honse — With v for w (cf. yavo) < Av. pairivāra-, 'Prs. parwār stable. Cf. Waz. Psht. vrōrai shelter for cattle in the hills < \*frawāraka-.

parvardi gār Ysh creator. —  $\dot{u}i$   $p^{\circ}$ . — Prs.

par'važīn Yzh, par'vož(i)na g, ziken par'vežina sh knee-cap; par'wažīn zh, sh, par'važin p the wheel of the spinning-wheel (v. III.); perwakin B round. — The original meaning appears to be 'round'; < \*paripa@ana-'wide'? — Cf. Portuguese, etc. rodella knee-cap < roda.

par'wāno Yr moth. — Prs. V. kautia. par wayše Yzh, g. r. 2'waše (?) sh, 'par-woxšiy Mm, g broom. — Connection with Av. vaxš. 'to sprinkle' is uncertain, but not impossible.

pərˈwīž·: pərwōṇd Z to sift. — \*pariwaik- (v. Z s.v.) cf. Wkh. pərwīc-, Afr. Psht. parwēzəl.

porx, porx f. Z hoarfrost, hail. — Besides Shgh. perx, etc. mentioned by Z, cf. also Psht. parxa. porxwā, Orm. purxo, Prs. barx, burx, Sak. pruhadew (Oss. lw. pirx, purx(ä) spray, etc.?. — It is doubtful whether Prs. puz. paz sleet is connected with porx. (From Ir. Syryen puz. Wotyak puzmer hoarfrost?. — Cf. further Prs. pas(t)ak, apšak hoarfrost, parš brook. fountain (v. Horn, Np. Et. s.v.) Kurd. purša sleet, Cheremis lw. porš hoarfrost

frost, Skr.  $pru\bar{s}v\bar{a}$ -,  $p_I'\bar{s}va$ - rime. Cf.  $pra\bar{s}|_{I}^{2}\bar{a}r$ . — A most complicated group of words!

pa räyasti Mg collar-bone. -- V. fīzyasti, šūiko.

parī zāt(ə) Yn fairy. —  $p^2$  no yor; vo  $p^2$  suwār kəy. — Prs.

pražyār Yzh. sh. prežgā P. dew. — Khow. pražyār, possibly from Ir. (Tomaschek, BB. 7, p. 197. Cf. porx. V. nob. šak lām.

par zīn Ysh, °in zh, p enclosure for sheep, Psht, špōl. — Cf. Turf. Phl. prēga hedge, Känduläī, etc. pārēīn thorn-hedge, Bakhtiyari parzīn bramble, etc.; poss. also Sak, pārgyiñi-f. garden.—From pari-či, cf. Prs. parzīdan to repair a well. Cf laīīna, parži'nī Yp thorn-hedge.

 $p_T \bar{a}_{T'}$  Yzh to bleat. — vəzo  $p_T \bar{a}_{T'} = \gamma \bar{a} nil\dot{e}$ . Cf. Khow.  $bla_T \bar{e} ik$ .

 $p\ddot{a}i^{*}s\bar{s}$  Yzh, paisa M money, coin. —  $y\ddot{a}$  surx  $p^{\circ}$  sh a copper. — IA.

pas'mīno Yzh above, bālā. — Cf as mīno, pas'mīnaka Yzh steep. — V. pas'mīno, pas pōn Z patch of cloth. — Z compares Shgh., Or. pesān, Yazgh., Wkh. p³šīn, Prs. pīna. Cf. also Sar. psaun. — M. sp, Wkh. š would point to ancient \*kw (Av. apa-spā, etc. has probably ancient sp'. Shgh. < \*ps pōn²?

psaro B below, before (locally), LSIy down. V. sāro.

pusur Y, pūsər Mm, g, ti, °Ir t. pūsɛr g`, 'pusər m. Z, pūsə G head. — \*pāti-sarah-? Cf. Par. pīsār forehead, Sogd. pts'r'k head.

pāsura Vp protruding piece of wood affixed to the foot-board of the spinning wheel and carrying the spindle (v. 111. V. pusur.

psāt Ysh immediately, p<sup>9</sup>sā Mt now. —
p<sup>9</sup>sā-yim Mt ālī raftam; psāt tižim
Ysh I am falling now. — Cf. Sgl.
psāt, fr. Prs. \*ba·sā'at.

pasté Yzh, ste p round iron girdle. pastá Mm pistachio. — Prs.

pis'to Yzh, g, pōstiyiki pl. r, 'pūs'to Mm,

°å Z, °a G bark of a tree, pisto Yp

walnut-shell. — Lw's, of varying age,
fr. Prs. Or < \*pāstā, Av. pasta, cf.
Sar. pūsk cow hide < \*pustaka?

pistā'ū Yzh, pisto B flat, maidān. Cf.:

post Y, Mm, post, posta Z low; post Mg floor; post G helow. — Prs.

pista ū·γar Yzh flag·stone. — Cf. pista ū. ˈpīstān Yzh, g. ʾan sh, r, ʾεn Mm udder.

— Not direct from Av. fštāna- (v. iš cīn). but influenced hy \*payahmilk, ef. Sgl. pēštēn, Sar. vistân (Bellew), Prs. pistān. Oss. fatdon has proh. been associated with -don receptacle. Khorasani pistun (Ivanow) 'store room' originally 'milk room'? pšū ī Yzh, pišai B ripe. — \*pašaka(hua)

\*pacya-, cf. Prs. puxtan to ripen.
paš-em: pašc-im Yzh, sh to dig. — Khow.

pašə Mg mosquito. — Prs. V. maxše. pāš Yzh, pəšo r snare. — Khow. phaš, pāš.

pašiman.

piš'čŏ Yzh, sh, r, p³ g, piš'kyo Mm,
 puškya g, t, pīškya ti, pīš'kya G back.
 \*pṛšti + ā-. ef. Av. paršti. V. har'kō.

pňšč Y flour made from dried apples. — Cf. Prs. pist, Ishk. put, Wkh. post, Shgh. piṣt parched grain; v. Par. Voc. s.v. pīšt. — Cf. talkān, tūipušky.

pišćan Yzh, r, pīščan sh. g, pīškven Mm, g, t, ti. Fn (g), peškan Z thigh; 16 - Kulturiorskning přiščen B leg. – da p blok Yg hip.
– < Av. paitištūna-, v. EVP. s.v. patūn.</li>

prško Y sh also puo, prškyo Mm. d g, oa t, G, puška Z cat. — wo p la kə; Ysh he let loose the cat; yū p nowon No sh he gave him a cat. — Cf. Sgl. pūš, Wkh. pīš, and v. Z s.v. poškŏ Ysh, p, poš ko zh, r, pauškyo Mm. paxsk'a (s!). Z large wooden tray, tabaka; pōško Yzh washing ba-in. — no poškč, tro poš kəf Ysh. Z compares 1 rs. paxš trodden, expanded (which is possible, and Bal. pačag to boil.

poskedri Yzh, g, piskodri sh, posyirdio r, poško Mm, g, puška f, Z dung of goats and sheep. -- Ct. Prs. pušk, etc. With the second element cf. Shgh. did, Wkh. dart, Sgl. wudil, etc.?

vū'šāk Ysh dress. — Prs.

pāškus'tī Yp stick fastened to the kušćo (q v.). V. III.

piške ze Yzh, piškyd-zūi Mm kitten. — V. zīy-.

pšāne Yzh, a r, pašāna sh, i g, pi šāni Mm, g, t forehead. — Prs.

pāšino Yr heel. — Prs. V. paņio. pē šīn Mm. (g) afternoon. — Prs. V. iziāne.

pišwō zī Mm vestibule. — \*Prs., cf. Prs. pēšwāz going out to meet somebody. — V. as tano.

pi'šawiz Yzh, ''wīz sh buckle of a belt.
— Prs. \*pēš-āwēz, cf. āwēz a hook for hanging something on.

pi tou Y. pītōu Mm, g the sunny side of a valley or hill. — Prs. patau. Sgl. pitāv, etc.

pāta'čūr Yzh pheasant (not found in Lutkoh. — Khow. badaćūl, bataćūl. pateko Mm pea, Lathyrus sativus. — Cf. Sgl. patək, v. Agricult. Afghanistan, p. 337 ("patok").

putk Mg anvil. — Cf. Wkh. pulk anvil (Bellew), but Prs. putk, Shgh. pulk (māš nižōn dərv at pulk 'our emhlem is the sickle and the hammer' abbook, p. 28), hammer. What is the nature of the connection between the forms in t and l?

pa'tare Y roof-beam. — \*patitaraka-'cross-beam', cf. Wkh. patari rafter, and Prs. tîr < \*tṛya-.

: ptrəmd.o Yu seized, emprisoned, parkamān kat (?). — Cf. Wkh. putrum- to arrest.

pəti'sā-um: pəti'sard-um Yzh, pəti'sō um r to tear (a rope, string, etc.). — Denom. from pətisc.

politišč(ė) Yzh, r broke, was torn, kand.

— mon lo sō politišč zh my rope
broke. — < \*pati-tysta-, cf. Prs.
iftālīdan, Par. tār-, Sar. zdeig-, Or.
zidarô- (\*us-tyd-?) to break, split.

paita vo Yzh, sh puttees. — Khow. paita va, fr. Prs. pāy-tāba.

pa'težo Mm, 'pātežā (g), pa'teža Z shecalf, one year old. — < \*pati-tācī-, connected with Prs. tāza fresh, young?? — V. fərrömček, mxščiriko.

pot Yzh bent, crooked. — IA.?
prti o Yzh, sh fresh, or moistened riska
(a kind of horse-fodder); IA?

prti'o Yzh necklace.

pai'xō Yp unthreshed grain, straw with the corn. — \*pati-xwahā-.

pix Yr span from thumb to index-finger.
Cf. Sgl. pēx. < \*paixa-, connected with Av. pixa- knot, joint (in a reed)?</li>
Cf. the semantic development of Skr. párvan-.

pxuf-:pxuft-Ysh,:puxuft zh,:pxuft
Mm to get tired, partau šudan;
p°xuftvy Z, poxufta B, xvfta(?) G
tired. — From Prs.(?) \*paxufta <
Av. \*paiti-x~apta-?

paxta i wirž Mg cotton thread. — Prs. paxta cotton. — V. šišo'yun, wu'šūles. poxa'yak Yzh temples; 'pxoyak g top of the head.

pīx Yzh, sh, pix r, pixe (pl.?) g, pux Mm, pūx Z, G, pis B arrow, hullet (G, B only hullet); drun-pīx Ysh, las-pix B arrow: piz-\(\frac{1}{2}\tau\) ar Yg hullet ('arrow-stone'). — Cf. Sogd. p'δ, Oss. fat, Shgh. pâθ, Sar. pūθ, etc., poss. Sgl. pəčūn. Arm. patkan fr. Ir. — Ir. \*pāθa- from Skr. pāta- flying + Av. (para-)paθwant- flying away (frem bow-string)?

pixo γο Yzh, piz γο sh saliva. — \*pθu-,
 v. tf∂, and cf. Orm. putu.

 $pe\check{x}iko$  Yzh snare. — Cf. Shgh.  $p\bar{e}\vartheta < p\bar{a}\vartheta ya$ . V. NTS, I, 65.

pa'x̄əy Z, pa'ha, pa'xa G wide, broad.
 — < \*paθaka-, cf. Sogd. p'δk. Most</li>
 Ir. forms are derived from Av. paθana-, but cf. Sgl., etc. pām.

pöya Yzh, sh, r, paya g, ο Mg sour milk, māst. — Cf. Sgl. μōi, Wkh. pāi, etc. < Av. payah.</p>

pă îz Y autumn. — Prs. V. tīramâ.
pu'ze Yzh, 'pūzə sh, r, g falcon, bāša,
Khow. yurž. — Fr. Prs. bāz, with substitution of p for b at a time when no initial b existed in Y. —
V. bâšo.

рәzg-, v. рәсәg-.

paīzane Yzh autumn wheat. V. pă'īz. pə zexx Yzh, pə zaxe g, b r, ixe sh, pi zaxy Mm, pi zaxî g, (sh), pi zaxi (g), pi zaxya Z, plešye?) B male sheep, 1—2 years old. — \*pati-zadya(ka) 'newly born', cf. Sak. mū-ysamthia-'belonging to his birth'; Khow. auzetu 'fem. calf, two years old' fr. Ir. \*a\varepsilon i-zady\varepsilon ? Cf. nax\varepsilon ir pəzax\varepsilon, zax\varepsilon old' zax\varepsilon.

piž'yār, v. pīx.

pāži Yzh, sh, pāje I.SIy, pāwi Z all.—

p mardum; wos p tayār šūi now

all of it is ready, hama iš; vo pāžof

da ham zh I beat all of them.— Cf.

Skt. upa-citi- accumulation, heap?

pi-žăm-: pn'žănd- Yzh, sh, po'čām-:
po'čānd- r, po'jōn- M(g) to entrust. —
na to čēi po'čāmum Yr I entrust
something to you. — Y fr. Khow.
pežemim, in its turn fr. Ir.; originally
\*pati-jămaya-. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 663.

po žo Yp, pežo u log, beam. — tälum vo požo Yp; amboh pežo xap u fell much timber.

# R

rõi Mm, rãi LSIm word (rai B 'wish'
Khow.?). — Ar.-Prs. rãi advice?
rūi Y, Mm, g, (g), t cheek, Yg, Z, G face. — Prs. V. rōx>.

 $r\bar{u}^{\dagger}\bar{i}$  Y, Mt, 'r $\bar{u}yei$  m, 'iy g, ' $\bar{i}\bar{i}y$  (g), ' $\partial y$  Z gnts, bowels. — Cf. Prs.  $r\bar{u}da$ , etc. V. KZ., 61, 29 sqq.

roc Mm difficult. - < \*roj, Prs. ranj trouble, distress.

ru fo Y small, soft broom. — With f from the past \*rufta-, cf. Prs. ruftan, r\u00fcbam to sweep. Cf. Sgl. r\u00e9f. V. \u00e9f\u00earu, par \u00fcwax\u00e8e.

refiko Mm, refika g mill-broom.

'rīγo Yzh, 'a sh, Mg, t, ti, 'rūgo m, 'rugd f. Z vein; riγo B siuew, rirek (: \*riγek) vein. — < \*rākā-; cf. Sar.

(Bellew) ruwj pnlse (but rag vein fr. Prs.  $rag < *rak\check{a}$ -); Yazdi  $r\bar{v}_{\gamma}$  vein; Psht.  $r\bar{v}_{g}$  strap, thong. Cf. also Prs.  $ra\check{z}a$  a stretched rope (if orig.  $\check{e}$  not  $\check{j}$ , v. Hübschm. Prs. Stud., 66).

roy Yzh goat track. — yumin o ' $r\bar{v}_Y$  Yg anus. — < Khow.  $r\bar{v}_Y$  incised line, erack, furrow, goat track in cliffs. poss. < \*raka-, v. ' $r\bar{v}_Y$ o.

 $r \bar{\sigma}_{\gamma}(w) o$  Yzh, sh,  $r \bar{\sigma}_{\gamma}$  g deodar, — Khow.  $r \bar{\sigma}_{\gamma}$ .

<sup>i</sup>rūyon Y, Mm, g, <sup>5</sup>na m. Z, <sup>5</sup>na G clarified butter; rūγna Mm resin. — rūγun da burž deh put the ghee into the corner. — < Av. raoγna, cf. Wkh. rūγn, Sak. rrūna-, etc.</p>

royz Yzh woman's cloak. — Cf. Prs. rayza a kind of woollen cloth worn in Badakhshan. — \*rezg- 'to plait' (WP, II, 374)?

 $ra^{\dagger}h\tilde{i}$ ,  ${}^{\circ}\bar{e}$  Ysh,  ${}^{\circ}\bar{a}$  n leaving, starting. —  $r^{\circ}$   $\check{s}\bar{u}i$ ,  $r^{\circ}$   $k\partial_{i}$  he left, started. — Prs

rok Yzh, rang B, G colour. — spī rok. — rang fr. Prs., rok gennine or early lw. — (Cf. also Prs. raxš lightning, rainbow, mixture of red and white, Kurd. raš, Arm. eraxš hlack).

ri'kau Yr, ri'kib Mm, re° Z stirrup. — Prs. rikāb, rikēb ef. s.v. ketiu. V. čauli ī.

ru kuš Yzh to creep, Khow. druškiran.
— iž rukuše the snake creeps. —
Kho. rukušik to creep.

rīm: rīmd- Yzh, r, Mm to please impers.\( \).
rēm- Z to wish, want. — mən rīmet
(3 pl.!\( \) rīmdo I wish, I wished
'mēfåram' Ysh; tu mən rīmət I want
you, you please me, 'tu mana mefåra';
youyō rīmet I want to drink water,

au xurdan mēfâra Yr; rīmī Mm he wants. — Cf. M. Prs. rām- to rejoice (Henning, ZII, 9, 190).

romo Yzh, roma Z flock, herd. — Prs. rameno Yzh, ono sh, g, r, rameno Mm, ramenä (g) poplar, safedār. — Cf. Khow. romān, romeno aspen (from Y?) — V. gulramen, tairik.

ra mūz LSIm deer. — Cf. Psht. rāmūsai, bnt Khow. (O'Brien) rohunz muskdeer.

rin' g'a Z smooth, slippery. — \*rixšnaka-, or \*raxšni°, ef. Prs. lašn, v. Par. Voc. s.v. lhanö.

răpä'yo Ysh, Mm silver, money, rupee.
— ha'zār rupäyo, 'yī, Ysh; 'noman yū rūpai (lu rūpāyagī) līiyom Mm I gave him one rupee. — IA

ros: re'sī-, ro'sī Yzh, sh, :re'sīo u, 'resam M(g), res: resīy- Z to arrive. ro'se arrives; 'mīra re'sīn' aftūbrasīd'; da Čiträyī ro'sī; 'cīs ke 'nā mon re'sī whatever I received; hazār rupäyī na to ro'sī you received 1000 rnpees; ro'sīet they arrived. — Prs.

: ri səd-ət Ysh (for \*re'səvd-ət) they made to arrive, rasāndan. — vo māləf a'vret, ro they brought the goods and made them arrive. Cf. ros.

'rūso Yzh, g, 'ruso sh, r, 'raūso Mm, 'rausa g, 're·u' (g), 'rausa t, (sh), 'rū' f. Z, rū'sa G fox. — Cf. Shgh. rupsak, rupcak; Sogd. rwps-; Prs. dial. rūs (and rūs-angurda fox-grapes); Ropša = Lisička "Füchschen", n. of a river in Orel, Russia (v. Vasmer, in Reallex. d. Vorgesch. 12, 248). But Prs. rūbāh, etc. Sgl. vərvēs, Sak. rrūvāsa- jackal with -ā-. Reg. the gender cf. § 179.

ris pen Yzh, g, re sh, r, LSIy, yus pon

Mm, yi° g, t, 'yispin (g), 'yūspin m. Z, 'un G, 'en LSIm iron. — Cf. Sgl. 'š pōn, Wkh. yīšn, Sak. hīśam, Psht. ōspana, Shgh. se'pen, etc. (and Prs. sīnī dross of iron). But Y r-? raste Ysh rightly, correctly. — tu r' xismat ken! — Prs. rāstī.

rāš Yr heap. — və you rāš kerəm I heaped np the barley. — Prs.

riša Mt roct-fibre. - Prs.

rešk Y avalanche. — < \*reštk? Cf. Khow. rest, Shgh. ršst. Cf. Prs. rašt, rušt crumbling, threatening to fall, etc.?

<sup>1</sup>rīško Yzh, sh nit. — Cf. Prs. rīšk, Psht. rīča.

ra'šan zh, sh, ro' g instep (zh also sole).

— From ra'šān, in its turn prob. <
Ir. (\*fra-fšāna-, v. šfīna?).

ru sân Mm, cân g, rũ san G light, brightness. — Prs. V. d'runyo.

rīv Yzh, sh, rīf Mti a kind of odoriferous, bitter-tasting vegetable, resembling rhubarb. — < \*rāba·, ef. Sgl. rūv, Prs. rāwand, etc., \*rāw (Badakhshi rau), v. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p. 547, and Markwart, Cancas. 7, 16.</li>

'rŏv: rĭvd- Yzh, sh, r, 'rev: rivd M(g), rav-: rivd Z to hark. — 'rove, 'rivdo Yzh, yalv rōvə r, rŏvəstə sh, g, 'yolv 'revi, rivdə M(g). — Cf. Phl. rapto ery out, etc. (v. Johnston, JRAS, 1934, 535 ff.).

rõuvn Yzh, sh, 'rē Mm, g, (g) wife's brother. — Derivation < \*rēwul < \*lēwur, cf. Psht. lēwər 'husband's brother' is phonetically and semantically improbable.

rōx(\*) Yg cheek. — Prs. rux, Psht rāx;
ef. Psht. rōx side, part. — <\*raxwa-,</p>
Skr. srākva- corner of the mouth.

raxs M(g) dance. — Ar.-Prs.

rux'sat Ysh leave, permission. — wo r° šūi he left; r° tūli'yo; 'wa mən 'r° ken give me leave. — Ar. Prs.

rūyei, v. rū'ī.

rīza Y, Mm, rəz'gəy Z, rəzg'ya G small.
— mən pūr (luydo) rīza; agar rīza vīo Ysh. — Prs.

 $r\bar{u}^{\dagger}zo$  Yzh fast. — Prs.

rīza o'guščiko Yg, sh, 'go sh, rīzaguščiko zh, rīzako-guščiko r little finger.

rīza γak Yzh goats and sheep. — Cf. Sar. rezapai (Shaw)

rīziko Yzh small. — mən luydo ro. Cf. rīza and rīzəko guščiko.

rīz·li vora Yg window ("small door"), ri zān Yzh in ro māum I give a full measure, xūb sanjīdim, xūb pur šud paimān(?). — Prs. rizān scattering? ra zīn Yzh, on sh, g, rozon r, rāzen Mm, g, (g), t, Z, ra zīn G elhow. — The similarity with Kändūlāī qū ārizī nī (Knrd.-Prs. Forsch. III, II, 275) is no doubt incidental. Phonetically ra zīn might go back to \*rāzanya.

ra'ža Ysh sleeping platform near the fireplace. — no'vur da ro' 'burd sū-i digdān'. — Cf. Sgl. rēž, Wkh rāž, Or. rē'zak < \*raz(i)ya, from \*reg-?

râ'žan G langnage. — If correct, cf. Skr. racana- composition, etc.?

rū žen Yzh, sh, r, °ən g, °an p, Mm, °jen g smoke-hole. — Cf. Wkh. rīcn, Par. rūcön, Prs rōzan, etr.

S

z to smear, rub. — sova Yg imper. z sg. — \*sab-, cf. Orosh. sēw- Sgl. sāmb, Wkh. sâm- Hj.)? Or cf. Prs. sūdan, sāwīdan, etc.?

 $s\bar{\imath}$  Mg,  $s\psi\bar{\imath}$  m thirty. — Prs.

sā ī Yzh slate. — Cf. Wkh. såt, Sar. såd slate, Shgh. sād, Sgl. usīd baking pan. Prs. sād smooth, even?

sa¹bā Y to-morrow. — zo s. oʻīm. — Prs. V. saār, yāmo.

subə Mm morning. — s liyo 'şubh dād'. — Ar. Prs.

sa'buk Yzh, so' sh, sə' r, g, sabuk Mm light (not heavy). — Prs.

sā buk Ysh bride, sābuka bridegroom. V. 'šābuk.

sabar'go Yzh, g, o p, sarbar'go sh trefoil. — Prs. sihbarga.

sə brīm Y, su brūm Mm boiled fat.

sabə¹ranj Yzh, sh neckrope, fastening the bullocks to the yoke v. Ill.).
Pl. sabə¹ranje. — \*sami-barana-či?
Cf. Wkh. səmvər yoke, Khow. šamar-yūnu, and v. s.v. sūm.

sabūstaf obl. pl. LSIm husks. — Bad. Prs. sabūsta, Prs. sabūs(a), cf. Sar. sabast bran.

sad M 100. - Prs.

sād·bārg M(g) centfoil, rose. — Prs. sauˈdāgεr Ysh merchant, pedlar. — Prs. soˈfo Yzh, ˈsofo p. sōfō sh clay pot, kettle.

sāyo Y, 'sōya Mg, 'go m, 'ga Z shade, — \*s(ay)ākā., Sogd, sy''k', etc.

sėγi'o Yzh, se° sh, səγyo g, segio (?) r, sigyo Mm, siγiya g, ti, 'o (g), 'səgya Z, săgya G sand (acc. to Mti fine sand). — \*sikitā·, v. EVP. s.v. šəga, and Benveniste BSL., 30, 60 and JRAS., 1933, 43. Ct. also Oss. sijit, sigit, etc., earth, soil, (v. also Justi ZDMG, 38, 115).

sīy Y hare. — \*sáhaka-, cf. Sgl. sūi,

Wkh.  $s\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}$ , Or.  $s\bar{\imath}$ , v. EVP., s.v.  $s\bar{\imath}e$ , and Bailey, JRAS., 1931, 424.

 $su_{\gamma}$  Yzh, r leather strap, hoot-laee, tasma;  $s\bar{u}_{\gamma}$  sh strap of a pellet how (v. Ill.);  $se_{\gamma}af$  ohl. pl. LSIy 'stripes' (?).

sūy Yzh, r street. — wōs do sūy ōyəm Yr "āli da kuča mērim". — Ar.-Prs. sūq.
sŭyiko Yzh, r. sīyakü M(g), sūgo m tale. — Cf. Par. sūy word, affair, Sar. saug, Or. sūg tale, proverh. But Av. saokameans usefnlness, profit.

suy-mə'lān Yzh leather belt. — V. suy, məlān, kamarband.

salyīr Yzh, sh, Mm, Z, oir Yr orphan.

— Ar.-Prs.

sũy 'yāmo Yzh, sh three days hence;
suyyā 'mo r the day after to-morrow (?).
V. 'yāmo, yūy' yāmo.

sāharo, sahro Ysh, sāharo Mm desert. sāhara šūi; oyīm-əstė sāharen (or from sahar?) — Ar.-Prs.

sa'har Ysh, Z morning; sa'ār Ysh, 'sāar zh to-morrow (morning). — 'sāar molo ko mən as Yzh come to me here tomorrow morning. — Ar.-Prs.

sko Ysh, u, B, sko Z on, with; cf. särskū G upwards. — ni āst sko dau let he settled down with his wealth; sko 'yū ašīra'fen mind dau lat šūi through one piece of gold such wealth appeared; sko yū yasp...suuār šūi Yu he mounted a horse: sok škura souōr šoy Z he mounted a camel. — < Av. uskāt (G): cf. e.g. Saka uska above: Psht. (h)ask; Yazgh. wask high (the resemblance to Kaikādī Tamil vask id. is a "mirage phonetiqne"). — Cf. Skarzer.

skod-: s(i)kost Yzh, 'skod-: 'skist- Mt. 'skid-: skist (g) to cut with an axe or a knife, 'meburam'. — pa kora

skəstem Yzh. — Cf. skeškigå Z torn < \*skašta-; Wkh. škənd-, Shgh. š'čend- to cut; Av. skand- to hreak. siaka'mand tfak Yzh a kind of gun. — Prs. \*siyāh-kamān.

skut Yzh, sh, g, Mm. g, G, skūt Yr, skut Mti, skwut Z, iskawat (اسكوت)

MFB wood, stick. — mən va skud vyləm Yg I broke the stick. —

< \*skunta-?? (Reichelt, Soghd. Handschr., p. 58, comp. Sogd. skwy firewood).

skārrio Yzh, skarriyo Mm, a g, skārria (g), skarbī!ya G coal. — Poss. < \*skarbatā, hut not identical with Psht. skarwaṭa, etc. (v. G s.v.). Cf. Charpentier, AO., 7, 193.

sāl Yzh, sh, r, sal g, sâl Mm, söl g, Z, sālo Ysh, B, sâia (?) G year. — yü sāl; yū sālo niāst Ysh he stayed for one year; žahānd sāl šūi many years passed. — Prob. lw. from Prs.

'säilə Ysh spectacle, show. — so šūi; a'žəp so kər'yum I have seen a wonderful sight. — Ar.-Prs. sair, Afgh. Prs. sail.

sīl Mm, g, (g) flood, inundation. — Ar.-Prs. sail, Wkh. sīl, Par. sēl, etc.

sılyo Yzh, səl'yo g, r, °ywo sh, 'selgo Mm, 'silgiyä (g), 'silga Z cream. — < \*sidakā· = Skr. \*chidakā·, cf. Skr. śara· (Kshm. har) 'sour cream' from śar- to break (Lidén, KZ., 61, 5). It is donbtful whether Yazgh. sayč can he related to sılyo.

sa'lām Ysh, u salutatiou. — s° kər: wālēkam wə s° Ysh; as-s° a lēkum, wa 'āliku s° u. — Ar. Prs.

sa'lāmat Yu salutation. — nə 'pādšān nə s' šut they went to salute the king. — Ar.-Prs.

sel xiko Yzh sorrel, (Kati čxrũ). — Scarcely connected with srlγo 'cream' (not sonr) in the same manner as Oss. xŭrxäg 'sorrel' is derived from xurx bnttermilk (v. Lidén, KZ., 61, 7).

sām Mm yoke-peg. — Cf. Prs. saim (artificial vocalization in order to distinguish it from sīm³). Sistani simāk yoke-key, Ar. (< Ir.) samīq the part of a yoke which encloses the ox's neck (: yoke-peg?); Wkh. səm vər yoke; Av. simā-, yuyō-səmī (v. Reichelt, WuS, XII, 288); Skr. samyā- (Shina šamīže, Bur. šamēy, etc.). — V. sabəranj, samlasiko, kāriak.

somb Mm, g, sumb Z hoof. — Prs. V. čo gulī.

sam-'lasiko Mm neckrope fastening the hullock to the yoke. Cf. sām. loso. V. sabəranj.

somite Mg hlunt.

'souno Yzh, sh, 'sauno Mm, °ε g cowife. — Proh. from a lost Khow. form corresponding to Kshm. son < \*saun < sapatnī. The present Kho. word is ambox'čān (v. ambōγ).

'sanduq Yg. san'duq Mm box, chest. — Ar. Prs. — V. to vūnyo.

san'dăn Yzh, sh, sən'dōn r, sa° Z anvil.
— Prs. (< \*āsandān, cf. (ā)taš 'fire', etc.). V. s.v. rīs pen.

sảnỷ Yzh, san'ya p floor-plank on which the roof-pillars rest. — Kho. sanj. su'nīko Yp wooden shovel. (V. Ill.). 'sīniya Mm, °đ g sole of the foot.

sun'ya Yzh beacon. — Cf. Kho. son, sūn cairn (Lor.)?

sind Yzh, sə<sup>o</sup> p two-storied house, kōta.

— Kho. sund.

sangla<sup>†</sup>ū Y, <sup>2</sup>lo<sup>†</sup>wī Mm. g, <sup>2</sup>lōwī g)
otter. — Cf. Sar. sanglāvī, Sgl. saglāvī, Kalasha sangawīr fr. Prs. saglābī, Afgh. Prs. Phillot) sag-i-lau.
But Wkh. sagâwī < sag-ābī.</p>

sanki'yo Mg poison. — Kho. sankiya poison, arsenic, fr. Hind. sankhyā. V. zahar, žaro.

spī Y, Mm, g, ti, G. s<sup>3</sup>pī Yr, Z white.
— spī rok Yzh. — Av. spaēta-.
spā'hī Ysh soldier. — Prs.

'spŏro Yzh, sh, ''ro g, 'sparo Mm, ' ra G, s''pĕra f. Z plough (v. III.). — < \*spārā-, cf. Prs. supār, Psht. spāra, Sgl. spər, Wkh. s'pūndr.

spərzə Ysh spleen. — Genuine, cf. Av. spərəzan. Sak. spuljei, Gabri siwarz, Bal. isp'ulk, etc., or borr. from Prs. supurz? — Khorasan Kurd. sul (Houtum-Schindler) < O. Prs. \*sydan-? — V. ninamäšče.

spišč Yzh, g olive-colonred, yellow. — Scarcely < \*us.pišta. (Av. paēs.).

spūo (for š-?) Yzh, špūo (pl. špūū) sh, š³p° r, spugo Mm, yd g. spūya (g), t, s³pəya f. Z louse. — Av spiš-, Prs. supuš, Psht. spəṣa, etc. With assimilation into šp- also Prs. šupuš, Sogd. špšh. Reg. the Y forms in špcf. §§ 74. 135. — Reg. Wkh. šiš, Abdu šiš etc. with Saka-Persic treatment of \*kw., v. Et. Voc. Psht. s.v.) and subsequently Benveniste, Studia Indo-Iranica, 223 f.

'sāro Ysh down, below. — və dət sîburdan pāyān; a nīməf su wār šut vəl'yō, a nīməf šət sibali of them rode upwards and half of them downwards. Aneient abl. of sor hill g.v.), cf. Engl. down. V. fursoro. psāro. siri Yzh npper. — sîalarsıne upper

part of the door-frame. — < \*sarya-? Cf. Kho. soro npper < Ir. V. ta'he. sŏr Yzh, sh, p ear of corn (zh also top of a hill), B point. — Khow. sŏr (< Ir.) head, ear of corn (cf. Lat. capitulum). — V. xū'šō, 'yūya.

sŏ'ro Yzh, sh, 'sara f. Z excrements, dnug. — s^ da'ham Ysh I manure. — Av. sairya-, Psht. sară, Sar. sürun (hnt not Prs. surūn 'podex', as proposed by Z).

sar-i-dil Ysh, sər-e-del sh the place under and between the rihs; sar'dil Z breast. — \*Prs.

sarda'wo Yzh a well. — Kho. sardawai underground water tank < Prs. sardāba.

sarf<sup>3</sup>rā'že Ysh ornaments. — Prs. sarfarāzĭ grandeur, exaltation.

 $sar_{\gamma}\bar{a}r$  peg in the plough-beam (v. Ill.). — Cf. Khow.  $k\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$ ,  $istor_{\gamma}\bar{a}ri$ .

sārpa gā Yr morning. — Prs. pagāh dawn.

surv Yzh, sh, °ruw r; 'surva g hole.—
f²skə 'suruw Yr nostril, ¡ūɛn surv(a)
Yzh, g hole of the ear.— \*subra-,
cf. Wkh. sērv, v. EVP s.v sūrai.

surx Y, so Mm, si ti, so g, G red.—
yū surx päiso Ysh a copper coin.—
Prob. genuine < Av. suxra-, cf. Wkh.
soky.

surx-bobure Yzh a red wasp.

surux sāč Yzh Epilobium, willow-herb.

- \*sāč is unknown. Cf. sičik (s.v. šāx)?
sosē Yzh, sors p heap of sheaves.

sasto Mm, sāste ti, sa? LSIm hillside.

— wo ēfūr·pālaf de sar de saste

čara dil LSIm he grazes the cattle
on the top of the hill. — \*sastā'ascensus': \*sand-, to ascend, Sogd.

san- (v. Tedesco, ZII, 2, 39)?

<sup>1</sup>stau Yzh, sh stubble-field. — Khow. <sup>1</sup>stāu.

\*stūγ Yr long hair. — vana-stūγ. — Cf. Oss. stig. stug lock of hair, stripe, strip, Skr. stukā- knot or tuft of hair (preserved in Prasun 'štyak lock of hair?).

us tuγa Yzh, 'stũ° g throat (interior of).
 Cf. stun. V. ālq, 'kâγ∂ko.

\*ustuy nū! Yzh, stuy nu! g dripping (inside a house). — Cf. Skr. stoká a drop? sotike Yzh, 'sətkə g, sodkə sh gums. — Khow. sotk gums (between the teeth). — V. zōmbā.

stun Mm, onek ti throat, larynx. — Cf. Psht. stūnai (< \*stāmnaka-?). — V. us'tuya.

ustu'no Yzh, stə<sup>ο</sup> g. r, 'stuno Mm, <sup>ο</sup>ε g post, pillar. — Cf. Wkh. istīn, Sgl. əstīn < Av. stūna.</p>

stěnyo Yzh, g, r supine, lying flat on the back. — s<sup>2</sup> šū = l<sup>2</sup>yod² g. — Av. ustāna-, Prs. istān, wastān, Brahui lw. istān, Psht. stūn.

stāre (pl. °ri) Yzh, g. °ra r, istāro sh, °ri (pl.) u, istoriy Mm, g. °ri (pl. °riī) (g), °'rəy Z, 'storiy (pl. °rgī) Mt, stäire G star. — stärei lürət Yzh stars are falling. — Cf. Prs. sitāra, Psht. stōrai, Sak. stārai < \*stāraka-. Sar. žturj, Or. žitori. Yzgh. ž<sup>3</sup>tārag prob. < \*stāryaka-, on account of Shgh. žôtērj. Cf. Oss. stali < \*stāriya-(?). — Sgl. ustər $\bar{u}k$ < \*stărāka, Orm. starrak <? Par. estēč < \*stāryačī-, Wkh. s³târ (and Khow. istār?) fr. Prs. sitār. — With Psht. starga 'eye' cf. Irish súil 'eye' (orig. 'snn').

's tōr-: 's tā? Yzh, 'stor- sh. 'stor-: stā?g, r, 'stor-: stōr- Mm, stēr-: stōr- Z to sweep. — istit pres. 3 sg. — Cf. Sgl. astar., Shgh. zedār- to sweep, Par. astar- to rnh, wipe away (and Oss. starin to plaster, lick?).

ustur Yzh, sb (ustū! sh), stur g. r, Mm, sətər, our Z, ustur B big, great.—
zo ži to us tur Yzh I am bigger than you; mən 'vərai žə 'tō 'vərayen us'tū! sh; ustur šūi yauγo zh the river rose.
— Av. 'stūra-, Psht. star, etc.

s<sup>3</sup>tūr Z borned cattle, — Av. staora-, etc. (but Kbow. lw. istor borse < Prs.).

<sup>us</sup>turo gušćo Yzh, <sup>u</sup>stu ro<sup>o</sup> sh, stroogušćiko g thumb. — Cf. <sup>u</sup>stur. V. narangušć.

s3trī səm Z glue. — Prs. sirīšim.

"stur.žo'γο Ysh the evening star (: 'the large cloak'?),

'săvdê Yzb, p, 'saudə r, 'sōvdıy Mm large basket (III.). — Early Iw., cf. Prs. sapad, saf°, sab°, Or. sặpt, Arm. sapat, Kalasha savēd-, sohōl. But also Ar. safaṭun, Syr. sefṭā.

'suvdo Yzh, M, °'dő Ysb, g, r, u, 'səvdâ Mg, 'sevda (g), 'sr° t, 'si° ti, 'sə° Z sboulder. — do urjug (cəp) s° Yu. — Av. supti-, Sgl. səvð. etc.

suvdiko Mm the end tip of a bow.

85 wi Yg vegetable, sauza. — Cf. Pashai sawi grass (fr. Ir.?), Psht. sābə a kind of grass, vegetables (q.v.).

sa wir Yzh n. of a tree (said to be a Kbow. word).

su'wār Y, sa'wōr Z horseman. — vo parīzātə su'wār kər Yu he put the fairy on horseback; (sko) yū yasp wazīr luγdo s° šūi the vizier's daughter mounted one horse. — Prs.

su'worum Yzh, zəm g, su'wōrum sh, r

1 Cf. § 33.

gold. — Borr. from older form of Kho. 'sŏnum (Capus 'sohoroum' which has got its -m from droxum (cf Kurd. zīw 'silver' with z- from zar').

 $s^{\mathfrak{d}}xauk$  Yzb smooth, slippery. — V.  $s^{u}xuy$ .

saxt Y, Mm hard, səxt Yr closed. —
Prs. saxt < Av. θraxta- close, dense
(not with Nyberg, Hilfsb. d. Pbl., II,
200, from sač- to suit).

saxtaram' Yzh loom ?\.

suxu'y: suxu'ī-m Yzh, sxu'y: sxo um sh. : sxī-m r; 'sxuy- Mm, sxaw-: sxuy- Z to slip, slide, lišmīdan. — sxīyəm Yr pf. — Related to or borr. fr. Prs. šaxīdan (Kho. šēxē stumbling).

sduze Yzb, sauz sh, səvzə g, sauz, -s Mm, ti, G, savz Z, sövz green; sduz Yzh blue. — Prs.

 $sav^{\dagger}zi$  M(g) vegetable. — Prs. — V.  $s\partial^{\dagger}wi$ .

sa'yūrž Yzb, šāyūrž sh, ša'yūrš r hawk.
— Kho. sa'yūrč'j (but Palola šayūrž)
fr. Ir.?

'sēzda Mg, sī° (g) thirteen. — Prs. s∂'zalyo Yzb, si° sh tarantula.

su<sup>i</sup>zōn Mm, sū<sup>i</sup>zân G hot. — Prs. — V. garm, pič.

səˈziyo Yzh, sb, so° r, ˈsijiä M(g` jujubetree. — Prs. sinjid, Khow. šinjür (fr. Ir.º; Psht. 'sauzilleh' (= \*sanzila?), (Lumsöen, Mission to Kandahar, p. 215).

# $\check{S}$ , $(\check{S})^{1}$

šâi Mm bridegroom. — Prs. šāh V. šābuk.

šū Yzh hedgehog (not found in Lutkoh).-Kho. šu(h, hedgehog, 'porcupine, Lor.'.

šū, šu'ū Yzh, šū'ū sh, r, šū g, M(sh), šūwi (pl.) m, šūi g, šūw Z horn. — <\*srū, \*srāw-. Cf. Sgl. šōu, Wkh. šəu, Par. šī, Bal. srō, Kurd. strōh, etc., Sak. ṣṣu, Av. srū-. Cf. also Psht. škar, Wanetsi šukar.

: šūi Y, Mm, t, (šōi Ysh), šəy Z, šey G he went, he hecame (v. oy-). - Pret. 1 sg. dur luro pādo šom Ysh to day I have walked far; som zh, r, g: žə xorən anga šuyəm (!) r I woke; šīam Mm, t. — 2 sg. tu šūit-a? Yzh have you gone? wos ke šūit sh now when you have gone;  $tu \ \tilde{z}^u k \bar{u} \ \tilde{s} \bar{u}^i \tilde{i}(?)$  sh from where did you go? kū ki tu šūyit, zo asəm p wherever you go, I shall come. — 3 sg. šūi Yzh, Mm; č(š)ūi Ysh didn't go; šūi na Čī'träyī sh he went to Ch.; pazyō šūi r it became clean; šūy u či aroi Mm he went and didn't come (back). - 1 pl. šom Yzh. - 2 pl. šof-a? zh did you come? — 3 pl. šot, šət Y; šət nə šaha ren a they went to town; gala'vānen 'čīr 'wulë šot n the cowherd got four wives; xošān šot sh they hecame happy. - Pf. I sg. šuyam Yr, plupf. 1 sg. zo šu'yum vīo sh 'rafta būdim'; 3 sg. mon 'wulo šilo xo šūi vīo sh 'zan i mā lič šuda būd'; 2 pl. ku šūyəf vīo zh 'kujā rafta būdid'. — Av. °šuta-, etc.

šābuk Yzh, šabok B, sābuk(a), (q.v.) Ysh bride, hridegroom. — Khow. šă'bok; ef. Prs. šāh bridegroom.

šabparekilaγ Yr, širpalan sh bat. — Fr. Prs. šabparak, šabpūr, cf. Orm. šawurkai, šarwarak, Sbgh. šabgardak. Par. šaukurak, šauparak, Wkh. šaupalan, Sgl. °ek, etc. With sh \*šīrpalang cf. lalverzaγa rūso. živdelraus.

'šābāš Ysh hravo. — Prs.

ščīnə, v. iščīn.

šadar Yzh, šadda B servant. — Khow. šadar, Shina şādār.

ši fë Yzh, 'šifə sh, šo'fə sh, g, °iy Mm, šfoi g. t, šfi (g), ti, šfi oy Z, šqūy G, šefi LSIm husband. — wos kə mən 'šif õn aro'i-ra sh if my hushand come now; to 'šifien škār sh your husband sent it. — < \*fšuyaka-, ct. Av. fšuyant-, v. Par. Voc. s.v. xâ(i). 'šifciko Yzh, °co sh, Mm, šīf'ca g waterfall, šīvēā (g) irrigation channel. —</p>

šef'loč Z hoof. — Cf. Wkh. šilč. Sgl. šolč hoof. Prs. šapēl, šafal, šipl camel's hoof. ∞ Ar. safilat? The explanation suggested NTS., 5, 53 is hardly correct.

Cf. Prs. šiftan to trickle?

šfīn (Ī) Yzh, sh, Mg, °in Yg, š³fīn r, šfūn Mm, š³fīn ti, °ūn m. Z, šφūn G comh. — Cf. Sgl. afšūn, Ishk. šofūn, Kashan kohr. yō'šēn, Prs. šāna, cāna (with tš < fš) < \*fšāna-; Psht. imanj, etc., Wanetsi w(u)žənj, Pashai lw. weşa'nek; Shgh. vexūj. V. nuvāš-lšfīna Yzh, 'šfīno Mg, (g), t, ti, šfūna m. instep. — Cf. Hazara Prs. (Jaghuridi from Deh-i Zangi) šāne-i-pāi instep, Bal. šānaγ backbone, nape, Prs. šāna shoulder. Reg. ra'šan, v. s.v.

ši fon Yzh, g, šf sh, r clay used for plastering of walls. — V. šift.

šaf šiyan Yzh, "šryan sh, šaf šiyan g, šou šiyan r armpit. — Originally an ohl. case? Cf. Prs. šaf š(a), branch, a hooked reed šaf šaf a crooked branch? — V. tā kaš.

: šift-əm (pret.?) Yzh to plaster a wall with clay. — Cf. šifōn, and poss.

Bal.  $s\bar{e}fa\gamma$  rod for applying collyrinm to the eyes (v. NTS., 5, 51), etc. (with \*x\*s.?).

šaf tal Yg, Mm, g Inpine. — Prs.

šaf'tālė Yzh, sh, oi g, olū r, alū Mm peach. — Prs.

'šiyiko Yp a plant resembling sorrel; 'šīiko f. Mm rhubarb, rau. — V. rīv, selxiko.

 $\delta a^{\dagger}\gamma ur$  Mm, g,  $\delta u^{\circ}$  (g) hedgehog (not known by the other informants). — Proh. a lw. (note Mm  $\cdot \gamma \cdot !$ ), cf. Sgl.  $\delta a^{\dagger}\gamma or$ , Par., Prs. dial.  $\delta u\gamma ur$ .

'šăhər Yzh, °er, °ar sl., u, šār Z town.
— šūi tro š° Ysh, nə šāharen n. —
Prs. V. Šāhar.

šu'iko Yzh, išūiko sh, g collar bone. — < \*srauša· 'protruding bone', cf. Bal. srōš elbow? (v. Walde-Pok., I, 500). — V. fīzyasti, parāyasti.

škōb-: škabəy Z to lift np, raise. — Cf. Sak. şkam- to raise, construct, Av. skamb., v. EVP., s.v. āčawul.

šak'lām Mm dew. — Cf. Sgl., Khow. šag'nām from Prs. šabnam + Wkh., Ishk. šak. V. nəb. praž'yār.

iškriro Yzh, šikoiro g. °e'ro p, šikūiro r, uščuiro sh; iškyuro Mm, oa (g), iškyūra t, oira G, škyūrā M(g), iškura, d f. Z. šturo B, iščuro LSIy, škir m.—nar škyur Mg male camel.— < \*ušturā, cf. Av. uštra, etc. Camels are not used in Chitral, and the Y forms with šk are prob. borr. from or influenced by M.—šturo B is a douhtful form. Cf. G s v.

škōr-əm: 'škār-əm Y 'škōr y), škōr am: škar-um Mm; š²kōr-: š²kū/ōr- Z, škâr-G to send (a thing). — škōr imper. 2 sg.; yo 'vīra 'nā-mən kōi škār? Ysh who sent me this hurden? kāyəz kəro, škāṛ-ən sh he wrote a letter and sent it (to us?). — Cf. Sogd. (')škr- to push, bring, Prs. šikār hnnting, chazing.

iškūr Yu hunting, shooting. — no šīren š° šut, no šīren iš° ke'nam! — Fr. Prs. šikūr.

šo'kor Yzh, sh sugar. — Khow. < Prs.</li>
 škrafla G scorpion. This word was not known to any of my informants. — Connection with Av. xrafstra- as suggested NTS., 3, 298 is, of course, extremely doubtful 'cf. Prs. xastar reptiles, insects?). But the assertion that xrafstra- should be identical in meaning with spis- (Benveniste, Studia Indo-Iran, 244) is hardly borne out by the texts.

škät zh, škyät sh insipid, tasteless, Khow. škät. — The Khow. word has not heen recorded by Lor, or myself.

škywi Mm, <sup>2</sup>ıy g, <sup>2</sup>iy t, <sup>2</sup>i ti, (g). šžiy m. Z neck; škywi Mg neck of a horse.
— < \*šta\*ka\*, with very early contraction < \*(u)šaδákahya\*, cf. 'šile?'</li>
šālε Yzh, sh, <sup>2</sup>ε g, rice in the field. — Khow. < Prs.</li>

šel Y (šəl r), šāl Mm, šal Z lame. — Prs. šal.

šīlė Yzh, šə le sh, šr lə g, r, šille B, neck; tre-šele LSIy del-tšli m on his neek. — drīo tra šilε he threw it on his shoulder. — Cf. Sogd. šδ("k) neck; Av. ušaδā- name of a part of the back, pušti tēž? V. škyui.

šəlo Ysh, °a u, šo sh near, at, together with, pēš-i. — šəlo 'won ai Ysh 'ba pēš-i ū buru'; šəla daryāhan u 'pēš-i daryā'. Cf. Gramm. § 218. — Prob. connected with 'šile.

šulo Yzh, sh rice and meat boiled

together. — Cf. Prs. šīla rice-sonp (< \*ĕālya°?).

ša lāku Yzh centipede (?), lizard (?), (not found in Lutkoh). - Kho. šalāk lizard (?), grasshopper (?) (Lor.).

ši lex Yzh, ox sh, g, B, ox Mm, oax, sə'lēg' Z naked, destitute. — mon zəmo nakk əu mun wulo šilo xo (f.) šūi vio Ysh my child and my wife have become destitute; šilaxe pl. -Cf. Sgl., Wkh. ši lax, Shgh. ši lak. šām Y, šōm m. Mm, Z, šâm G evening. - Prs. V. xšėma.

šam Ysh ripe. — Cf. Bal. šam moist? šam: šamd- Yzh, g, sh, šom: šam'd-Mm, šom-: šēmd Z, šâ'm- G to drink. - uauvo šamam Yr; čāi šəm! Ysh, samem zh, čamom I don't drink; šāmef-este sh vou are drinking -Av. šam., ef. Prs. ašāmidan, Zaza šim- to drink, Psht. šūmī drinks (Yūsuf u Zulaixā, ed. Qandahār, p. 157, 1. 12), Orm. šam- to sip, (but tar-, Par. tēr- to drink). pā-, piba-, in Sgl. pöv-, Wkh. pov-, Sak. pā-; \*upa-raiz: Shgh. berēz-, Yzgh. bïraz-, etc.; ċaš-: Sogd. čš-, Psht. cš- (but Wan. yōz- $\langle q\bar{a}dh + s?\rangle$ ;  $x^war$ -: Prs.  $x^uurdan$ , etc.; Oss. nŭaz-(?).

šam'šēr Mm, oir Z, G sword. — Prs. V. xogor.

šīn Ysh, in čir miž šīn 'four days ago'. šino Yzh, sh, g, 'šu° g vulva; 'šīno Mm, a g, a Z anus; šīne Mti podex; šēna G behind. — Cf. Wkh. šīn, Sgl. šēn podex. anus, Av. sraonihip, podex. Cf. also Wkh, s.v. šūnj. šinjo Yzh, sh, bijo g, šunijo r, šižno Mm, ° ∈ g, °a t, 'šīžna f. Z necdle. — With assim. of  $s-\check{z} > \check{s}-\check{z}$  from \*s(a)učanī, ef. Niya Kharoshthi sujinao,

Prs. sozan, Kurd. šūžin, E. Bal.  $\tilde{s}\tilde{\imath}\tilde{s}\tilde{\imath}n$ , Sgl.  $\tilde{s}\tilde{s}\tilde{\imath}n$ , Psht.  $\tilde{s}\tilde{\imath}n > n\tilde{\imath}$ also in Khow, lw. šūni (v BSOS. VIII, 663), Wanetsi sunzan(?). — Prs. sunjāg pin, Oss. sinj thorn, etc., is a different word. - V. xar-šižn. ši namia (pl. ši nami) Yzh, o namo sh, °e r, °i (pl.?) p, u girl, — loh ši nāmiī niāsti sh two girls were sitting; da čatīr loh šināmi viet u there were two girls in the tent. - Av. strināman- female sex (about animals). Cf. Lhd. tremit, Panj. timat, etc. woman < strī·mātrā.

"šonzda Mg, šoz" m sixteen. — Prs. šun'gā Yzh, sh corner of a house, -Prob. fr. Khow. šung (of Ir. origin?). špāč Ysh, 'očəpoč Mm, špačin B, ispa (?) p behind, after. — špāč na to fsāī Ysh he rose after you; spač e nān zh 'pušt-e mā biyā'(?). — \*hača-pasčā, cf. Prs. sipas, Wkh. cobas. V. čvāč. vispač.

špač-kera Yzh hind quarters of animals: špāš-kere sh podex. — V. pero.

žār Yzh file (tool). - Khow.

šīr Yu lion. — no šīren iškūr šut they went to shoot the lion. - Prs.

 $\xi \bar{o}r$  Yg (in yu- $\xi \bar{o}r$ ), B,  $y\bar{u}$   $\xi \bar{o}r$  LSIv. 100. - Khow. V. sad.

šarm Yzh, r shame, pudenda. - Prs. V. fšarm.

še riet Yu Islamic law. - Ar. Prs.

žur'vāi Yzh, sh, g, ba r, wā Mm soup. - Prs.

'šešo Yp. In mamo šo do Warto da pežo a word of unknown meaning, explained thus: 'nām na dārad, hamtarī yak gap ast (it is merely a word); mā ba tu āšeq šudam'(??). šēīša Yzh a kind of wild vegetable growing in the hills. — Lor. compares Khow.  $\xi \bar{e}i$  a kind of mountain plant  $+ \xi Ax$  (Shina  $\xi a$ ) vegetable.

İšišo Yzh, ši'šo sh glass; earthquake.— Prs. šiša glass, bottle.— V. zibi'jim. šuš Mm, šiiš g, šiš (g), šoš Z lung.—

Prs. V. pāpəs.

ši'šoγο Yzh, <sup>o</sup>iγο r, šογο zh, sh mirror, šiša'ga G bottle. — Cf. šīšo. V. āi'na.

šāš'kōt Mm podex. — Cf. špaċkere, 'psro.
šīšpāzək Mg spleen (?), šəšpa'zòk Z belly.
— Cf. Brahui nīm-pāza spleen (Ir. lw.). — V. ninamāšċċ, 'spərzə.

šäštė Yzh hook, Khow. kauf. — Cf. Prs. šast fish-hook.

'stř Mm, ští Z, ště LSIm what? — tu

'š° lōrī? tu 'š° 'yikuniy? — < \*č'îsti

< čisči (cf. Tedesco, Dialektologie,
MO., 12, 212). But cf. Oss. 'istï,

yesti?

šāt Mm honey. — Ar. Prs. — V. ag<sup>1</sup>mǐn. šut Mm near. — V. nazdik, qarīb.

šitāhän, štāen Yzh. štahan B below, under. — š° že mūzān below the table; š° us tāim I place it below. — že + Prs. tah.

šota-žezikan Yr hamstring.

štänän polo Yg sole of the foot. — što adj. from šitāhān.

'šti-va Mm, <sup>9</sup>sti-va (§?) t something. —
na to 'š° 'dalum; <sup>9</sup>s° 'avəram. —
V. 'šti.

šuv- Yzh, : šūvd M(g), šuv·: šuvd Z to suck. — č(š)ŭve doesn't drink; šuve sucks, Yzh; škyin šūvd M(g). — Cf. Wkh. šap- (Shaw), Par. šup kan-, Oss. sábi suckling.

 $\check{s}u^{\dagger}v\check{a}$ :  $\check{s}u(v)uvd$  Yzh to suck (nsed about the mother).

šuvazī Yp n. of a flower, forget-me-uot.

šax Ysh n. of a plant, sičik. — Khow. šax green vegetable (Lor.).

'šāxo Yzh, g, °x³ r, fâxo Mm, šōxa ti, Z, šâx G branch. — stūr š° Yr a big branch. — Prs.

šāxeq Yzh tinder. — Prs. šāxak a small twig?

šáxek-i sar Mm temples. — V. rur pako, poxa'yak. Cf. s.v. ušk-mažiko.

šő xöv M(t) stream divided into many branches. — Prs. šűxűba, V. baxši; o.

[§iyo Yzh, Mm, °d g. 'šiyo Ysh, g. r. p. ° 'ya G. 'šiya Z female. — < \*strīyā-. Cf. Sgl. šəc, Wkh. strei. Or. seṭerīj, Psht. šəja (q.v.), Oss. sīl, sīlā (with l from nāl male.)</p>

'šayuk Mm enekoo. — V. ka'hūk. šā'yīn Mm hawk. — Prs. šāhīn.

šayoz Yzh, sh glaeier. — Khow.

sagož 12h, si glacier. — Khow.
šiž Y, Mg, šūš Mm eagle (m. and f., vulture (Yzh). — Cf. Sgl. šūž < \*šūč-.</p>
šižo-'yun Yzh, Mm cotton-thread. — V. didan'wo, parta'ī wirž, wušūles.
šižo-wu-žūv Yzh, švenežūv sh woman's

šižoyun-žōy Yzh, š nyun-žōy sh woman's cloak.

# T

-t encl. pron. 2 sg. — Cf. § 205.

tā Ysh, u until, in order that. — xšɔ vō tā mīx sh night and day, wa mən muzdurə na mən del, tā zo o īm give me my wages so that I may go, ās tā lu rōum u. — Prs.

tī-m: loyo ī-m Yzh. ti i-m: loyāi sh. tə y-im: loyāi Mm, tuw-. luyāy Z to enter. — yāuyā tīm (loyā'īm) Yzh I bathe(d): loyāi do kyēi, tro kiyēf, da ma'zīt sh, n; dadrām tīm = d² šom zh, də kyayī tīm sh, də kyai tə yim Mm. — tī- < \*ati-i-, cf. Sgl. atıy-,

Sogd. tys- (cf. Pkr. aicchati passes on), Sar.  $di\delta$ , Yzgh.  $di\delta$ - (:  $da\gamma d$ ); Khuri tiom I come. But  $lo\gamma oi < \frac{3}{2} + gata$ .

tu Yzh, sh. tə sh, n. Mm, Z, G thou. — Cf. § 203 sq.

tāi Mm, g, ti, tūy Z, G mulberry. — Anc. lw. from Prs. tūt. Acc. to Laufer, Sino-Ir. 582, not from Semit. V. m³rεξ, tūt.

tubūr Yzh, to, tam° Z guitar, rubāb, tambūr. — Borrowed, at different periods, fr. Prs.

to'but Mm, g down of birds. — Cf. Sgl. to'bat, Sar. tibit down, Turk. Prs. tibit soft goat's hair.

'tačingė (pl.?) Yzh goat-skin shoes, used by the Kafirs. — Khow. 'tačing pubboos, footwrappers; Palola thačinga.

tā-duni<sup>†</sup>ā Yn the lower world, ta Z under.
— Prs. tah (in tah xāna, etc.). Cf. tahë alarsıne, š'tāhän, tā kaš.

tfə Yzh, tfe sh. tuf r, Mm, təf Yg, Mg, tförə Yg, təfo M(g), tüf G, tuf- Z saliva. — Prs. Cf. Shgh. tuf, etc.

tfak Yzh, tu'fək r, tu'fak Mm, tə° Z, G gun, rifle. — təfək da'ham Yzh I shoot. — Prs. — Wkh., Sgl. have the Turk. word multiq, Shgl. etc. the native can. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 659.

t³fōv.. t³fēvd Z to put fire to. — V. Z, s.v., and cf. Par. tapēw- to heat. təgo Mm, ta¹ga G, tang Z narrow. — tang fr. Prs.; təgo may be gennine. — V. tang, trok.

\*tūga Z, °ga G bntton, bnd. — Deriv. < \*tumga < \*tukma suggested § 119. Bnt probably < Prs. tuqa. V. tukmo. tag bīr Yu plan, explanation. — na tag bīren o'īm. — Also Psht., Par., Khow., Ashk., Awromani tag bīr < Prs. tadbīr.

tāγo Yzh, p rope made of willow-bark (p: used for fastening the handle of a spade, v. Ill.). — Cf. Wkh. tik willow, Prs. tāk branch, teudril, vine, etc.; Psht. tāγa elm or poplar.

tuyd-əm: tuy'dāy-əm Mm to shave, turda(?)

B to cnt. — Cf. tīž-. V. fxau-, xird-.

'tuyum Y (tū° g), tūym Z grain, corn. —
Cf. Prs. tuxm etc., v. Z s.v.

ta'he a'larsine Yzh threshold. — Cf. tā-duniā. V. siri.

ta'qio Yzh, r pillow, back of a chair, taki'ya Z pillow. -- Ar.-Prs. takya. — V. vir'zane.

tēiko Yzh, tao g eye-apple. — Cf. Bakht. tē, tī eye, Par. tēč?

to'ko Mm, tōqa Z alone. — Cf. Wkh.
toko, Sgl. tāke, Rosh. tūqā, Prs. tāqa.
V. fkyiyigo.

tuk'mo Yzh button. — Turk. Prs. V. tūga.

tukun um Mm to chop up, hash. — Cf. tik-, kik- Z to beat?

tā kaš Mm, g, tā i kaš (g), 'ta kaš Z armpit. — Cf. tā duniā, Prs kaš. — V. šaf šīyān.

tāl Yzh, sh, g, 'tōlo r, 'a m. Mm, Z, tá'la G kettle. — Sgl. tāl, cf. Kati tōl, Lhd. thālī dish, metal vessel? Not to be compared with Shgh, etc. tōôc plate, tray (< \*tāôaka > Y \*tāxē) as proposed by G.

'tāl-im: ta'lī-m Yp to whittle, tōl'y: tēl'y

Z to kill, slanghter. — 'tātəm vo

pəl'žō I whittle the log, 'pāra pāra

mēkunim'. — < \*tard-, v. s.v. pətišō.

tella-um: tw'lī-im Yzh, təla-lūm: tūliysb, təllav-um Mm, telev-am t, telaw-:

telwiy- Z to seek, search for. — gadā'ī to Ysh I beg; rux sat tūli'yō he took leave, 'talbist'; čī tələ'wā gadā'ī don't beg; šūi no tūli yān 'ba gadāī talabistan raft'. — Ar-Prs. ṭalabīdan.

'trla Yzh copper(!). ti lâ Mm, te° g, tillă B, LSIm gold. — Prs. — The meaning 'copper', if correct, must be due to a recent adjustment caused by the introduction of Khow. su'worum 'gold' (LSIy gives zer 'gold'). B has loh copper (< Khow.).

tal kān Yzh, sh dried mulberry flour. — Badakhshi Prs. (not in lexx.). But cf. Prs. talxā parched grain, pulverized and mixed up with water? — V. čiryišče, kiţo rī, pušč.

tulis mād Yzh flood, liver in spate. — Khow. (O'Brien) tisilmād id., but acc. to Lor. tīlrsmād means 'many, a crowd (of men)'.

telt Yzh, te° sh, te² Mm, B old, shabby, tattered, žəγd(?). From Ar. Prs tils old, ancient, dirt of a garment?

talx Yzh, r, g, Mm, g, Z, °l<sup>3</sup>x Ysh bitter. — Prs.

talwkarda'čī Yp dandelion. — \*Prs.?
 Bailey suggests connection with Phl.
 (Bund.) kārda, kārtak n. of a flower,
 Pandanus.?). Cf. Khow. trispōγ
 dandelion: Y trīšp sonr, acid.

tãam Ysh food, — to kyet-isto she is preparing food. — Ar. Prs.

ta mākū Yr tobacco. — Ind. fr. Prs.

tono Y, g, B, ta'na Z, tan G body; tana Mm stem of a tree. — Prs. tan(a).

tanou B rope. — From Khow. tanau (v. BSOS. VIII, 664)? But cf. Shgh. tanov (Sköld).

tandene u Yp threads connecting the

wings of a spinning wheel (v. III.), Kho. tande'nī. — The Khow. word is uuknown elesewhere. (f. Prs. tananda a weaver's instrument, etc.? tandur Yzh, sh, tondəro Mm, a g. təndə'ra G thunder. — Prs.

tənidar (-1) Ysh thin.

tan'drust Yzh, r, tun sh, təndu r u well, in health. — Prs.

'tunuk Yzh, t'i nek M(g' shallow, Khow, tonk; tunkā B thin, — Prs. tunuk (cf. BSOS, VIII, 670'.

tang Mm, Z saddle-girth. — Prs. — Cf. togo, trok.

təp'lāya Yzh drum. — Prs. !(abla'(k).

tūi-pušky Mm dried mulberry-flour. — V. pušč, talkān.

tro Ysh, r into, on, etc. — 'šūi tro 'šāhar Ysh ne entered the town; 'nā to tro lās kə'rum I pnt it in your hand; tro zīl c-āroā 'ba yād i mā na āyad'; tra awā zrūsto r he flies through the air. Cf. § 219. — Av. tarō and antaro? Cf. Parachi, tar (IIFL, I, § 101).

ltâra Mm a single hair. — yň t². — Prs.

itiro Y, °a Mg, 'tūro Mm darkness, 'ra
G dark. — Av. taθra (pl.!). Cf.
EVP. s.v. tōr.¹

toru Yzh, g lower. — to poriik zh lower lip; toruov-drai g bedding, kurpa (: 'put-below'.

tūr Z trap. — Cf. Wkh. tor, v. EVP. s.v. tūr? 2

tūr Yzh, p mountain-ash. — Khow.

trə boda Yzh, 'pâlə trebəno boda g ankle; trəbən ta lasboda slı wrist. — But Prs. tarband means only 'a wet bandage'. V. boda, ušk mäxiko.

tərif- Z: tərəft Ysh, Z to steal. — zinki ki

u gah žə ašərafīəf yu to Ysh the woman stole at once one of the gold coins. — Cf. Av. trəfyāt, Phl. truftak (v. Reichelt, Av. Elementarbuch, 61; Nyberg, JA., 1929, 293, Bailey, JRAS., 1933, 1004, Schaeder. Stud. z. antik. Synkretismus, 216). Already in Av. tr-> trə, cf. Ishk. tərüf-, Shgh. cifwith secondary tr- treated as ancient postvoc.  $\partial r$  (ariai 3, but puc son).

trok Yzh, sh saddle-girth. — Kho. trang, Wkh. trāng, Shgh. te<sup>1</sup>rang (v. s.v.). — Cf.:

trok Yzh, g g, r narrow, troyo B tight.
trog-weliko Yzh, tro-wöliko sh irrigation
rivulet running across a field.—
Prob. from trok narrow, and not related to Or. (Lentz) tur-wēð Hochgrabeu, or to Psht. trai small stream.
mill-race (v. EVP. s.v.).

taryo Y (to° g), tergiko Mm shed for goats and sheep, ayēl-i māl. — Cf. Bur. tārk(h) walled enclosure??

tirγ Yzh, r, ti<sup>3</sup> sh, tīr<sup>1</sup>γο Mm, tər<sup>1</sup>γα g, Z, turγο B sharp. — Av. tiγra-, cf. Kohrū, Keše tīr, etc.

trīk Yzh thing, matter. — cəhmin ta astet?

tarik Yzh poplar. — Turk. (but Khow. terek chenar). — V. ra'meno.

tīra mâ Mm, g, t, o autumn. — Prs. — V. pa iz.

ta'rān Yzh, sh soft, wet, unfinished cheese; təringâ Z fresh, new. — Cf. Prs. tar'(r) moist, fresh.

trušnė Yzh, °a B. tišno Yr, tižna g thirsty. — Yr, g fr. Prs.; Yzh, B fr. Khow. trusni (Ir. lw., cf. BSOS, VIII, 664). — V. kāk, z<sup>3</sup> yəriy.

trīšp Yzh, r, tro° sh, g, trīšpo Mm, | ε g, teriš (t<sup>o</sup>rišpā f.) Z trīšpo B | sour, acid;  $tri\delta p$  B thirst(!). — Cf. Sgl.  $t\epsilon^i re\delta$  (lw.?), Wkh.  $t\epsilon^i re\delta p$ , Bal.  $tru\delta p$ . Poss. \* $tr\delta pa$  < \* $trp\delta a$ - (v. EVP. s.v.  $tr\delta w$ -), cf. Russ.  $t\epsilon rp\delta u$ - sour, acid (<\* $trp\delta k m$ ), v. Trautmann, Balt.-Slav. Wb., 325.

'trāxnik M(g), terax'nok Z spark — Z compares the group of words mentioned s.v. co'rox.

 $ta^{\dagger}r\bar{a}z\bar{u}$  Yzh,  $t\bar{u}^{\dagger}$  sh scales:  $Tr\bar{a}z\bar{u}$  g, n. of a constellation, Libra. —  $t^{\pm}$   $a^{\dagger}vr\varepsilon$ ,  $m\bar{a}m$   $d\sigma$   $t^{\pm}$  Ysh bring the scales, I shall weigh. — Prs.

'trāž- Y. trayd- Yzh, trěži-'em sh, trê jyē-m r, 'trâj-: trayd- Mm, tyrōnj-: trayd- t, trōj-: trdyd Z, tyrdj- G to bind, tie. — mlān trāžim Yg, 'trēžyəm pf.; mo 'adam 'yavo trež, mai 'ādame yavo 'tražet zh, tu na'ko va yavo trāžež. — Prs. taranjūdan to tighten (v. Z s.v.). (Cf. Bailey, BSOS. VIII, 138).

tasa Yp copper tray. — Ar. Prs. tās goblet.

tā-i-sar M top of the head. — Cf. Sgl. tā-i-sar, Prs. \*tār-i-sar? V. kāka, pxoyak.

táš'ko Yzh, tə° g, to° r, ta° sh. p, Mm adze. — Cf. Prs. tēša, taš.

tắt Y, tot Mm, g, (g), Z, tút G father.
— ùi tāt; na to tāt; yo kyei mən
tāt kyei Yr; mō a maf tāt this is
your father; taten što the father
said.— Sgl. tāt, Wkh. tat, cf. Z s.v.

tūt Yr mulberry. — Prs. V. m³rēč, tūi, 'tūta Mt Adam's apple — Cf. Prs. tūta a sty on the eye-lid (orig. 'swelling'?'.

tavdoro Yzh, tovdaga Mt a tree with small berries, tauda, Khow. čilažum (?).

— Prs. \*tafta is unknown in this sense.

to vũnγο Yzh, 'tovu° sh, p box, chest.—
Cf. Prs. tabang(ũ), Psht. tawang tray,
wicker basket, chest.— V. sanduq.
tu'vor Yzh, sh, Mm, to° Yr, tū'vər g,
tə° Z large axe.— Cf. Prs. tabar.
etc.

tuver'zin Yzh hattle axe. — Prs. tabarzīn. Kho. taparzin is an early lw.

tovis'ton Yr, towio Z, tâvi'stân Mg summer. — Prs. V. waro.

'tiwaniy Mm stirring-stick; tēw-: tēvd Z to stir. — Z compares Ishk., Shgh. tēw- etc. to stir (hut connection with Prs. tāftan is improbable). tēw- < \*tāwaya- fr. IE. \*tew-, cf. \*twer- (Walde-Pok., I, 749).

tux Yzh steam. — Khow. tox, cf. Sgl.  $t \ni xt^{\dagger}x_{\overline{\epsilon}}$ .

taxta bande Yp boarding enclosing the hearth, odi Z fence. — Prs.

tix-im: 'cāst-əm Y (tx-g); 'cix-əm: cāst-am Mm, cx-im: cōst-am t, 'cix-im: cost (g), Z, cesta B to fall. — wos txim Yg, psāt ti'xim sh, cīxt 3 sg. M(g). — < \*haca-had., cf. nix., cad.

taya Yzh, g, r, 'tă ĭ sh, 'tō-i Mm, 'tō-ika g colt. — Cf. Sgl. ta'yāk, Wkh. tōy. Sar. tāē. — Tnrk.

ta yār Ysh, tē° B ready, completed. — t° šūi, kər. — Ar. Prs.

tāzo Yzh, g, °a sh, tâza Mm, tazyo B well, in health. — pādšā to šūi Ysh; to tat ta'zō təndu'rust astet? u. — Prs.

tiz Yzh quick, g sharp. — tiz as! — Prs.

ta'žīa Yzh heron, Khow. mandāy.

tiž-om: 'toyd-om M(g), tēž-: twyd Z to cut, split. — Z compares Shgh. tēž-to shave (with -ž- from the preter.!), Rosh. tōw-, Wkh. toš-, etc. (with which 17 — Kulturtorskning.

cf. also Sgl.  $t\bar{u}l$ -, Psht.  $t\tilde{v}\tilde{z}\partial l$ , Oss. dasin to shave) < Av.  $ta\tilde{s}$ -. — But  $t\tilde{v}\tilde{z}$ - points to \* $t\tilde{a}\tilde{e}aya$ -, \* $t\tilde{a}\tilde{j}aya$ , cf. Oss. tajin adze. Acc. to Lidén fr. IE. \*teg-. —  $tu\gamma d$ -. (4.v.) to shave is hased upon the past stem.

taži ān čog go Ysh a kind of pear. — Cf. tažīa?

# T

tfo Yzh, tifo g n. of a small bird which says "tif tif", Kho. tif. — Acc. to Lor. Khow. tif is a kind of hunting bird.

tok Yzh, tok sh wild pear. — Khow. tong, cf. also Psht. tāngū fruit resembling an apple. A more recent lw. than kyogo, cogo, q.v.

'takye' Yzh n, of a part of the plough. ti'pe Ysh much. — boh ti pe daw'let. — Kho. tip full.

# Θ

Jam LSIy come, Jamus then. — Very doubtful forms. J is not found in any other Y word.

# ľ

 -va a verbal particle denoting the conditional and the indef. pronoun.
 V. §§ 252, 210.

vo nota accusativi. — Cf. V. §§ 208, 215.

vio Y, Mm, viyà, °a Z, vi ya G he was.

— žū'wān v°, yū 'wulo v°, loh pūrė vi et Ysh; mun wulo šiloxo śūi vio my wife had become destitute; 'vio yū â'dam, wo 'hâdamen lo luydi vi at Mm; yū wiya vio; mən uzir lurvo

viem. Cf. §§ 225, 233, 250. — vii as irrealis and cond. v. § 253 sq. — Av.  $b\bar{u}ta$ . Wkh. vitk, etc.

vad: 'văst Yzh, r, 'vŏnd: vost Mm, t to bind, to tie together (something broken), 'pēvand mēkinam': to place loaves on the hearth to be baked (Mt). — γau vastəm Yr. — Av. band, cf. Sgl., Wkh. vānd-, Shgh. vīnd-, etc. — V. trāž-.

ve'do um: ve'di-am M(g) to warm one's hands by the fire. — \*upa-(han-)tap-, with secondary preterite(??). Cf.:

və dāy-əm: və dayd-əm Yzh, sh, vidayda B to mix. — \*abi-(han-)tak-(??). Cf. Oss. ändajin to solder. Cf. § 118.

vəl'yo (w°) Yzh, sh, w° r, 'valyo Mm,
°ä (g), °a MFB, walye LSIm, welyo y,
būryo (!) B up, above. — vəl'yo a'īm,
wəl'yō o'yəm Yzh. 'valyā a'yam M(g):
mən kyēi vəl'yō as'tēt Yzh my house
is above; šot val'yō Ysh 'raftan bālā';
wel'yōo 'bālā āmad'. — Av. ərəðwa+ kā might result in Y \*əlvyo, vəlyo,
but in Mm we should expect \*vəlgo (?).
vul'yōr Yr. wur'yär M(g) shoulder-blade:

vul'yör Yr, wur'yär M(g) shoulder blade;
wur'yär Mg, t, °gar m upper part
of the back, between the shoulders;
wurgör m. Z spine. — Prob. < \*wul'gör.</p>
Cf. Psht. wulai shoulder blade.

'veliwo Yzh, ve'lo sh lightning. — Prob. < \*welivo < \*wi-daipā-, cf. Sogd.  $wy\delta'ynp'h$  (Buddh.), wydymp' (Chr.) = \*wi\delta emb\tilde{a}, Bartangi (Sk\tilde{o}ld) we'\delta ebj < \*widaipaka-, Sar. (Bellew) wad\tilde{a}fz (d = \delta?). Sak. b\tilde{a}tava f. acc. to Konow < \*witap\tilde{a}-. — A root \*daip-, \*d\tilde{i}p- is unknown from Ir., but its existence is proved by the Sogd. and Bart. forms.

vən Yzh, g, r, vän sh main root, bottom,

foot of anything. — Av. buna-, Prs. bun, etc.

vo'n-im: vo'd-em Yzh, sh, von-: vot u. 'vin-um: 'vəd-om Mm, vən-: vud, w° Z to carry, bring, carry off (animate beings). — vo wulo (və to wulo) vənem Yu I bring a (your) wife; vo mun və'na 'marā bigīr'; 'pūra və'dem Yzlı I brought my son; vo mara videt šəlo pādšāan sh they brought the man before the king; žə pād šāan vo wu'lo vət galavanen u the cowherd took his wife away from the king; və det saro sh 'burdan payan'; və det Mm 'burdī'; vo wulo žəwən če vet kəne Yu 'zan-i-ūra na mētānī giriftan'.  $- < *upa\cdot n\bar{\imath}\cdot, upa\cdot n\bar{\imath}ta\cdot (v. \S 118),$ cf. Par.  $\bar{e}n$ :  $\hat{a}nt$  < \* $\bar{a}$ - $n\bar{i}$ -, and v. Bloch, L'indo arven, p. 44.

və nayaro Ysh, g, r, vīne yäriko zh high hill, cliff, 'šāx-i kalān', Khow. zom. — Tälaš Mīr ve nayaro Yr. — Cf. van and yar.

vän Yzh, sh, g, vən r, vän'gy Mm, vān'gya g, van'g' Z, vanj G long. wos van šūi Ysh now he stretched himself. — \*baržn-, cf. Av. barəzan-(barəšna·), barəšnu- height, hill.

vrai Yzb, sh, r, u, B, v'ə)rāi Ysh, g, v³rāi Mm, °ōi g, t, ti, Z, °ây G, vrōi Mg) brother, cousin. — mən vvrai žə tō vvrayen us'tūr Yzh my brother is bigger than yours; ai vrāi, če xšief-este sh o brothers, why are you weeping. — Av. brātar, cf. Sgl. v³rūð, Wkh. v³rit (also from the nom.).

vrī-im: vrī'r-om Yzh, 'vrī-im: vŗ'r-om
(!) sh, 'vrī-am: vrɪ'l-om r, vrī-m:
vrl-əm g, vrīr-əm: vrisky- Mm, t, G,
v³rīr-: v³rīr-, v³rīsk- Z, vrīstča B to

hreak. — mən va skud vyləm Yg I hroke the stick; vylet 3 pl., vrīa imper. 2 sg.; mo ādam vrī, mäi ādame vrīet zh. — Orig. vrī-: vrišk<sup>y</sup>, vrišč < \*braiš-: \*brišta-, ef. Sgl. vrēl-: vrēt, Shgh. vəraž-, etc. Cf. § 238.

vär M(t), vēr LSIm time. — yidir vär fta wīnəm I see you a second time.
— Early lw. from Prs. bār < \*wāra-?</li>
But note the vowel. V. § 58.

v³ro Ysh after. — ži mol v° 'az ī bād'. — Cf. Av. aparəm postea.

'vīra Yzh, sh, °o M(g), 'vū°, 'vɔ° Z hnrden. — yo vīra kōi-kān³ whose is this burden? wo 'vira la'yado da 'kyɛi Ysh he put the hurden down in the house. — Av. bāra·, Sgl. vūr, Wkh. vīr.

vi ra·um Yzh : vĭ rəvd-o sh to load, 'bār kardan'. — Cf. vīra.

vũr Z light red. — V. Z s.v.; Bartholomae, Mir.Mund., VI, 5; and Götehorgs Högskolas Årsskrift, 36, 3, 67.
vroc-um: vrexc-um(?) Yzh to reast. —
The forms are not clear. vroc- (with c from the imperative \*vroc? 
\*vr2(n)j) < \*brinj-, cf. Khow. lw. vrenjē-im; Bal. brijag, Sak. brijs-, Psht. wrīt (if < \*brixta-). But Wkh. vareš-, etc., v. EVP. s.v. wrīt.</li>

 $vr\ddot{a}\dot{c}o\gamma a$  Yzh to that side, ' $\bar{u}sun$ '. — Cf.  $v^{a}ro < apara$ - and v.  $m\bar{u}r-\dot{c}o\gamma a$ .

vrōf: vrŏft Y, wurafs: wurafsōy Z to fly, — vrōfe 3 sg., vrōfe 3 pl. — Z compares Shgh. werafc- to stand (cf. Notes on Shgh. s.v. wirūvd) cf. Wkh. wərəfs- id., Yazgh. urafs- and v. Bailey, Orient. Stnd. in honour of C. E. Pavry, 22. — Y \*wr->vr-? Cf. vərēm.

'vrlyo Y, °â Mg. °ä (g), °a t, °go m, v³'rīga f. Z, vrēga G eyehrows. — vrīγe pl. Yp. — \*brūkā-, cf. Bakht. burg, Oss. ārfig; but Wkh. v³raw, Sogd. βr'wk, Talish bav (\*brăwa-³); Sgl. vrīc, Psht. wrūja (< \*brūčī-'; Shgh. v¬rūγ, etc. (< \*brūša-?²).

rory Yzh, u fruit. — vo čirief la ponokaf la vorgen gurd u he seized the apricots with the leaves and with the fruit (or: foliage?). — Cf. Prs. bar, etc..
v. Bailey, BSOS., 6, 73.

vurya'k'ōndi M(g) n. of a small shrub used as fuel. — Cf. vəz-vurgo s.v. zeviryo.

vərkya kye Yzh, sh, vərka° p a kind of cheese box, made from strips of willow bark. — Khow. wərketi (-ti?) bark of willow or poplar used for making haskets (Lor.).

v³rēm-: v³rēmd Z, to stand, vrīnd-əm Mm I am standing, v³rīnd-əm t I rose, vrēnd-əm G I rise. werema LSIm stand (imper.). — \*upa-rāmaya-, cf. vrōf-? Note Z wurafs- bnt v³rēmwith v.

vraimin Yr cousin (?). — Cf. min.

vraipūr Ysh nephew, hrother's son. — Cf. vrai, pūr.

vrēri Mm, v<sup>3</sup>rēr̄σy Z hrother's son. —
 \*brāθryaka-, cf. Av. brātūirya-.
 V. EVP. s.v. wrār̄σ.

'vrērigo Mm, v³rē'rīgā Z brother's daughter. — <\*brāθr(i)yakā-. V. 'vrēri. vrīšum Mm, 'vrē' Z, vrē'šəm G silk. — Prs., cf. Psht. wrēšm, Shgh. v³ rēžum, etc. V. fəršə'mė.

v°rut Yzh, vurūt sh, vrūt g, brūt r, brūt Mm, (g), ti, bər° g, t, Z, G mustache. — pa ka'cīo vrūtəf 'dea Ysh cut your mustaches with scissors. - Prs.; Y vr- points to early borrowing.

vrazi'dinė Yzh pillow. — Kho, warzz'dīni thick, round holster for leaning against (Lor.), in its turn fr. Ir. (cf. BSOS. VIII, 663).

'värzeγο Yzh, 'varzəγə sh, r. 'vəzərγο g,
'voz²rgo Mm, 'vŏzərγa g, (sh), 'wdzirga
f. Z, 'cər'ga G, verzγο B wing;
'vərzəγə Yp the 'wings' of the spinning-wheel (v. III.). — \*bazrakā- cf.
Khow. lw. wraz-un, Prs. bažīr, and
v. EVP. s.v. wazar.

vir'zane Yzh, g, ur'z° sh, viz'nī Mm, vo° g, vē° m. ti, Z, viž'nī Mt pillow (filled with shavings of willow wood Yzh). — < \*byzanaka-, cf. Khow. lw. vraznī, Sgl. vōzd, Wkh. vōrz, Bal. barzī, and v. Z s.v. — V. vrazi'dinē.

vispač, v. wačpāč.

vis. G to set (about the sun). — With orig.

\*w- and with s from the past. Cf.

Wkh. wis., Yaghn. vis. to set <

\*wi-isa-?

viščo Y, 'viškyo Mm, oa g steep hillside, ravine, 'pušta, sasta', Khow. dahār. — Cf. Psht. wat ravine, crevice, if = wet < \*bišta.

'voza Mm, 'vizo (g), 'vozo g, t, °a Z hegoat. — Cf. EVP. s.v. wuz. V. fer'yāmo, nar'boz.

v<sup>3</sup>zo Y, 'vvzo Mm, 'vizā (g), 'v<sup>3</sup>za g, t, Z, ww<sup>1</sup>za G she-goat; Yzh, Mm also female ibex. V. 'vvza.

vez'b·um: vezbi-tm Yzh to tighten; wə-zib:: wəzivd Z to press together. — < \*abi-zamb·, cf. Av. zamb· to crnsh, Wkh. vizam· to ruh to powder.

vīzγa Y, vuzγ Mm, vīzγ g, (g), t, vīzx ti the arm above the elbow; Yzh also calf of the leg; Yg, r arm below the elhow; buzga B muscle. — Cf. Av. bāzu-, Psht. wōzai shinbone, etc.

vôz-'yūnəy Z goat's hair. — Cf. Psht. wužywunē, etc., v. EVP. s.v. wuz.

v<sup>3</sup> zān-ēm: v<sup>3</sup> zad-ēm Yzh, sh, 'vzān-'vzad- g, 'vzān-: 'vzend- r, v<sup>3</sup>zān-: v<sup>2</sup> zēd- Mm, v<sup>3</sup> zōn-: v<sup>3</sup> zēnd- t, vzōn-: vzē(n)d, w<sup>3</sup> Z, wzân- G, wizeda B to know. — v<sup>3</sup> zīt 3 sg.; zo Pârse vzānəm Yg I know Persian; zo dūr ágoya či wizidam B I couldn't come to-day. — Cf. Shgh. w(3) zūn-, Sak. vaysān- to recognize, etc.; Sgl. pəzīn-. V. Z s.v. \*wi-, abi- or upa-zan-?

v³'zäxo Yzh womb, pregnant (animal), Kho. garbin. — < \*upa- or \*apizavā-, cf. Av. aipi-zava- the future hirth. V. pezäxe, zäxko.

vəzvurgo, v. ze'viryo.

#### W

wo that, ille. - V. Gramm. § 208.

wo Ysh, Mm, u Mm, it Yu, Z and. — Prs.

wūi Y, Mm, Z, G, wāy Mt, wıy ti, wı g,
wī (g), wūix(!) B wind. — wũi kit(istə)
Yzh, g it is blowing. — Av. vāta.
Cf. Wūi.

wa-cpāc Ysh, vispac (\$?) u hack (adv.),
wešpac LSIy behind. — wo žinkiko
v° šūi Yu the woman went back. —
Cf. špāc.

wa'cārum Ysh alms, 'gadāī'. — wo nāmən del give me alms. — Khow. wechārum, etc. (Lor.).

wödyo Ysh, r separate, judā. — wodyo kenəm sh I separate; 'xostə žə yo'wən wödyo šūi r the husks were separated from the grain. — Perf. ptc. of wār.

- wāf-em: waft-em Yzh, wāf-um: wɛft-um Mm, 'wōf-u/am: wēft-e/am t, (g), Z to weave. waft pres. 3 sg., wafto pret. 3 sg. Yzh. Cf. Prs. bāftan, etc., Wkh. ūf-, Sgl. īf-; \*ub- in Av. \*ubda-, Psht. ūdəl to weave, būda, Prs. pūd woof (\*upa-ubda-), Oss. urd warp, chain (< \*ubdra-, cf. Pashai udrī snare < Ir.), Kurd. ūnīn to weave; \*wāp- in Orosh. wōb (Lentz) sheaf, Phl. Psalter w'py.
- wof'šĭo Yzh, wošī'o sh small wasp, 'wafšiyo Mm, °a t, G, 'wāfšiye M(sh), °iya f. Z wasp. — V. NTS. V, 45, s.v. Bal. gwabz.
- waha'ray Yzh hungry, wā'hrāk sh, waxrāx B hunger, 'woxrōgī pl. Mm, 'waxrd Z hungry. zo wo', tu wo-a? Yzh; mai 'luydi ni'āstat 'wuro, wo' Mm the daughters were sitting there, hungry. Tomaschek (BB, 7, 205) suggests derivation from wé-khorāk 'without food'(?).
- wo'jou Yr span from thumh to little finger, wa'žab Mm span from thumb to forefinger. — Prs. wajab.
- woko Ysh, r there, 'uko'. wo nīnomərə Yr there is the spleen; wokə cəs dārū vīo, woko cəs kīmat vīi Ysh 'ūko ci dārū būd, ūko ci kīmat bāša'. Taj. Prs. ūko + wo.
- wu'l-um: 'wust-um Yzh to throw. pa yar wu'lum, wu'le I throw, he throws a stone. — Cf. Ishk. wēd- to put; Feili Lur bistin to throw, Siw. Zaza wist he threw; and cf. EVP. s.v. wistel (wulem) to throw, shoot.
- wolo Yzh, sh, wēlo Mm, oa g, wēla Z, wēla G large irrigation channel. Cf. Wkh. wåð, and v. Z s.v. and EVP. s.v. wāla. Cf. weliko.

- wu'lai Yzh, u° g, ula'yō r, wəlio yo sh, wu'lōi Mm open, wil- Z to open. — Cf. Skr. vi-dhā to spread, diffuse? Cf. wulēyo.
- wulo Yzh, Mm, wu'lo Ysh, u, w'lo g, r, wula M, g, t, wilä (g), wila ti. wəla Z, wu'la G, ulo B, wula LSIm wife. Pl. wuli Ysh, wule u. wo xoi wulo līšč Ysh he saw his own wife; wo yoi wule nām līlo he called his own wives; no 'ā'beli 'pūrəf 'wuli avəzde sh he brought wives for both his sons. Cf. Av. vaðū-, Sogd. wðw, etc.
- waly Yzh, wālx sh, wâlu Mm, wālui LSIm feast, merriment; walx B marriage. If the originally meaning is 'wedding-feast' (cf. Prs., etc. sūr, tōi 'feast' and 'wedding'), we may compare Av. (upa-)vad- to marry; v. Sgl. wōtuk.
- wul ya Yzh, wul yaka (pl.) sh, wul yaka r, wuldaga Mm, wulqyiya g, wulqiy (g), wullive pl. t. wilx, pl. wilve ti kidney. — \* $wrdk\bar{a}$ · or  $wr\partial k\bar{a}$ ·, f. < Av. m. dual vərəbka, from which also Khorasani bulk (Houtum-Schindler), Prs. lex. "pulk", Ishk. gul., Kurd. gułč, etc., Yazgh. wiðgað (Sköld), Sak. bilga. Orm. yulkak, Sgl. wolk may be derived from \*wrdk- or \*wrtk-. — Oss. urg (and the Ir. lw.s Syryan  $v\ddot{o}rk$ , Cheremiss  $\beta \dot{a}r_{y}\dot{\sigma}$ ) with early loss of the dental, cf. Jacobsohn, Arier u. Ugrofinnen, 220. - Prs. qurda < \*wrtaka, cf. Bal. quttay, iy with tt through IA. influence? -\*wrdka- scarcely from \*wert- (Marstrander IF. 20, 347, Charpentier, MO. 8, 109). — V. EVP. s.v. puštawarga and cf. Wkh. waltk, Sgl. wolk.

weliko Yzh. woo sh. woo r. g. weo Mm small irrigation channel. Cf. wolo. wuleye y, Mm, a a (g), wuleye g, wuleya t, 'wuleya Z span (from thnmh to little finger). — Cf. Shgh. wi'dēd, Sgl. wu'dīt, Wkh, ww'let, Sogd, wyd't ('foot' acc. to Benv., JA, 223, 221), formally < Av. vi-dāti- distribution, ef. Skr. vidhā- to spread. Kati velyou is possibly borr, from Mj. - In N.Bal, we should expect \* $qi\delta\bar{a}th$ , but we find instead girārth, guo. - V. wojou. wulyevo Yzh, wu'lyevo sh, wu'liya Mg n. of a small shruh, '(y)irya, iryān'. Cf. Av. varodā- shrnb. V. Wkh. yurya. waina LSIm (for) hunting. - Cf. Av.  $v\bar{a}(y)$ - to chaze, hunt?

win-: lišč Y (sh also lišči Am), win-: līšky- Mm, (t), (g), : lišk Z, : lošky G to see. - winem, 3 sg. wit Yzh, wo xoi zəmonəf lišč sh he saw his own children; lišča va, (v. § 252); man vətö liščim g; yū ādamen xūben lišč u a man saw a dream; wo xūben ku liščut u where did you see that dream? mon xūven liščevem r: mon fta liškyim M(t). - < Av. vaēna: dərəšta- (v. Z s.v. and G, p. 153), ef. Par. dhor. - Mj.-Yd. belongs to the small group of Ir. dialects which has neither the western (incl. Psht.) type bin: dīd, nor the north-eastern, Sgl., etc. win: wint (Sogd. wit). Cf. iu E.Ir. Sak. di : däta-, Par. buch-: dhur, Orm. juš-, jun-: dvē-k (and Bal. gind-: dit, dist).

wi en um: wi et um Yzh, wi en m: wi et m g, wi en am: wi et am Mt, (yuwen): wi yet um m to untie, loosen, 'yala mēkunim'. — Cf. Skr. vi tan- to unfold, spread. — V. yu wanwind, v. wo.

wūn Yzh, sh, wŏn r, g, wōng Mm, g, (g) marmot, 'wunduk'.—Cf. Sgl. yūnēk, Wkh. wōnek, wundek (from Taj., Prs. (dialect) wanak).

'wār-əm: 'wat-əm Yzh, sh, 'wār-əm: 'wet-əm Mm, wetta B to separate. — wad'yo. wodyo kenèm Yzh, sh I separate, 'judā mēkunem'. — Cf. Av. var- to select, with secondary preterite (v. § 238)? — Cf. wödyo.

wor Yzh, sh, wor r, war g oath. — wor xorəm zh, war xorum g I swear. — Av. varah-, cf. Phl. var, Orm. ywar. V. qasam.

'woru Yzh, 'wārə g upper. —  $w^{\circ}$  pŏršik zh, g upper lip. —  $<*u(v)ar\cdot <$  Av. upara.

'wūro f. Yr a large duck.

'warfo Yzh, r, 29 g. 'worfo sh, Mm, g, 'wōrfe ti, 'wdrfa f. Z, 2 fa G snow.

— Av. vafra, and Orm. yōṣr m., but Psht. wāwra, Zaza váwr (Kurd.-Pers. Forsch. III, IV, 170) and Saka baura f. (not Saka m. as supposed by Konow, Saka Studies, 123), cf. § 177. Meillet's rejection of the derivation of vafra from Skr. vap (BSL, 35, CR. 26) is unfounded, cf. e.g. Palola kir 'suow': Skr. kir.

wä'riyo Yzh, 'wao sh rain. — Av. vāra-, Wkh. wūr, Khow. (lw.) wāru.

'wōrγo, °γiko Yg, 'warγiko f. zh, 'worgiko Mm, 'wərgika f. Z she-lamh, oue year old, "worth one rupee" (yak rupā šuda). — < \*warakā-. Cf. Sgl. wērak. V. wər'ya.</p>

wury Y (wūry g), Mg. (g), t, wurg m, Z, wurx M(sh), wurk, wərg G wolf. — Av. vəhrka-, cf. Sgl. wərk, Burushaski (lw.) urk.

wur'yär, v. vul'yör.

waryi'jin M(g) n. of a water-fowl, 'kālmiry'(?). — But cf. Wkh. s.v. 'kalmury.

woryiko, v. woryo.

war wadεn Yzh trouser-string. — Prob.
 < \*waγ-vadεn < \*warta-bandana-,</li>
 v. s.v. woγo. Cf. Sgl. well voğ.

wārwan Yg the Milky Way (?). V. 'pado. wār'waṇe Yzh, wòr'wān? sh, w?r° r, wor'wāne g a kind of wild, uneatable berries. Prob. a pl. form.

wər'ya Yzh, wo° g, wori'ā r, w.ı're (pl. wari'ān) sh, 'warē Grammoph., 'worya Mm, wəryoyo g, 'wərəy Z new-born male lamb. — Cf. wöryo and narworya, prasi'lane wa'rė.

wirž Yzh, r, Mt, wīrž Yzh, Mg, wurž m. Ysh, Mm, Z, yūrž Yg, wūrž G woollen thread. — < \*urḡzho·, cf. Sgl. wūrž, Yazgh. wuž, poss. Bal. gužg root (fibre). V. EVP. s.v. wuža.

wār (pl. 'wārè) Y, wōr Mm, g, (g) main roof-heam, 'tīr-e-kalān'. — Cf. Sgl. wāļ.
\*warta dissim. from \*wartra- 'protection'? V. wŏro.

'wāro Y, 'wōro Mm, 'a t summer; 'wōrā M(g), 'e ti early spring, 'awal-e-bahār'.

— < \*wāhṛt + ā, cf. EVP. s.v. wōṛai, and Par. Voc. s.v. 'xâra.

wor-um: wušč-um Yzh to knit, wo'r-om: wiš'č-om sh to weave (?). war-: wušk Z to stretch the warp on the loom.

— wušče he knitted. — Cf. Av. vart-to turn? Oss. ua'dart (reel on) spinning wheel with dissim. < \*wa(r)tavra-(bnt cf. Miller, Osset. § 3, 2!)?

wöro Y, wēro Mm, wēra f. Z, o'ra G tronsers; wero B clothes. — Cf. Sgl. wāl tronsers, Prs. garda leather breeches of a wrestler, Arm. vartik\*

trousers (v. Nyberg, MO. 25, 181), Orosh. tar-wēg belt, Psht.  $niw\bar{a}rai$  belt of a pair of breeches; perhaps from Ir.: Kati wīt, Waig.  $\delta t$  Kafir breeches. — Av. var- to cover.

'woryo Yzh, 'warga Z quail. — V. Z s.v. and EVP. s.v. nwaraz (de Morgan gives Psht. ourladza = \*(w)uraja), Phl. vartak, Prs. wardīj, walaj, etc.. Brahui bārū from Ir.? Cf. Ishk. worc.

wos Y, wes Z now, then. — wos isto ke then he said; to yār wos kū-ō? where is your friend now? wōs do sūγ δyəm r 'āli da kuċa mērum'. — V. EVP. ōs (s.v. ōsēdəl), and cf. Paikuli 'ws now. 'wo'sa Yzh, wa'sa sh, wo'so r, wa'si wide,

hroad, w.issa B loose. — Cf. Sgl. wa'sē. Cf. Av. vasē (adv.) unlimited, Prs. basē

wo'sorwo, wd'sərwo Yzh, wa° sh widow, nnmarried woman, wosoro B widow (er).
Prob. from Khow. we'soru, in its turn from Ir. \*βē-sar- (cf. Tomaschek. BB. 7, 199 and Morg. BSOS, VIII, 670).
V. bīwo.

wāst-əm: us'tā(y)-im Yzh, sh, : wustōy-əm M(g), wəst-: wustōy Z to place, leave behind. — Pres. 3 sg. wāst; pret. 3 sg. us'tāi 'mānd'; štāen us'tāim Yzh I pnt it helow. — Av. ava-stā- to place, put.

wis'to Y, wist G, LSIm: but bist Mm, g. (g), t, Z twenty. — Av. visaiti, cf. Sgl. wist, Wkh. wist.

wuš Ysh, g, r, Mm, Z, uš Yzh, ūš B, wiš Mt grass. — < Av. vāstra-, v. EVP. s.v. wāšə and cf. Sgl. (w)ūš, Wkh, wiš.

wūšč Yg morning; wišk M(g) it dawns, 'rōz mēšawa'. — Cf.:

: wuškyōi M(g) flew up, 'ba hawā raft', : uškyây-am Mm, wušk'-: wuškōy Z to rise. — < \*uštā- < \*ut-sthā-, ct. Par., Bal. ušt- to rise; Sogd. 'wšt- (Benv. JA. 223, 177). — Cf. Av. uštăna vital force: Skr. utthāna-, and v. Turner, BSOS, 5, 131.

wuškuj-: wuškujəy- Z to seek. — < \*uštunj-, cf. Skr.  $tu(\vec{n})$ - strike, push, etc. + ut-?

wuški-ostia Mm aukle, wrist. — Cf. ušk-mažiko.

wu šūles Mm cottou thread. — Cf. Wkh. wə'sai, Ishk. wōsi id. + loso (q.v.)? wušiyo Ysh, r, ušiyo zh, sh, uši'yō g hunger, hungry. — zo uši'yo kenem zh I am hungry, mo 'mara u° kit this man is hungry; wušiyo kər sh he hecame hungry. — From. \*wṛsītā(?), cf. Prs. gurs, etc.

wuši(y)aday Ysh, ušiyady zh, ušvoādiy Mm, (w)ušyåd(igå) Zhungry; (w)ušyð: (w)ušyðd. Z to become hungry. — no usiyādəm Ysh I am not hungry; zo wušiada'y-əm sh, zo ušiyady-əm zh I am hungry; mo ādam uši'yade, mai adame uši'yadet zh. — wušiyad. <br/>
•wysayanta- 'hungering' > 'having hecome hungry'? wušiyad- used as a secondary verbal stem. Cf. §§ 248, 259.

wo'xo Yzh, r, p, 'wòxo sh, 'woxo g, 'wāxo Mm, oa ti, waxa t, Z, wd'xa G rootfihre. — Cf. Prs. bēx, Psht. wēx, Shgh. wyäš, etc. V. § 152.

wa'xān Yzh tasteless. — From Khow. wēxāl < Ir. \*βē·xwāδ (BSOS, VIII, 670). 'woxroqī, ▼. waharay.

waxš- Yzh to grow (abont plants). —
woxše este it is growing; umēd asted
ke mən yōu waxšē I hope that my

barley will grow;  $y \delta u w u x \delta e$  the barley grew (?). — Av.  $v a x \delta \cdot$ .

wīya m. Y, Mm, Z, °o Mg, (g), t, ti long-leaved, wild willow. — 'yū 'wīya vī'o Mm. — Av. vaēti-, Ishk. wēd, Sak. bī, v. EVP. s.v. wala. — Cf. Oss. yēs, yīs brushwood, scruh; Saka bisu hush, tree < \*waitsa- (hut Skt. vetasa-). — V. a'wusto, čili'kyō.

woyouma, v. yāmo.

wu'zā-im Yzh, u'zā-im g, uzāiy-əm pf. r to he tired; u'zāy-əm: u'zāy-īm sh, u'zāy-am r, wu'zāy-am Mm, ūzaiya B to he left behind. — u'zēayam Ysh I am tired, u'zāiyet r you are tired. — Cf. Par. ūzeh- to be left behind, Oss. d. izayun to remain, Turf. NW. wyz-d left, Av. \*ava- (or vi-) zaya-. Cf. also Sgl. s.v. fərind.

wuzi'ā·um: wuzi'ēvd·um Yzh, wuzi'āv·Am: wuzi'avd·om sh, u'zīaw·r, :uziaud·um r, wu'zōv-am Mm, wzōw·: wzēvd Z to extinguish, to blow out a fire. — yūr uziaudum Yr I extinguished the fire; zo va yūra u'zī-aum; yūra u'zī-awa! r. — Cf. Yazg. ūzīw·: ūzōt intr., ū'zau·ū'zawd·tr., v. wuzyo, and cf. Z s.v. — Z compares Prs. wazīdan to hlow, but cf. Tarf. NW. wzwd (Mir.Man. III. 64), Saka buysuto extinguish.

wāzd Yzh, sh, wazda r, waz g, wōzd Mm, g fat (raw, of a recently killed animal). — V. EVP. s.v. wāzda, aud cf. Sgl. wōst, etc., Wanchi waz (Lentz), Yazgh. wūžd (Skold), and from W.Ir. Zaza vazd tallow. Kurd. baz. — Cf. Charpentier, KZ, 46, 25.

wŭz'd-um: wŭz'dā-im Yzh, sh, ūzd-əm: ūzda'ī-m g, 'wuzn- Mm. t, (g): wu'znāym, wūzn-: wuznōy Z, wūzn- G to wash (hands and clothes). — wuz'de 3 sg. Yzh, last ūzdəm g. — Cf. Wkh. wuzd and v. s.v. z<sup>2</sup>nay.

wuzyo Ysh extinguished. — yūr w° šūi 'āteš murd'. — Perf. ptc. of \*wuz-, intr. of wuziā-.

 $wa^{\prime}zir$  Yu vizier. —  $y\bar{u}$  wazir  $lu_{\gamma}do$  a vizier's daughter. — Prs.

wu'zīr Y, Mm, t, (g), u'zīr B, wu'zīr Z yesterday. — Cf. Zaza väzēr, wizyērī yesterday. Acc. to Tomaschek, BB. 7, p. 196 from \*zyō + ayar, bnt prob.
Av. uzayara (= uzīrah·) afternoon, cf. Oss. izār id.? V. izīko and Sgl. wəcə'rīn.

'wăziyä M(g) a large kind of pine, resin, 'wajiyo m pine.

wežnu Yzh garlic. - Khow. woz'nū.

### X

xā im: xāst əm Yzh to thresh. — xosto xāim. — Cf. Sgl. xūy: xūið, Or. xay: xūst, to thresh, Bakht. axū threshing, W.Oss. xvayun, E.Oss. xoin to crush with one's feet, är-xoin to thresh < \*xwah. Saka hvad to crush, Av. x-asta threshed (v. Bartholomae, Mir. Mnnd. II, 27 sq., who wrongly compares O.Engl. swaðu trodden path). xio Yzh (with post velar x) a fruithearing shruh growing in the hills (dar kōh ast, mēwa dārad).

xi āban Yu, in the Prs. formula x° bar x°, bi āban bar bi āban. — Prs. xiyābān flower-bed.

xūbun, v. xovun.

'xabar Ysh, u news, information. — x° lārəm 'šunīdam'; x° kər no ādaməf he proclaimed to the people; to doōf x° češ-ā? don't yon know anything

about them? zo  $x^{\circ}$   $\gamma wrum$  I get news ahout s.t. — Ar.-Prs.

xa'čir Yzh, ka° g mule. — Turki qacir, Psht. qačara, Bal. khačar, etc., but Prs. qātir.

xə dā(i) Ysh, xu° LSI God.— ba nām·i·x°; xə dāiyen 'bande the slave of God; a x° oh God.— Prs.

xud'ba Yzh, °ō sh wedding. — Ar.-Prs. xu.tba sermon, xitbat asking in marriage.

'xādem Yzh, 'xâdem sh haker, or distributor of food at a feast (baxš mēkina da tūi). — Ar. Prs. xādim servant.

 $x \in di^{\circ}ya$  Yzh play, game (Khow.  $i \notin tuk$ );  $x \land diya$  B to play. — Inf. of  $x \circ ud$ .

xoud-em Yzh, 'xod-əm sh, 'xwod-əm g,
'xōd-əm r: xadi-m Y, 'xad-am: xə'diyam Mm, t, xə'd-ām (t), xdd-: xddiy Z,
xad-: xadi-ya G to laugh. — Pres.
3 sg. xit Yzh. — Cf. Prs. xandidan,
Sgl. xānd-, Wkh. kānd-, and in Kafiri.
Ashk. kōn-, Kati kan-, etc.

xŏf Y, xaf Mm, Z scum, foam. — Cf. Sak. khavä, Sgl. xōf, Wkh. xep, Shgh. xīf (lw., but šāf 'drivel' is genuine); Oss. xāf 'pus'; Prs. kaf, v. Z s.v. 'xof-əm Y: xof-āi-m, 'xift-əm zh, 'xīft-əm sh, r. xēft-əm g, xaf-am. xift-am Mm, xɛf-əm (g), 'xof-am (t', xifta B to cough. — xof-m-ste Yg. — Cf. Sgl. xōfuk, Prs. xafa, xufa, Bakht. kufa-, Par. khūf-, Khow. (lw.) kap-, Oss. xufin.

xºfui Mm, x²fəi Z, xāpui Yzh congh. — 'xāpui 'dxfte it stnck to me(?), 'čāšpīda kat·i·mā' (?). — V, xof-.

xafa'bande Ysh tight-fitting necklace. —

\*Prs., cf. xafā strangling, choking.
'xafs-: 'xāvd Yzh, u, xāfs-: xōvd- M(g),

xafs: xāvd Z to descend, 'xambīdim', Khow. xwamiman. — da yū šăhər xavd(ət) he (they) alighted in a town (dar yak šahr xambīdan). — Cf. Z s.v., and Sgl. xav-, Sar. xāvs-, Wkh. xām-, etc. — Ir. \*xa(m)b'p- to bend, cnrve (Prs. xam(b) crooked, dome, etc., xamēz slightly curved, xabīdan to be crooked, etc.), and camb/p- (Prs. cām crooked, cāmbar circle, cāfta vaulted, curved, etc.). V. xap-.

xuftan Yzh, sh evening. - Prs.

xu'gor Y, kugor B sword. — From Khow. khun'gōr, etc., in its tnrn from Ir., cf. Sogd. xnγr. — V. BSOS, VIII, p. 668.

xūyo Yzh, g, r, xūyiko sh, 'xūgo Mm, xū'ya g, 'xūga f. Z, xū'ga G (acc. to Junker with unvoiced g) spring, fountain. — Cf. Wkh. kik, Orm. xāko, Av. xā. V. Xūyiko.

xāki Yzh, u earthen; greyish green, earthcoloured, xâ'ki G grey. — banda-i-xāki a human heing. — Prs. xōkova Mm first watering of the fields. — Cf. Shgh. xákâv. — Prs. \*xāk-āba? xa'lōu Mm, g. °ōw Z wet. — Prs. xalāb water mixed with mud.

xāl Ysh (not zh) taste. — From Khow.
xāl, in its tnrn from an Ir. dialect with l, cf. Prs. xiwāt, etc. V. BSOS.,
VIII, p. 670. — V. maza.

xãle,  $\partial$  Y empty. — Ar. Prs.  $xi^{\dagger}$ ãle Yp thought. — Ar. Prs.

xửl Y, xa'la G perspiration. — Cf. Wkh. xil, Sar. xaið, Yazgh. xwið (Sköld), Khow. (lw.) xēl, and EVP. s.v. xwala. xūlo Yzh, Mm, 'xulo Ysh, 'xūla f. Z, 'la G embroidered cap. — Cf. Psht. xōl, Prs. xōl, etc., Georg. lw. khudi cap.

xal'fān Yzh, xali'fān sh, °ōn Mm large skin bag for keeping flour; 'xalfuan Z large goat-skin bag for crossing a river. — If genuine, poss. from \*xarθβān < \*xwarθa-pāna- 'food-keeper'. Z compares Roshan. k'alwōr, etc., but this is not possible.</p>

xə'lăryo Yzh, sh, g wet clay, used for bnilding walls; mud, bog. — Cf. Prs. xard hlack, viscous clay (with dial. rd < rd\*), Shgh. šarθ, šartk wet clay. V. Xəlaryäi.

 $xa^il\tilde{a}s$  Ysh, u finished. —  $x^\circ$   $k^{\circ i}ret$  they finished it;  $x^\circ$   $\tilde{s}\tilde{u}i$  (the work) was finished;  $\tilde{z}i\eta kiko$   $x^\circ$   $\tilde{s}\tilde{u}i$  the woman got rid of them. — Ar. Prs.

'xulxadī Yp nettle. — Cf. xŭl? xăm Y, xōm Mm, g, Z raw. — Prs.

xōan: xōat· Yzh, xwōn: 'xwōt g, 'xōn 'xōt· sh, r, 'xan- 'xat· Mt, 'xar-am: 'xat·om m, 'xar-am: 'xat·am (g) to huy. — Pres. 3 sg. xit, 1 pl. max xō'nam Ysh, 3 pl. xōanet; Pret. 3 sg. xot zh. — xar- from Prs.; xōn·, etc. proh. from \*xarn- (with secondary rn, cf. § 133) < \*xran-, cf. Sgl. xərn-, Oss. ālxān- < \*xran- (scarcely \*xrin-). The explanation of the a- is douhtful. Cf. also Orm. §rin-, Zaza herin-, Turf. Phl., Sogd. xrin-, and v. Bartholomae, ZII, 4, 177 sqq. — xōt- < xōn- + t.

xun Yzh, g, r, Mm, g, t, B, xōn Ysh, xŏn m. Z raven. — Cf. Sgl. xarn, Yazgh. xworn, Wkh. (lw.?) xˇun. V. Notes on Shgh. s.v. xūrn < \*h(u)-warana- or \*k(u)-warana- (cf. Nep. kupankhi crow). Cf. also Ostyak varñai' crow, etc. (v. Jacohsohn. Arier u. Ugrofinnen, 36)?

 $\dot{x}\bar{u}no$  Yp lid of a wooden trongh. —

Cf. Prs. xwān covered table, spacious tray.

xana'daro Yzh, sh professional female baker. — Prs. xānadār house-keeper. xap Yzh, u silence. — xap ken zh be

silent; wo xap ker he kept silence; mo xap či kit? why is he silent (xaba či mēkina)? — Prs., cf. Sgl. xap.

xap· (xab·?) Yu to fell. — amboh pēžə xap fell much timber, 'bixambān'. — < \*xamb-, cf. xafs.

xāpui, v. xofui.

'xoro f. Y (xō° g), Mm, 'xərd g, 'xara Z, xa'ra G donkey. — Av. xara-, cf. Sgl. xōr, Wkh. xūr, etc. Reg. the genus, v. § 179.

| xo<sup>a</sup>r- Yzh, | xur- sh, xu'r-əm r, xor-um g: | xu'r-um, ->m Y, | xūr-um: xu'r-ām Mm, | xar-am: xū'r-ām t, | xōr-im (g), xar- Z, G: xur- Z to eat; xorovda B to feed. — no | adam na'yan | xut Yzh this man eats bread; va mun xut u; mōx na'yan xu'rəm sh; xorefeste you are eating; yo ādam (mən pūren) nayan xu'ro sh this man (my son) ate bread; xu'ret you ate; tə na'yen xuryet-a? sh have you eaten bread? no xu'rān na'yen češ sh there is no bread to eat. — Av. x~ar-, cf. Sgl. xuār-, etc.

'xuri Mm itching. — Cf. Sgl. xūr-, xurūš, Prs. xār. V. loxe, xārišć.

xn'rī Mm, 'xūrəya Z sister's son. — \*hwahriya-, cf. Sgl. xīr, Wkh. xariyōn, Shgh. xēr, v. EVP. s.v. xōr¹. V. nə'wīsa, vrai pūr.

 $xa^{\dagger}r\hat{a}b$  Mm lean. — Cf. Sgl.  $xar\bar{a}b(\varepsilon)$ , Wkh.  $xar\hat{a}b < Ar$ . Prs.  $xar\bar{a}b$  bad (cf. also Sköld, Mater., p. 89, n. 215 a). On the other hand Prs.  $l\bar{a}_{\gamma}ir$  'lean'

has acquired the meaning 'bad' in several Ir. dialects, and some Ir. words for 'good' originally mean 'fat, stout'.

xar'bəza Yzh, °o r, °büzo g, °bü'za G melon. — Prs.

\*xrrd-em: 'xrst-em Yzh, xir'd-Am: x³ ristəm sh, r, 'xərd-əm: 'xrist-əm g, 'xredəm: 'xrest-əm Mm to shave, scratch;
xrid-: xrist Z to comb. scratch.—
'xerdim Yzh I scratch myself; 'xirde'
3 sg.; wu'zīr va yāržo xristəyəm g
I have shaved my beard yesterday.
— \*xrint-: \*xrista-(cf. § 227), through
contamination of \*krt- and \*xri-(v.
EVP. s.v. xriyəl)? V. fxau, tuyd.

xu rīgo Mm, °d Z sister's daughter. <
•hwahriyakā-, cf. vrērigo and v. xurī.
xar'gūš Mm, g, (g), t, (sh), Z hare. —

Prs. V. sty.

'xǐryo Y, 'xīrgo Mm, 'ya g, ''ga G, x³ īrga f. Z water·mill. — xiryo ya'gytim Ysh 'šakīdim'. — Cf. Sgl. xu'ðāri, Wkh. xə'dōrg, Z s.v., and Notes on Shgh. s.v. xe'dârj. With hwatārakā- 'self-grinder', cf. Bal. watās 'self-fire' = pistol.

xởr'yũ Yzh, g, °yũi r a bird resembling a dove, but larger, Khow. gyu.x(?). — Can the name mean 'donkey-eared', cf. Prs. xargôš hare, etc.?

xir'yar, v. s.v. xursago.

xu rāk Ysh food. — yurd xº no xu rān she bought food to eat. — Prs.

xu'rom Yzh, p, xu'rum r, xu'ram Mm. xi ram (g) threshing floor. — xosto lyadəm da xu'rum Yr I threw the straw on the threshing-floor; x<sup>c</sup> d'rōim M(g) I threshed. — Cf. Sgl. xōr'mōn, Wkh. de'rām, ciramn (NB &-1), Sar. surum, Orosh. šī'rum, Shgh. xəlan'juk

(lw. < \*xəram-jak?), Par. kha'mör (< \*xamarn < \*xraman), Orm. ṣ̄ramənd, xarmanjāī (lw.), Prs. xirman(gāh); (cf. also Bal. khurmānī, Brahui xurrum grain-pit). Proh. from xram = Skr. kram- to step, tread, etc., cf. Khow. krom-, Kati kr'amto thresh (cf. Psht. yō-bal < \*gā(u)-pada- threshing), hnt with various phonetic aherrations.

xurom-fia Yzh, sh winnowing-stick.

xurmuyo Yzh, omuyo sh, xurmoyo g, xurdiko Mm pea (Taj. məjik, proh. = mušung Pisum sativnm), hnt acc. to Yzh = patek, Lathyrus sativus. — Prs. xurd + muyo, q.v.?

xirman-i-bi bāt Yu (in Prs. formula) threshing-floor.

xir-pul Yzh bare-footed. — Cf. Prs. xir bare-faced, impudent, etc., Brahui xer open gravelly ground, and polo.

xar-pəlang Mm a kind of leopard. —
\*Prs.?

xar'pūst Yzh a white mushroom, Bad.
Prs. pu'fuk. — Prs. \*xar-pōst on account of the greyish colour? V.
pufānek.

xərs Mm, xurs g, xirs (g), t, (sh), xərs, xòrs Z bear. — Prs. V. yarš.

xōris M(t) moraine, heap of stones; (g) pehhles, 'xāk'; ti pehbles, sand. — Cf.

Prs. xār(ă) a hard stone; but is?

xu'rüso Yzh n. of an animal resembling a fox, hnt larger, which attacks ihex'es, Cyon Alpinns Pallas? — < \*xrausā- 'crying' (Prs. xurōs. xurōh cock), cf. Sgl. xrēsag.

xursa'go Yzh, xirsa'go Mm, °gə g; xir'yar Yr millstone. — Cf. xĭryo and \*sago (= Prs. sang), yar; cf. Wkh. xədörg yar, °bort, Par. xēra'gir, (hut Oss. gar-guroine 'stone-quern', hand-mill).

'xārišē Yzh itching. — Prs. V. xuri.
xerišēe Yzh, xə° sh, xəršēə r, xešēə g,
xriš'kyiy Mm name of a small tree
growing in the hills, whose wood is
used for making axe-handles, 'xarišta';
xə'rista M(t) tamarisk. — But Prs.
xarišta an arched roof, etc.

xaršižn M packing-needle. — Acc. to Steingass xar — (e.g. in xar-amrūd) denotes the largest or coarsest of its kind. Cf. šinjo and v. juāl-dūz.

'xarvo Yzh hnt on a monntain pasture, Norw. "seter".

xa'ran Yzh mattress. — Khow. xa'lāng
mattress; Sar. 'khavung' (Bellow)
hedding?

<sup>1</sup>xöisk Mm small anvil(?), <sup>1</sup>xöyisk Z sledge-hammer. — Cf. Prs. xāyisk, Wkh. xeyisk, etc. sledge-hammer.

x<sup>9</sup>s mānek Yzh, r, and Burbunu (acc. to p), səx mānek Yp, səx mān g pelletbow. — Prob. < \*sangk(a)mānak, cf. Wkh. səm bōnak < \*sanbānak < \*sankmānak. V. § 137.</p>

xis mat Ysh service, work. — mon min x° korum I have done so much service (work). — Ar. Prs.

xu'sur Yzh, sh, Mm, xu'sur Yr, xu'sər g, xu'sır Mg, xu'sur Z father-in-law, husband's hrother. — Genuine, or from Prs.? Cf. Sgl. xo'sər, Wkh. x² sər, xurs. V. yūi.

x<sup>3</sup>sərb<sup>3</sup>rō Yr wife's brother. — Cf. Sgl. xusərb<sup>3</sup>rō, Par. xasur'bīra, Prs. xusarpūra, Brahui (lw.) xāspar < \*x\*asurapudra. V. rōwun.

'xāste Yzh, oti p straw, 'kāh', Khow. tuš.
— Cf. 'xosto.

xisto Yzh, cto sh unbaked dough. -

'xista kenèm zh I knead. — Borr. from Khow. 'xasta unbaked, leavened dough (Ir. lw.)? Cf. Sgl. xēste hread, Prs. xāsta risen, leavened (reg. the vowel cf. Taj. xēst — Prs. xāst). — Waziri xišt kneaded, Or. axīx: axīxt to knead, axēxc dongh, xōxc fresh dough (and Wkh. xec hread?) can scarcely be derived from \*xēsta- (v. Henning, ZII. 9, 179) on account of the meaning. Cf., perhaps, Av. hvaršta- well belahoured, which would also explain Or. x- instead of š-.

I thresh;  $x^{\circ}$  lyadam da xurum r I put the grain on the threshing floor.

— Cf.  $x\bar{a}$ , Av.  $x^{\circ}$  atta threshed.

xusto (f.?), Yzh, xäst sh, r, g, B wet.
— Cf. Wkh. žašć, xaić, Sar. xäst, Shgh. xest, Psht. xušt. With dissim. from Av. xšusta- liquid, moist; Sak. kşustä, etc. serum (Bailey).

xšī·im: 'xšī·im Yzh, x³'šī·m: x³'šī·m g, x³šī·iem: x³šī·im r, xšīy·em: xšī·im (or xšīo kərum) sh, 'xšīy·am Mm, xšī·ām (t), xšīy·: x³šīy Z, xšīy·əm G, xšiya B to weep. — Pres. 1 pl. xšīyem·esto, 2 pl. xšīəf·este, 3 pl. xšī'yet·ste Ysh. — Z compares Av. xšudra-; but cf. Sgl. šīð-, Ishk. šīnto weep, Sogd. 'yš'ywn, Phl. šēwan lament, Abdu šī'ven weeping, (Av. xšī· 'distress' is donbtful).

|xoš-m: 'xišċ-im, -m Y, 'xaš-m Mm, 'xəš-am t, 'xeš-am (g): 'xišky-m, -ām, -am m, t, (g), xaš-: xišk Z to pull, drag. — Pres. 3 sg. 'xoše; 'hāzer 'xišċim Yzh I sighed. — Cf. Sgl. xāš-, Wkh. xāṣ-, Yaghn. xaṣ-, Sogd. yrṣ- (Reichelt, Vimal. Sūtra, 155) to pull, Yazgh. xarax- to pnll, smoke,

Prs. farxašta dragged along the ground; bnt kašidan to pull, etc. V. § 132.

xu sõ Y, xu so Mm, ca g, xū sa Z, xū sa G mother-in-law.—<\*hwasrū-+-ā. Cf. Sgl. xoš, Wkh. xu x, etc., Prs. xusrū, etc.

 $x\bar{u}^{\dagger}$ 80 Mm,  $^{\dagger}x\bar{u}$ 8a ti ear of corn. — Prs. V. sor,  $y\bar{u}ya$ .

xušči Yzh, sh, °e LSIy, xuški Mm, 'xušk'əy Z, xuš'kvē G greater, elder, 'kalāntar'. — xušči'-e vrai Yzh, sh, xuški vrõi Mm; iž tõ xušče sh elder than yourself; žə xodīn xuščīen xismat ken serve one who is greater than yonrself. — Bailey suggests connection with Sogd. ywyštr master, Sak. hvästa- principal, first. Cf. also Oss. xistær, xestær elder, eldest, poss. from Av. hvõišta- best, greatest, eldest. But the vocalism is not clear. Cf. also Tedesco, BSL. 25, 53.

xuš'ko Yzh, 'xu' sh rice with lentils. — Prs. xuška boiled rice without butter. 'xaškən Mm, 'xaskən g, xaska G horsedung. — Cf. Psht. xaršin (Mohmand xrāš'nə, Wanetsi xarsina). The Mj. word is proh. influenced by yū-skən (q.v.).

 $x \tilde{s} i^{\dagger} l \epsilon n i \gamma o \text{ Yzh, } x^{3} \tilde{s} l \tilde{a}^{\circ} \text{ sh reed.} - {}^{\circ} l \epsilon n^{\circ}$   $< n \tilde{s} l, \text{ q.v.?}$ 

'xšēma G supper. — Cf. Sogd. xšām, etc. < Av. xšāfnya. Early lw.? Cf. § 96. V. šām.

xo'šān Ysh happy. — ādamė xo'šān šot.
— From Khow. xu'šān, in its turn from Ir. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 671. Benv., JA, 223, 242.

xo'šānē Ysh, xušānī LSIy pleasure, happiness. — x° kenēt they will make merry. x° kə'nēl. — Khow. xoša'nī. 'xšīra m. Yzh, g, Mm, Z, 'əxšīra Yr, 'xšīra sh, 'xšīro Mg, (g), ''ra G milk.

— Y-M agrees with W.Ir., while Shgh. has xūvd (< Av. xšvipta°), which is found all over Ir., and Sgl. xom, Wkh. zūrz are isolated. Psht., Par. and Orm. have retained the nsual Av. word payah. — V. xušuvd.

xšīr-kyesa Mm wooden milk-cup. — Cf. Prs. kāsa.

x³·šŏvo Yzh, g, °ivo sh, ²xšo'vo r, x³·šavo
Mm, x³·šāvɛ g, °ä (g), x³šava t, 'xšəvo
ti, 'xšawd f. Z, °iwa G night. —
xušo'vō tā mrx, xušo'vōyī mīx Ysh
by day and by night; no xšo'vō xšo'vo
ĉe žā don't call the night 'night'. —
Av. xšapā, Psht. špa, etc.

xušuvd Yzh, sh, g, xš° r, xušuvdo Mm, xšivdo g, xušivda t sweet. — < Av. xšvipta·(vant·)milk (v. EVP. s. v. šaudə), Sak, şvīdā cf. Ktesias σιπτα-χόρα n. of a tree which means γλυκύ, ήδύ (cf. Prs. šir-īn sweet). Prob. also connected with Prs. šiftan to trickle.

xəš(u)wān Yzh, xušuwan LSIy shepherd.
— Cf. Chr. Sogd. xwšp'n., and the Sak. transition of fš > kṣ in kṣundai husband and (acc. to Bailey) in kṣārma shame. — V. čupān.

ratā'i Ysh fault. — Ar. Prs.

xatra'löy Yp muddy, dirty water. — Cf. Khow. khatur id. (Lor.).

'xōvun Ysh, ^ən r, 'xūbun zh, ^ən u, °vən Mm, G, kūvan B, xūb(e) (Prs.?)
Yg sleep, dream. — xūben aγwoi Yg
I fell asleep; 'xubən 'liščim Yzh, xūbe liščem g; xūben lišč Yu; zə xūben wīnem-este vīo I have been seeing a dream; žə xōvən anga šuyəm r I woke from a dream. — Cf. Sgl. xōδm, etc. V. Benveniste BSL. 30, 75 sqq. (add Phl. Ps. 'xwmn sleepless'). Reg. v/b v. § 59.

xāwund Yzh master. — Prs.

xowi'za Yzh, 'xo' sh bug. — Cf. Prs. xazdūk, xawazdūk, xūzda, xabazdōk (acc. to Gr. Ir. Ph. I, 2, 6 from Aramean) beetle, scolopendra, chafe. V. Sgl. xa'məndək.

'xãxo Yzh, sh, p thistle. — \*xãra·xā, ef. Prs. xãr thorn?

xa'xāliċ Yp a sweet-smelling, greyish, composite flower.

'xeyo Yzh, p, g, 'xayo sh, r, 'xēyo Mm,
oa t, 'xeya g, 'xēya ti, 'xeya f. Z,
xe'ya G wall. — \*xatā-? Cf. Gabri
xada, Khow. xatan house, room (v.
BSOS, VIII, 660)?

xŏi (in sandhi also yoi) Y, xdy Z own.

— vo xoi vulo, zə'monəf liše Ysh he
saw his own wife, children; no xoi
pūrəf for my (own) sons; do xuoi
kyēi to his own house; wo 'yoi 'nām
lī'o, wo yoi 'pūrəf 'nām līo he gave
his own and his son's name; tu camin
vo xōi nəfs kene? what shall you do
about your own soul (: family)? vu to
xai vrai yurdum u. — Av. x \*atō, etc.

|xoyo Ysh self. — |xoyo ayōi-va he would have come himself; xōyo kū šūi? where did he go himself? wos na xa|yīn lə|zo kə|nīum now I let build a honse for myself; na xāin no xurān ceš there is nothing for him to eat; zə xoa|īn 'az xud'; na 'xāyī ki'o kīt he makes trouble for himself. — V. xoy.

xu'yê<sub>\cappe^no</sub> Yzh, xu'yā<sub>\cappe^no</sub> sh, xu'yā<sub>\cappe^no</sub>

Mm wife's or hnsband's sister. —

< \*hwahā-\cappa\alpha. Cf. Prs. x\barazana <
\*hvahā-\cappanik\bara, Par. x\barijinjek, Kurd.

xw\baraizin, Wkh. xuyun, Sar. xay\barain.

'xuzd-um: xuz'dāi-m Y, xuzd-um: xuz-dāy-əm Mm to send, dispatch, 'rahī kardan, mēfiristam'. — wo mən xuz-dāī 'māra rawān karda ast'; ādam xuzdum. Possibly < \*xwazn-, but no similar word traced in Ir.
xuz'būi Yzh, xə° r sweet smell. — x² lārəm, xuzbi nāyoiste 'būiš mēāya'. — Prs.

## X

xu mdne Yzh, xi monə g, r, xi sh, Grammophone, sumonna B male ihex.
Phonetically < \*(a) manaka (scarcely \*ā s), hut connection with Skr. ātmán- (cf. e.g. Ishk. jan war markhor, jāndār ram, etc.) is exceedingly problematic.</li>

xu roi Yzh, xu p, xp rōi g, xi roi Mm.
ci g, xr rāi (g), (sh), su rōi Yr, ξp sh, şi rai Mt, xi ray Z, xi G three.
xi rōi pūre Yr. — Av. ŷrāyō, etc. xira sāl Yzh three years ago.
xu roiwist Yr sixty.

xu'rox e: xu'roxt Yzh, xi'rxxi M(g) to shy; cf. kirax: kiraxvy Z to tremble?
yasp xu'roxt. - < \*xu'rox. <</li>
\*rav < \*rav, v. Nyberg, Hilfsbuch d. Phl. II, 199.</li>

xi rizen Yzh, r, xi rezen sh, xu ry uzen Mm, xir gy izen t, sirizen B the day before yesterday. — Tomaschek, BB, 7, 196 < \*\partial ri + azan; better < \*\partial ri a^c.
</p>

### Y

 $y\bar{a}$  Ysh.  $y\bar{o}$  Z or. —  $y\bar{a}$   $p\bar{u}^{\dagger}\bar{s}ak$   $\bar{s}k\bar{o}r$ ,  $y\bar{a}$   $na^{\dagger}\gamma\bar{o}n$   $\bar{s}k\bar{o}r$  send either clothes or food. — Prs.

yāi, v. is-.

yŏ Y, yd Mm, Z that, G this. — Gr. § 207.

you Yzh, you sh, you r, Mm grain (collective). — 'you val'bil kenəm Yr; və you rāš kerəm r I heaped up the grain. - Av. yava-, cf. Sgl. you, etc.  $y\bar{u}$  Yzh, r, p, Mg, t, Z, G,  $y\bar{u}$  Ysh, u, g, Mm one. — yū 'wulo; žə ašera'fīəf yu toroft she stole one of the goldcoins; wo yū mara this one man; da u šah Yu in a town; yū pādšā pūr . . ., ii wazīr luydo Ysh; yu čad miži Mm a few days, 'yak čand roz'; ž- $\tilde{c}$  Ysh from one. -< \* $\tilde{c}y<$  Av. aevo, ef. EVP. s.v. yau. Scarcely (Sitz.Heid, Ak, Wiss, Junker 1914, 22)  $< *aiú^a$ .

yūi Mm, yīy g husband's hrother, 'yūwar'.

— Poss, from \*yātah, a secondary masc. of \*yātā (Sgl. yūð) husband's hrothers wife. Bnt Kabul Prs. hēwar (Par. hīwar), Bad. yūwar points to an ancient form \*ēwar with unexplained loss of d-, from \*dēwar (cf. on the other hand Sgl. tēu, and v. Meillet, BSL, 30, CR, 90), and a secondary m. sg. \*aiwah (instead of \*(d)aiwā) might also have resulted in \*yū. Possibly a cross hetween the two stems. V. yūi-wulo and rowun.

 $y\tilde{a}^{\dagger}b\tilde{u}$  Yg pony. — Prs.

yöba Mm, ibia LSIm dance; yöb: yēby-Z to dance. — Cf. Wkh. yibyă very quick amhler (Sköld)?

yād Yzh, sh memory. — nāmən yâd astet zh I remember; yād kərum fto sh I remembered you. — Prs.

'yāde Yzh, sh, 'yādə g, p, id'γο(??) r, yō'diy Mm, 'yāndi ti, <sup>ο'</sup>diy g, <sup>ο'</sup>digy t, 'yandiy (t), yâ'dəy (f. 'yâdiga) Z, 'ɔ̄ey G blind. — mo 'mara ('zinkiko) 'yade Yzh this man (this woman) is blind; but yū 'mär 'yandiy, yū 'zinkika yan'diya M(t). — Av. anda-, Sogd. 'nt, etc., v. EVP. s.v. rūnd.

 $uu^{\dagger}d\bar{u}r$ , v.  $d\bar{\imath}r$ .

yof cirgiko Mm, yuvg m. Z arrow. — Av. išu-+? — V. pīž.

you'go Y flood. —  $y^{\circ}$  hawāz kīt zh the river roars. — Y g must represent Ir.  $\eta k/g$ . Prob.  $< *\bar{a}\beta a\eta g\bar{a} < Av$ .  $\bar{a}fant$ .  $(qv.) + k\bar{a}$ .

'youγo (yâu°) Y, °go Mm, °γa g. °γe ti, yōuγā (g), 'yōwga Z, yâu'ga G, yauγa LSIm, °oy water. — yâuγo tīm, loγoīm Yzh I bathe(d). — < \*āpakā-, cf. Wkh. yupk, Sgl. vēk, Zaza 'aukä.

 $y\bar{u}_{\gamma}$  Yzh, sh, r,  $y\sigma_{\gamma}$  g, Mm,  $yt_{\gamma}$  Z yoke.

— Prob. < \*yauga- (Prs.  $y\sigma_{\gamma}$ , Bal.  $j\sigma_{\gamma}$ ), not \*yuga-. Cf. Sgl.  $y\sigma_{\gamma}$ .

 $y\bar{u}_{\gamma o}$  Yu, 'y $\bar{u}go$  Z one (among several), 'yakī'. — wo y $\bar{u}_{\gamma en}$   $n\bar{a}m$  Z. viō the name of the one was Z. — Prob. from  $y\bar{u}$  one, not from \*y $\bar{u}tak\bar{a}$  separate, other (Shgh.  $y\bar{\imath}_{\gamma o}$ ). V.  $vuk^y ego$ .

'yēyən Yzh, 'yä' sh, g, r liver. — \*yaxnya-, cf. EVP. s.v. yīna (v. also Krause, KZ. 56, 304). With ji'gar (q.v.) cf. also Sak. qyaqarra-.

 $y\bar{u}\gamma'y\bar{a}mo$  Yzh,  $yu^{\circ}$  sh four days hence;  $y\bar{u}y\bar{a}mo$  Mm,  $woyo^{u}ma$  t,  $woy\bar{u}$   $y\bar{a}mo$  B the day after to-morrow;  $y\bar{u}yemo$  G to-morrow(?). — \* $y\bar{u}taka$ - separate (cf. Nyberg, Hilfsbuch, II, 249, and Par. Voc. s.v.  $z\hat{a}$ ) +  $y\bar{a}mo$ , q.v. — Cf.  $s\bar{u}\gamma y\bar{a}mo$ .

yəkta'ha Yg, yakla'i Z shirt. — Prs. yaktahı, Shgh. yektă ye (Lentz). \*yukyego Mm one (among several). — wo yukye'gin k'edo və zəmīn one of them dug in the earth. — Cf. yūγo. yāl Yr, yāli (pl.?) Mm, g mane. — Prs. V. čalo.

yelu Yzh stack of corn. — Cf. Wkh. yåð- to pile up?

'yīla Mm little.

yälko, v. yexko.

'yāmo Yzh, sh the day after to morrow (?); yāmo B, 'yämo Mm, youma t, yēm Z to-morrow; yāmo Yg, yē'ma G yesterday (?). — Cf. sĕγyāmo, yĕγyāmo and sa'bā, sa'ār.

 $y\bar{u}men\ddot{a}$  M(g) n. of a shrub, Khow.  $medr\bar{a}x$ (?).

'yana Yr husband's brother's wife. — Cf. Kab. Prs. yanga brother's wife? V. ixcogo, yūi-wulo.

yančilya M(g) lizard.

'yān-əm: yaqvi-'īm Yzh, yān-əm: ya'qī-m. vīr-əm g, 'yān-um: ya qyī-im sh. yân'gy-om: 'yūr-um Mm, 'yōn'gy-əm:  $y\bar{u}r$ -um t,  $y\bar{o}n'q'$ -:  $y\bar{e}n'q'$ - Z to grind. - Pres. sg.: yānīm. yāne, yeiky; pret. 3 sg. yaqi yo Yzh; xiryo ya'qyiim sh 'šakīdim'; yīrəm = polm kīrəm g.  $- < *ar-n\check{a} : *\bar{a}rta \cdot (*\bar{a} + rta \cdot);$  $y\ddot{a}g^{y}i$ -, etc. is a secondary formation from \*yant < \*arnita::  $y\bar{e}n'g'$  is formed from the pres. stem (v. § 243). Cf. Sgl. yūn-, Shgh. yān-: yūd- (cf. Z s.v.), Orm. hinl-, el-, Psht. anal; Or., etc.  $y\bar{e}\check{x}$ - from 3 sg.  $y\bar{e}\check{x}t$  (<\*yant, cf. kižt he does): pret. yūg- or yēžt-(from the pres.). Cf. also Bakht. ardan, Talish hore to grind; Gazi 3 sg. arue (Bailey). V. yare.

yār Ysh friend. — Prs.

 $^{1}yar{a}r\dot{e}$  Yzh assistance. —  $y^{\circ}$  dalım. — Prs.

yōruya, v. ararōy.

'yārmè Yzh, °ə sh, g foreleg, shoulderblade, °o p arm ahove the elhow.— Av. arəmō°, Wkh. yurm forearm, Sar. yaran (Biddulph) arm (or perhaps = yorn elbow?), Prs. arm arm from elbow to shoulder, Zaza ērmé, är¹mät, Talish ām shoulder; but Oss. arm hollow of the hand.

yursiliko Yzh, ouli ko sh shoe-string. —
yuro < Av. aodra-shoe + si'uliko,
poss. < \*losiko (v. loso) with assimilation of o to the preceding or
following vowel.

yarš Y, yerš B hear. — Av. arša-, Shgh. yūrž, etc. V. § 132. V. xərs.

yeršio Yzh. yar šīo sh. r. yārši yō g, yeršiyo B barley. — Connected with Sgl. vərvəs, urwəs, Psht. ōrbašē, worbus, arbasi, etc., Sak. rrusā-, but the original form is uncertain. \*arpasyā-? V. aršəmin.

yurv Mm, yırv g, (ti), yırv t, (g), yirv Z, G mouth.

yarya Yzh delay. — y² kəret you came too late.

'yurzon Yzh, sh, 'yūrzən g, r, Mm, g, ti, Z, °rn Mt, (g) millet, Panicum miliaceum. — < \*(h)ārzana-. Cf. Wkh. yīrzn, Sgl. wuždān, Psht. ždan, Wanetsi ēždən, Par. ârzən, Orm. a'zan, Kurd. harzin, Prs. arzan, Sak. ĕysü (<\*alysana) Bakht. halum (with Prs. l and -um from ganum), and (acc. to Bailey) Prs. alum, Phl. (Bund.) 'lum. V. AO. 7, 200. — Cf. γavarso. V. arzəmin. The resemblance to Greek ἔλυμος (cf. Geiger, BSOS, VIII, 548) is proh. accidental.

'yurzuγo Yzh crushing stone in a handmill (yežio); 'yurzəγo sh, yurzγo g, yurzγo r, yūriko Mm hand mill for 18 — Kulturforskning. grinding snuff, Khow. purduγuču. — yñr- < \*yaψra-? Cf. Sar. yār-γačāk (Bellew) handmill?

yaržo Y, yoʻ Mm, 'yŏržâ g, t. 'a g'. tı, 'yorža Z, yårža G heard. — With metathesis from \*raiža- < \*raišā-, Prs. rēš, etc. Cf. Psht. žīra < \*rūža. 'yārė Yzh, 'o sh, g. r, yō'rıy Mm, yā' g, yāri (g), yō'rəy Z flour. — yʻ kenem Yr,  $\gamma$ admī y' g — < \*ārtaka-  $(=\bar{a}+r\cdot)$ , cf. Psht. ōrə. etc. — But Psht. wur 'small' < \*rta-, Prs. xurd < \*hw rta-.

yūr Yzh, sh, r, LSIy, yūra Yg, p, yūr Mm, g, (g', ti, Z, G fire. — zə va yūra uzīavum (žaftum) Yg I extinguish (kindle) the fire. — Y r points to \*ārt (cf. Par. âr and Sogd. 'rδ, v. Reichelt, ZII. 4, 247', with metathesis from the unstable Av. stem ātr- (a cross hetween ātar- and āθr.).

uiskių, v. iščīn.

yasp Y (yāsp sh), yŏsp Mm, g. 'g, Z, yåsp G horse. — yaspē Yr pl.; yaspē yazərdət sh 'aspara davāndan'; vo yaspə palān žiō he saddled the horse; sko yā yasp pādšā pūr suvār šūi the prince mounted one horse. — Av. aspa-, Wkh. yaš, etc.

yaspa Yzh, g small yellow and white locust. — Deminutive of yasp? Cf. Ital. cavalletta, Germ. Henpferdchen id., and (acc. to Lidén) Swed. diall. of Finland hästmöra 'large ant', etc. yuspən, v. rispen.

'yaste Yzh, sh, °ə g, r, yōstiy Mm. ya g, 'yasti ti. ydstəy, yos tīy Z, yās tēy G bone. — < \*astika-, cf. Sgl. ostōk. Sogd. 'stk, Wkh. yašč, Prs. ast, etc. 'yıston Mg, yistön m. Z, -ân G felt. — < \*wi-starana-? V. livzīn, 'nāmyo. yu'saxo Yzh one year old. — Cf. loh-saxo.

yăšk Y, yošk Mm, g, ti, Z, G tear. — \*asruka-, cf. Sgl. āṣīk, Wkh. yaṣ̃k. 'yŏvurso Yzh, r, yŏ° sh, 'yoūso r, 'yavurso Mm, 'yəvursa ti, 'yewursā (g) a kind of juniper, arča. — Av. hapərəsī-, cf. Ar. Prs. awiras, v. NTS. I, 46, V. 40.

yūvərsən Mm, t, ti, oarsın (g) upper part of the door-frame. — \*upara-sayana-? V. alarsıne.

yuvazgo Mm plough-wedge, fâna.

yūi-wu'lo Mm, yīy-wula g husband's brother's wife, 'yanga'.

yu'wan.em: yu'wat.em Yzh, yuwo'n.am: yuwo't.am sh, ī'wön.əm: ī'wot.əm r, yu'wən.əm: yu wət.əm Mt, yu'wen.əm: (wi'yet.um) m to loosen, untie. — V. wien.

yūwistolos Yzh, sh, r, °2los g thirty. yu¹wīz Yzh, sh bit, double bridle. — Khow. iwīs.

yox Ysh, B, yax Z, G cold. — no yox \*\*sto he did not say it was cold. — Prs.

'yaxio Y (sh also yā°), °iyo Mm, yäxiya g, 'yōxiä (g), yēxya, yēx° Z ashes. — yāxio xuṛṛet-ā? Ysh have you eaten ashes? — With Z < \*āϑ(r)yā· (v. § -1). Av. ātrya·, Shgh. ϑīr, Or. aϑēr, cf. also Psht. īrē, Sgl. wuter. Sogd. "š'y (Prs. xaz-īr ashes beneath which are latent sparks)? But why x? Cf. yexio.

yūx s-am: yūx t am Yzh, g, 'yuxs-am. yuxt-am Mm, wuksa B to learn. — Cf. Sogd. y;ws- to learn, Wkh. yežk, Sar. ižman learning, Sak. ñuska 'ac customed' (\*ni-yučaka', añuta 'unaccustomed' (Bailey. BSOS, VIII, 13 < \*ni-yang-, but j + k not > sk).
V. Meillet, BSL, 23, 76; Markwart,
Ungar. Jahrb. 7, 98; Lommel, Or.
Stud. Pavry, 285. — Cf. Sgl. apaxš-.
yaxsəriy, v. laxsıre.

yežio Yzh, yežo sh, yežo g, r, yožo Mm small handmill (for crushing salt in, Yzh), zəγərki, dašū(?). — \*yūθryū-, v. yur-zuγo (cf. § 101)?

yēxio Yzh, 'yaxo, yaxiko Mm, 'yexika g, yēx f. Z nest. — Cf. Shgh. yēθ, Or. yōθ, Wkh. yōθ(t), Ishk. yēča, etc. (v. Z s.v.). < \*(y)āθyā-< \*ā-haðyā-? Prs. āšyān(a), Phl. 'hy'ng (Mir. Manich. III, 48), Keshe huyā'ne, etc. — Cf. ag¹mīn·yēx.</li>

yěxko Yzh, g, r, yè° sh, yeško LSIy, 'yälko Mm, 'yēlka g, °ä (g), yelko LSIm duck. — yex- might be derived from \*ādy·, cf. Skr. ātī-, but M yül-? ye'ya Y, 'yeya Mm, °o g, 'yāya m. Z, yēya G bridge. — Av. haētu-, cf. Sgl. yōtuk, etc. V. § 175.

'yūya Mt, (g) ear of wheat. — \*(h)auša·ka·, cf. Prs. ασέα, Psht. wažai. V. εσ·, αυšσ.

'yŏzda Mg, (g), t, (sh), o'da Z, G eleven.
— Prs.

### Z

zo Y, Mm, zd Z, za G, ze LSIm I. — V. § 204. — B's zo 'that' (rel.) is due to a false analysis of one of his sentences.

zőbo, v. zőmbå.

zibi'jim Yzh, °im earthqnake. — < \*zambīnjum < Prs. zamīnjumb (also Shgh.), Brahui (lw.) zimijumb; cf. Sgl. zīle žem, Wkh. (Bellew) zalanjum (infl. by zalzala, Sar. zmādjunj.

- |zifkyän Yzh, |zəfkyin p rolling-pin. |zīgaki(pl.?) Yp side-plank of the spinningwheel. V. Ill. Cf. zīk.
- $z\tilde{a}\gamma o$  Y, Mm,  $z\hat{a}\gamma a$  Mg,  $z\tilde{a}\gamma a$  Z erow,  $z\bar{a}\gamma$ . Prs.
- $zx^{\dagger}\gamma e\text{-}um$ :  $zx^{\dagger}\gamma vvd\text{-}um$  Yzh,  $zx^{\dagger}\gamma iv$  um:  $zx^{\dagger}\gamma ivd\text{-}am$  Mg to twist;  $z^{3}\gamma iw\text{-}:z^{3}\gamma ivd$  Z to rub, grate. Cf.  $\gamma iw\text{-}+*uz$ .
- zuy-um: zuyd-um Yg to pour out. yauya da zu'yum (drīm) I pour the water (into a wooden bowl?!) Yr.
- zə'γἄ(v): um: zə'γuvd-um Y to walk about, fly, 'gaštan', zə'γūi Mm flies, zoywa walk, zoγurdum I walked LSIy.— zyūa as! Ysh come quick; tra auā zyū·stə g he is flying through the air; 3 pl. zyūät.— \*uz·gaub'p·??— V. čəγū·.
- z<sup>3</sup>γal-3m: z<sup>3</sup>γast 3m Ysh to run away (from a wild animal). Av. zgad·, to flow, fly away; cf. Sgl. zīδ·: zust to flow, Psht. zγal·: zγast· to run away, Sak. haysgasta "gegangen" (Leumann, Lehrgedicht, VI, 101, vaysgad-to dismount.
- zoyno, v. za nax-.
- z<sup>9</sup>γοriy(·am) Mm, °γir<sup>2</sup> Z, zəxəri ya (; zeγerge LSIm thirsty. — \*uz·garaka·, cf. Psht. γārai glutton, Prs. žard gluttony, etc.
- zahar Yzh, g, Mm, zār (g), G poison. Prs. V. sankiyo, žaro.
- zīk Y, zūk Mm, Z, G, zīng Mg. (g), t, °k ti knee. — zīken pərrežina sh the knee-cap. \*zānu ka-, ef. Sgl., Wanetsi zūng but Kurd. hiźnī etc. < žnu-).</p>
- zzl Yzh, r, zel sh, ze'la g, zuly Mm, zzlgy g, (g), zzly t, zi'l ti, (dəl Z) heart. mən trə zzl astet Yzh, r I remember; tro zzl č-ayōi I did not

- remember. Prob. < \*zydya-, v. EVP. s.v. zya.
- zūl Yzh, sh difficult, violent, 'zōr'; B strong; zūlâwar G strong. Prs. (with l from zulm?.
- za'mai Yzh. zā'măi sh, g, 'öi r. za'mōi Mm, g, (g) son-in-law, sister's husband, za'mây G sister's husband. Av. zāmātar-, etc.
- zō m·om: zō māi·m Yzh to yawn. From Khow. zomēik, in its turn from Ir. (v. BSOS, VIII, 662). Cf. Oss. zæmbin.
- zōmbo Mg, t, °ä (g), °a ti, zōbo m gums. -Cf. Psht. zāma jaw, Wan. "zánmbae", Skr. jambha- (v. AO. II, 280); Sogd. zmb, Or. zimb river bank, side?
- zə'mīn Mm, za° G, B earth. k'ēdo və zəmīn Mm he dug in the earth. Prs.
- zə mön Y, Mm, zuman LSIy child. wo xoi zə monəf lišē sh he saw his own children; zəmön paidāī a child was born; jinko z paidā kīt r the woman bears a child. Cf. EVP, s.v. zōwul.
- zəmo'nak Ysh a small child. mun zo əu mun wulo my child and my wife.

  no mən zo-əf; mun zumana'ken obl.

   Cf. Sgl, zəma'nök. V. zə'mön.
- zə margire M(sh), °gədə t small, yellow animal, resembling a mouse, 'zaman gira'; z³ mārgira 'g', z³ gārmyo g yellow, large lizard(?). Cf. Av. zamarə-guz- hiding in the ground. Or. zīmār earth, ground (Lentz).
- zəmī stān Yzh, sh, zəme<sup>2</sup> g. zīmī stön r, zamī Z, zəmi stân Mm, g. t winter. — Prs.
- zinr'o Yzh, zeni o sh. zin yo g, ze° r, ze'niyo Mm. 'iya g, zi'niya 'g`, zə niya Z daughter in law, brother's wife.

zanī'ya G husbaud's brother(?!). — äi zə'nī pl. sh; zəni'ef, zi'nīef pıstet the daughters-in-law asked. — \*snušū-, ef. Wkh. sıtəx, Sgl. wuz'nel, Shgh. zenay, Sar. 'zinull'.

(i)zi āne Yzh, zi ān g, r early afternoon, pēšīn. — < \*uz-ayana-, Av. uz-ayara- or < Av. uzayeirina- (v. § 133). V. wuzīr.

zīn Yr, Mm, g, t, Z, G saddle. — Prs. V. pa'lan.

zīndo Y, Mm, g alive. — amax tad z° vīi Ysh if our father were alive. — Prs.

zə nay əm: zəna i-m Yzh, zə nay .m. zə'nāi·m sh, zəney-äm r: zə'nāi·m g, M(t), wu znāy m Mm to bathe, swim. - Av. snaya-: snāta-, cf. Sgl. zənē-, Shgh. zenē- (q.v.), Par. sunī-, Sogd. sn'y-, Oss. nain. - wuzd-, wuzn- (q.v.) 'to wash' < \*awa-snā- (with shortening in compound), Skr. ava-snāpaya, to wash; cf. Or. wez dao to swim (?). Wkh. wuzd- to wash, pres. 1 sg. wēzdeyum, 3 sg. wīzdēšt (Sköld) has been influenced by  $d\bar{e}$ -m,  $d\bar{e}$  if (q.v.). Note also Oss. nain to bathe, but exsin (W. Oss. exsnun: exsnad) to wash; Prs. šinā(h) swimming, but šunān, ušnān a herb with which they wash clothes.

zan'gar Yzh, zang Z rust. — Prs. zang(ār).
zopė Yzh, zōpə sh, r clothes, quilt, 'bistara',
Khow. zap. — zōpə āydəm Yr I put
on clothes, zōpə līo sh, zopef ohl. pl.
LSIm.

zör Yzh, sh old (about a person), f.

zöro zh. — Cf. Prs. zar old man.
Ysh zöļ < Prs. zāl? Cf. B zoriko
old womau.

za'rūr Ysh necessary. — na maf ce zarūr? na max z° šūi, kə... — Ar.-Prs.

za'rūri Ysh necessity. — no xoi zarūrien ont of (my) own necessity. — Ar.-Prs.

'zariškyo Mm, zārviškyika g spider. — Av. \*zairi-pərəšti- 'yellow-back'?

zīt Yzh, sh, Mm, g, ti, Z, G, zito (f.?)
Yr yellow. — Av. zairita-, cf. Par.
zītō (v. § 125), Shgh. zīvd, Wkh. zart,
Sgl. zāļ. V. azito.

z<sup>3</sup>'vī<sub>Y</sub> Yzh, p, Mt, ti, (g), ze<sup>5</sup> g, zr'bē<sub>Y</sub> Ysh, z<sup>3</sup> g, ze<sup>i</sup>rī<sub>Y</sub>(??) r, z<sup>3</sup>'vũ Mm, Z, G, zev(?) LSIm tongue. — \*hizwāka-, cf. Sgl. zevũk, Yazgh. z<sup>3</sup>'vēg (Sköld), Wkh. zīk. Cf. §§ 107, 181.

ze'viryo Yzh, zə r, zi b sh, 'vəzvurgo Mm, 'vizvirya g, 'vəzvirya t, 'd (g), 'vīzvirya ti, vēzvul ga Z birch, 'haft-pōst' (Yzh birch-bark). — Y zev' < M vəzv', dissimilated from \*vərzvurgo, cf. Shgh. vēyzn (v. Z s.v.), Tajiki burz, birk (< \*birzk?); Par. bhīn tree. V. also Sgl. bərež, Wkh. furz s.vv. — \*byza-wārakā- (with v < w after z, cf. § 107), or 'pāðrakā- "birch bark"?

zäxči'din Yzh kettle. — Cf. Khow. ċi din, Ishk. čudan kettle; Prs. ċūdan cast metal.

zaxm Yzh, r, G, zaxmə Ysh, g, zoxm Mm wound. — Prs.

zax'mo Yzh, B, Mm, zə<sup>2</sup> Yp, zax'mə Mg, 'za<sup>2</sup> Z field. — Obl. pl. zaxmaf LSIm. — \*zamaxā-, cf. W.Oss. zūnxā. zāxko Yzh child-bearing. — žinko z<sup>2</sup> šūi 'zan baća karda'. — Av. za $\vartheta a + k\bar{a}$ , cf. Sak. ysamtha birth, Prs. zahk first milk after parturition, zahdān womb. — V. pēzaže, vēzaže.

zīy: zūy- Z to bear a child. — Av. zaya-. V. prške-zė.

# $\check{Z}$ , $(\check{J})$

ž-: 'št- Y, žāy-əm: št-vm Mm, 'žōy-am: št-ām t, žōy-: 'št- Z, žây-: šta G to say, speak. — Pres. 1 sg. žam Yzh, žəm sh, r, žom g; 2 sg. tu ču žuā' zh what do you say? tə če žūi sh don't say, 'na gu'; 3 sg. žut zh; 1 pl. max žam; 2 pl. maf či žaf 3 pl. žɛt; imper. 2 sg. žā; pret. 1 sg. 'štim zh, 'štəm r, štum, žīm g, na to 'štom sh; 3 sg. 'št'(y)ō; 3 pl. 'št'(y)ot sh; pf. 'štəyəm r. — \*jat-: jasta-, cf. Goth. qiþan, etc. V. NTS. VII, 116 ff.

že, žo, žo Y, Mm, ža Z from. — žo xoāīn sh, 'az xud'; ži dalen from below; žo lurayan 'az dūr', žim kyeyen from this house; žoi from one; yo amūno že pūren astet r this apple belongs to the son. — Av. hača. V. § 50. jūi Mm, jēi (g), jōy Z place. — jēi kinam M(g) I hide (a thing). — Prs.

ži Ysh still(?); ži, ji Z but, also. — wos wa šūi no tat kyēinā, da kyēi žū formīā? has she now gone to her father's house, or(?) may she be at home? — Av. čōiţ? Bailey compares Kashan diall. ji 'ham' (Zhuk.).

žio Y, jiiko Mm, °a g bow-string (Ysh thin string for a pellet-bow, v. suy).
Av. jyā, Wkh. jəi, Sgl. zē. Psht. žaī.

žōi Yzh, sh lake. — Khow. žōi irrigation-

channel (< Prs.  $j\bar{o}y^2$ ) does not fit the meaning. Poss. < Av. zrayah.  $\bar{z}\bar{u}u$  Yzh,  $z\bar{u}$  sh,  $z\bar{u}g$  leather for shoes.  $x\bar{a}m$ , Khow.  $\gamma\partial\bar{c}\bar{u}$ . — \*jauka. < \* $g^{\mu}eu$ . (a base theoretically expected in the loc. sg., etc.)?? Cf. Skr. go., Kalasha gao 'leather'?

jū-, v. čū-.

žib-: ži·bī- Y to rise, juba B to stand, jibīm awake, — ži bām zh, ¬əm r, g, zibam sh; imper. žib; pret. žibīm; wōs žibe tar ōyem now I rise and go. — \*jimp/b- to bend (upwards), v. W.P. I. 545??

žwáb Yzh answer. — zo 'nā to žo 'dalım. — Ar.-Prs.

žaf-um: žaft-um Yzh, g to chew, masticate; to light a fire; jaf-um: jaft-um r to embrace, 'čašpānum'.—žafum-ste Yg, yūra žaftam g 'āteša kardam'.— With žaf- cf. Prs. žāuvīdan to masticate, Psht. žōuul; jaf- may be a separate verb connected with Prs. jafsīdan (= čafs°, časp°) to stick, adhere. Then, again, there is jōf-: jēft Z, jēft LSIm to send, command. \*jafā-, in və lažīno žafa'ū Yu put fire to the wood-pile.— Cf. žaf-.

jift Yzh pair, LSIy united. — Prs. ji'gar Mm, g, (g), t, Z, j̄ə G, žiger B liver. — Prs. V. yēγən.

žiga<sup>1</sup>ren Ysh light brown. — Cf. Prs., Wkh. jigari.

½aγa Yu place, spot. — da žaγa šūi he came to a place; mo ča mīn ½aγa from where is he? — Khow. (Ir. lw.).

žōγ Y, žoγ Mm cloak, female dress, žeγ LSIm clothes. — žōγ aγdəm; cf. ustur žoγo.

 $\bar{z}\partial_{\gamma}\bar{u}rg$  Z crop of a bird. — V. Z s.v. and cf. Prs.  $\bar{z}\bar{a}\gamma ar$ ,  $j^{\circ}$ ;  $z\bar{a}\gamma ar$ ,  ${^{\circ}}ur$ .

žu'yus kur'mo Yg scorpion.

za'hānd Ysh, r, jə hānd r, jo'hōn Mm, (g), ja° Z, jahān B very, much. j° brland Yr very high, j° ādame many men; ž° sāl sh many years; j° rūpāyo Mm many rupees. — From Prs. jahān world?

 $\check{z}u^{\dagger}k\bar{u}$  Yzh, sh,  ${}^{\imath}\check{s}k\bar{u}$ ,  $\check{s}\check{s}k\bar{u}$  Z whence? — yo mara  $\check{z}^{u}k\bar{u}$ ? tu  $\check{z}^{u}{}^{\dagger}k\bar{u}$   $\check{s}\bar{u}^{\dagger}\check{\imath}$ . — V.  $\check{z}e$  and  $k\bar{u}$ .

jikyä M(g) n. of a water-fowl. — Cf. žingo.

žil Yg blanket. — Khow. žil, Wkh., etc. jil. But Prs. zīlū, zailū a kind of woollen blanket.

Žilo Yzh hail. — Possibly genuine, cf. Prs. žāla (v. AO. I, 266). V. mōyiki, žâlabârân.

žâlabâ'rân Mm hailstorm. — \*Prs.
juāl'dūz Yzh large packing-needle. — Prs.
jaləγ Mm saddle-covering.

žime žime žime ži-m, žimeži-m Yzh to pull up weeds.

žen Yzh, sh, žən g, jen r bed. — Khow.  $\check{z}\bar{\epsilon}n$ .

ju ana Mm, ayo g, (g), juwo na Z male calf, 1—2 years old. — Cf. Wkh. ju ana, Sgl. juwa \*Prs., cf. Arm. yavanak young of an animal.

žān dār Ysh animal. — yo ces-min z°?.
 — Prs., cf. Kbow. žāndār bird, Sgl. ram.

žuna'ye Yzh, 'yə r, zu'no sh, zingyigo M(g), 'zingyoyo ti, zungey LSIm small boy. — \*a-jarnaka-, ef. Psht. zanai, žanai? But z?

žena yeri Yzh giddy. — Khow.

žen-paliko Yzh foot of a bed.

žina zo Ysh bier. Ar.-Prs. jināza.

žang Yzh, sb war, fight. — zan kenem = dufim. — Prs. 'žangal Yzh, g, u (corr. by zh into kyssina).

ogal sh, jängäl r, jön'gul Mm forest.

no žangalen šut they went into the forest. — Prs.

'žinko Yzh, °ko sh, r, °go g, p, 'žĭnko Mm, °a g, °a (g), žinka Z woman.

— jinko zəmön paidā kīt Yr the woman bears a child; žinko zäxko šūi zh; wov loh žinkəf avezdo u be brought the two women. — Av. jaini· + kā.

<sup>1</sup>zinkiko Y, <sup>o</sup>iga Z woman, wife. — zinkiko
 <sup>i</sup>štyo sh the woman said; zinkiki <sup>i</sup>štyo.
 — Demin. of zinko.

<sup>\*</sup>zaro Yzh poison. — \*jaϑrā-, cf. Prs. zahr, and Khow. z̄ār (from Ir., v. BSOS, VIII, 660).

ža¹rā-um to bear, endure, Khow. žirēiman.
žer Yzh, u surrounding. — žer nižam
zh I snrround; ¹stāri po fiz žer šut
the stars surrounded his face. — Cf.
Khow. jer in a row?

'žirabe Yzh, °ð g, jura'bð r, že'rāb sh stockings. — yū ż° zh. — Prs. jurāb, and Khow. (lw.) žarāb.

ži rīy-əm: žir zā-im Yzh to scream, Khow. žir yoik. — Cf. Prs. ža zār cry, clamour? Khow. žir zēik, etc. from Y?

žir<sup>i</sup>mäle (pl.) Yzh, žilmäl p kernel. — Cf. Khow. žol kernel?

žor žo Yzh, žor'žo sh, g, r, zar'žo Mm, zarža g, jōrjo B partridge; zōrzo B bird. — \*zariči-, cf. Ishk. ujirj, Prs. zarič, v. EVP. s.v. zarka.

jausa'ren Yzh, jau'szē sh at daybreak. živde'raus Mm bat. — Cf. žib- to rise, (fly?) and raūso(s.v. rūso)? V. ləverzəya rūso, šäbparakilay.

ju wān Yzh yonng; žữwān sh, jewân G youtb, young man. — žūwān vīo; žuwānen išto, lie no žuwānen. — Prs. ju wāri Yzh, r, °e sh, ju ār∂ g. jo wári Mm jowar. — Ind.

ŽÑ y-am· žũ yĩ-m Yzh, sh, žũy-im r, žũum g, ¹žĩy-əm: žĩ'y-um Mm, ¹žĩy-am. ¹žĩy-am t, žĩy-: žĩy Z to sew. — žũyum viō g plpf.; žũya baš sh 'ba dūxtan'. — \*uz-(h)yū-, cf. Skr. ut-syūta- sewed np? \*žezi, in šita žezikan Yr hamstring. ja'zir Yzh ruin. — Khow. jazir ruin, from Ar.-Prs. jasr slaughtering, decreasing?

ža žīro Yzh, ja jiro p, zā jiro Mm, za jīra Z chain. — Y < Khow. jan jēr (cf. Shgh. jin jū, Skold), M from Pis. zan jīr.

## List of Names.

Iday, v. Yida.

 $I_{\gamma} dak$  Yr,  $I_{\gamma} d\tilde{a}k$  Mt, Yu $_{\gamma} d\tilde{a}k$  m, (g) vill. in Mnnjan.

Imir'dino Yzh, Imurjin u (Taj. form) vill. in Lutkoh. Khow. Imirdin.

Undu'stān Yr 'Hindostan'.
Injigān Yzh = Idγεf 'the Yidgha speaking part of Lutkuh'; Sköld Indijāni = Minjānī(?) Taj. form of \*Indio-Anju'mān Ysh, °an r. 'Ajuməno Mm the Anjuman Pass.

Apeä yo Yn vill. in Bashgal (Bragamatal), Kati Apsei.

Ar'cū Y the Artsu Pass (leading from the top of the Lutkoh valley into the Bashgal valley).

Oryo'čo Ysh Orghuch iu Chitral.

Triko Yn vill. in Bakhshir, Owirik.

Ir ζογ Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Yorjogh.

Ajuməno, v. Anju'mān.

Ar ζiiko Yn vill. in Lntkoh.

Trak Yzh vill. in Lntkoh.

Iskutul Ysh, Skutul u Iskntnl in Sanglech.
Avyato Yzh, u vill. iu Lutkoh. Khow.
Uzuti,

Ov'xizo Yp n. of a place in Parabek (Lntkoh).

I wim, v. Yu wim. Īž Yzh, Iž u vill. in Bakhshir, Izh. 'Eyar Yu Shah-i-Sidim, at the foot of the Dorah Pass; acc. to zh I° is the name of the big rock (the 'Snakestone'), not of the hot spring at Shah-i-Sidim.

Badax'šān Ysh, r Badakhshan; B° γεν zh the Dorah Pass.

Bəγušt Yn vill. in Bakhshir (Bogosht. <\*Ba'gašita-, cf. Baxšīr?

Burbu nū Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Burbunu.

Bre<sup>1</sup>γεyo Yzh, Bra<sup>o</sup> u, Bra<sup>1</sup>γayo r Munjan. V. BSOS VI, 439 sqq.

Bir'zin Yzh, By'zzn u vill, in Lutkoh, Khow. Bi'arzin (< Ir. \*wyzana ?). Bāš'kār Ysh Bashgal,

Bax sīr Yu vill. in Bakhshir (Beshkar);
Bax sīra Ta gou zh 'the Bogosht
(Bakhshir) valley joining the Lutkoh
river at Izh'. Snrvey map Beshgar.
Khow. Bax sīr < \*Baya sita-, v.
Bəyust (Cf. e.g. the relation between
Khow. šapīr and Wkh. šapt 'wolf'.
V. Təri Bax sīr.

Čir'wul Yu n. of a place near Droshp.
Či trēyo Yzh, r, Mm Chitral. na. da
Či träyî 'in, to Chitral' Ysh. yû ži
Čitrēyen Mm 'a man from Chitral'.
Cf. BSOS, VI, 441 sq.

Da'<sub>Y</sub>erio Yzlı vill. in Lntkoh, Daghiri. Dēam'bē Yr, Dēam'bēh Mt, Dīam'bē (g) vill. in Munjan.

Dangula'dore Yzh clan in Gnrti, Lutkoh. Da rā Yr, Du'rā the Dorah Pass. Drošp Ysh, n vill. in Lutkoh.

Drawuso Ysh Drosh in Chitral. na Drauso šoi.

Dašt-i-Būt Ysh a place in Mnnjan, between Miliyeg and Shahr.

Dåšt·i-Ru'bāt Ysh a place in Sanglech. F'rastufi Mti a lake in Munjan, Frastofi. Go'āk Yzh vill. in Lntkoh, Gohik. Gu'lyū Yzh vill. in Lntkoh, Gulngh. Gurtio Yzh, u, Guoti g vill. in Lutkoh, Gufti. Khow. Guhti (Gurti).

Grstini Yzh, n vill. in Lntkoh, Gistiui. Govar'bax Yzh vill. in Lntkoh.

Govri'stən Yr, Gouri'stən u, Gauri'stan sh Kafiristan. From Prs. gabr Zoroastrian, pagan.

Gažan'dore Yzh a clan in Zhitr and Imirdin in Lutkoh.

Γəlāmandore Yzh a clan in Burbunū in Lutkoh.

Gharmai vill. on the Kokcha in Yamgān (acc. to the map India and Adjacent Countries, 37, C. 4). < \*γarm hot. Γāz Yr, Γaz Mt, Γəz (g) vill. in Munjan, Aiγāz (acc. to M(g)).

Haidar dore Yzh clan in Gistini and Parabek in Lutkoh.

(H'artef Yzh (obl. pl.) the Ozhor-valley in Chitral Badakhshi Hart.

Kūa Yg 'the Kho tribe, the Khowar langnage'. Cf. BSOS, VI, 441 n. Kōbul Ysh Kabul.

Ka'lă Mt a vill. in Munjan; Ka'la Yr a vill. in Kuran, Kalaomir.

Kale-i-Šō Yr, 'Khala-i-Šo M(g) vill. in Munjan.

Kām Yn vill. in Bashgal.

Kəmidis Yu vill. in Bashgal.

Kandu'žala Yn vill. in Bakhshir, Kandoojal, Kundzar.

Kunji kāf Yu a mythical mountain, Koh-i-Kaf.

Kə'rön Ysh, Böla-Kə'rön r, Krān Mt a district in Munjan.

Katwā'rī Ysh Ktiwi in Kafiristan.

Kyi lyam Ysh Knlam in Kafiristan.

Luliko Yu vill. in Bashgal.

Lizo Mm vill. in Munjan (= Kala, Qalā?).

Maḍu'gāl Yu vill. in Bashgal, Mandogal.

Mayna'wul Ysh, Mt, °vul Yr vill. in

Munjan, Vavilov Megnul. Cf. Av.

mayna- naked?

Mili'γeg Ysh vill. in Munjan, prob. =

M̄āndeh. — mili- < madya-; γeg
for γäǯg < \*-kaθaka-, cf. Madhyānkath (Barthold, Turkestau, p. 128)??

Munio Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Khow.
Manur. < \*Mānūtā?

Mīān dēo Yr, Miān dēa Mt, Miân dīa (g), Miāndeh Mm vill. in Munjan.

Mon'jī, pl. Monjiyī Mm a man from Munjan; Mon'jī rōi the Munji language; Mon'jiy & Munjani.

Mun'jân Mm Munjan. Cf. BSOS, VI, 439 sqq.

Mur'dän Yu a place near Droshp.

Mə'rātdore Yzh clan in Birzin, Lutkoh.

Mästiko Yp n. of a woman.

Nou Yr, M(g), Nau t vill. in Munjan. Narku<sup>†</sup>rata Ynvill. in Bakhshir, Nar Karet. Pog<sup>†</sup>xūgo Yu a place in Lutkoh, Garm

Čišma, Khow. Peç-uc, 'Hot Springs'.
Pa'naŭ Mt, 'Phanō (g) vill. iu Mnnjan.

Panj šīr Ysh, Pan šīr r Panjshir.

Po râγo Mm Kafiristan. Cf. Sgl. Parōγ.
Pōruγ Ysh, Paroγo u vill. in Sanglech.
Sgl. Pōroγ.

Parauko Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Kh. Parabek.

Pεrikyān Taigou Yzh the part of the Lutkoh valley inhabited by Yidghas.
 Pârse Yg Persian. — zo Po vzānəm I know Persian.

Pur'wos Yr vill, in Kuran.

Rūi Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Rui.

 $Ru^{\dagger}b\hat{a}t$  Ysh, Mt,  $Ru^{\dagger}b\bar{o}t$  Yr vill. in Kuran.

Rubât i-Tang Ysh vill, in Kuran. Ram'gyil Ysh Ramgul in Kafiristan.

Razer Ysh, r vill. in Kuran. — Poss. fr. Av. razura- forest.

Skar'zer Ysh, 'Skōrzər r vill. in Kuran. — \*Uska·Razer? Cf. Sar-Jangāl.

'Skəwo Ysh, Sək'vö r vill. in Kuran, Survey Map Sekwao, Bnrhan ud-Din Sekui.

Sumbul'dore Yzh a clan in Wart, Lutkoh.
Su'māldore Yzh a clan in Upper Zhitr,
Lutkoh.

Sānek Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Sauik. Sanlië Yzh, Sang'lië r, u, San'lië sh, Sang'lië Mm Sanglech.

Sarjan gāl Yr, Mm vill. in Munjan.
Stə vino Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Sighin.
Sterfi Y the Struik Pass (Mil. Rep. Shifchik), near Dorah.

"Stur lāmo Yu vill. iu Bashgal, Bargramaţal, Khow. Luţdeh, Prs. Deh i-Kalān.

'Stužun Y the Ustich Pass, near Dorah. Mil. Rep. Ustujn.

Šud'gol Yu vill. in Bashgal. Rohertson Shidgol.

Šoyo'yo Ysh, Šuyoyo Mt Shoghor in Chitral. Badakhshi Šoyot.

'Šāhar Ysh, M(g), Šār Yr, Šahr Mt, Šār-i-Munjān (sh) vill. in Munjan. Šō-i-Parī M(g) vill. in Munjan. Šāh-i-Si'dīm Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, at the foot of the Dorah Pass.

Šāl xān Yp n. of a man.

Šo'ron M(g) vill. in Munjan = Šāhar (cf. Bnrhan-ud-Din Šaran).

Ši xāidore Yzh a clan in Zhitr. Lutkoh. Še xāmandore Yzh a clan in Burbunū, Lutkoh.

 $\check{S}\bar{u}'yo$  Yu vill, in Bashgal; Robertson Shui, Pshur.

Ta gou Ysh, r, Ta gou-i-Mun'jān Mt vill. in Mnnjan.

Turakaf Ysh, Turokaf r vill. in Kuran. Te'li Ysh, To'li r, Mt, Tr'li Mti, Thr li (g), also Xu'li ti (local form) vill. in Munjan.  $< *\langle h \rangle a \vartheta a d \cdot$ , or a similar base.

Tālaš Mīr Yr Terich Mer in Chitral. Cf. BSOS, VI, 443.

'Tuniko Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Thonek 'Thunik.

Təri Bax šîr Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Turi Bashker.

Torko Yzh Turikho in Chitral.

Wilū Yr, Mt, (g), (sh) vill. in Munjan. Wulf Ysh, r, M(g) vill. in Munjan —

Cf. Av. va \theta va- flock, troop (cf. Pashai sātha 'village' < sārtha, etc.)?

Wirān Ysh, °ān r, 'Wīreno Mg, °äne ti, °ano Yu "Veron", Prasun, Pārūn, in Kafiristan. Cf. BSOS, VI, 443.

Wart Yzh, Warto p vill. iu Lutkoh, Wharth.

'*Wayo* Mt vill. in Muujan.

Xūγiko Yu vill. in Lutkoh. V. xūγo.

Xəlar rai Ysh, Xəloryai a pass between Munjan and Sanglech. — V. xəlaryo.

Yıdg, pl. Yıd<sup>3</sup>gi Mm. <sup>1</sup>Id<sup>3</sup>γ, pl. Idγε Yu, Mti 'a man from Iujigan'; I d<sup>3</sup>γ Yr, sh, Id'γεf zh. Yıd'yūn Mm 'Injigān, the Yidgha-speaking part of Lutkoh'; Yed'yă Yg, u, Mt, Yid'gânə rōi Mm 'the Yidgha lauguage'. — Prob. Yidg < \*Hinduka-. Yed'yā < \*Hindukaka-. Cf. BSOS, VI, 443; and Bailey, BSOS, VIII, 894, n. 2 about T. änätkäk. If this derivation is correct, the Iranian settlement on the south-eastern, "Indian", side of the mountain-range must be of considerable antiquity. Cf. § 14. — V. Injigān.

Yuy'dāk, v. Iz'dek.
Ya'mak Yr vill. in Kuran.
Yakhserighar pass between Upper Munjan and Upper Bashgal (Survey Map). Cf. lax'srre, yar.
Yu'wīm Ysh, I'wīm r a side-valley of Kuran. Survey Map Yoim.
Zī'bāk Ysh, 'Zība u Zebak.
Zītik the Zīdig Pass, near Dorah.
Jurm Mm vill. in Badakhshan.
Žītr Yzh, Žut'r u vill. iu Lutkoh, Jhitur.





## INTRODUCTION

1. The first information about Sanglechi was given by Shaw in the short Comparative Vocabulary appended to his article "On the Ghalchah Languages". The 116 words collected by Munshí Faiz Bakhsh and transcribed by Shaw are not very correct, but they have formed the sole base for our knowledge of this important dialect till now, and have been discussed by Tomaschek in his Centralasiatische Studien II, and by Geiger in GIPh.

Of the adjoining and closely related, but slightly more persianized, dialects of Zebak and Ishkashim Sir George Grierson has given, as far as the material at his disposal permitted, excellent accounts in the LSI and in the separate publication "Ishkashmi, Zebaki and Yazghulami" embodying the material collected by Sir Aurel Stein. These works have been my constant guides during the preparation of the present account of this dialect-group.

Finally Zarubin quotes a number of Ishk. words in his Munji vocabulary.<sup>5</sup>

2. The Ishk. and Sgl. material discussed in this volume was taken down in Chitral in May and June 1929 from visitors to the bazar of Chitral Town.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> JASB, XLV, 134 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Note e.g. yùr (بور) "fuel" for \*yùz (بيوز); zulúk "tongue" for \*zurúk, vurd "brother" for \*vrud, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> SWAW, phil,-hist. Cl. XCVI.

<sup>4</sup> R. A. S., Prize Publication Fund, Vol. V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. above Y—M, § 1.

From Ishkashim I had two informants. They were, however, both of them so unsatisfactory for my purposes that I did only keep them on for a couple of sittings.

- 1. The first was a middle-aged man from Ishkashim (Išk'âsrm) Ishk. proper. His mother-tongue was Persian, but he said that his was the only one among the sixty houses in the village in which the local language was not used. He professed, however, to know Ishkashmi, and most of the forms given by him agree fairly well with those known from other sources. In some cases of however, he probably did not know or remember the true Ishk. forms and gave Prs. ones instead.
- 2. The other was Malak Muhammad, a native of the Zebak Zb. district, but settled in Ishk. (Škâšim). He gave me a short list of words in the dialect of Zeb., which in the main appears to be correct. But there are some suspect forms and words in his list, (e.g.  $w\bar{o}l$  "ear";  $n\bar{a}yd$  "night";  $m\bar{i}s$  "nose"), and he certainly gave Prs. words in several cases where native Zeb. ones are still in use.

From the Sanglech valley I had five informants:

3 and 4. Azīz Bēg and his brother Daulat Bēg were natives of Sgl. p 1 the hamlet of Porogh. They were kind, and willing to do their Sgl. p 2 best, but even this was rather poor. Their pronunciation was rapid and slurred, many sounds disappearing more or less completely in connected speech. Perhaps this is a result of their dialect being used only within a very narrow circle of close relations and acquaintances, who are accustomed to eachother's peculiarities of articulation.

It was also very hard work to get grammatical forms out of them, and they were utterly incapable of telling a story, or of giving any but the most disconnected and fragmentary accounts of happenings in their own village and similar subjects. I managed, however, to prepare a fairly extensive vocabulary during the few days they could be induced to remain in Chitral.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But recruits from Ishk. and Zeb., whom I met at Kabul in 1924, denied the very existence of any separate language in their village. Cf. also Sköld, Materialien, p. 3.

- 5. Also Laškar Bēg came from Porogh. From his lips I took Sgl. p 3 down a short tale.
- 6. A fourth inhabitant of Porogh was Gul Mahamad from whom Sgl. p 4 I compiled a list of words.
- 7.  $\bar{A} \dot{s} \bar{u} \delta$  hailed from Iskitul, the village above Porogh. From Sgl. is him I compiled a vocabulary of his dialect, which presents various peculiarities of its own.
- 8. Baxtawār was a quite intelligent young man from Sanglech Sgl. s proper, the uppermost village in the valley. Unfortunately I had only occasion to work with him during one short sitting, and all I could do was to write down a list of words.
- 9. The material collected by the late Dr. Sköld and incorporated Sk. into this work belongs to the Ishk. dialect. Nothing further is known to me about his informants.<sup>1</sup>

Ishk. or Sgl. forms given by a professed Wakhi from Wark are marked "Wkh.". "Wkh."

Ishk. material quoted from Grierson is designed by Gr., and his Gr. Zeb. material by Gr. (Zb.). Quotations from Zarubin are marked Gr. (Zb) Zar., and from Munshi Faiz Bakhsh (Shaw, Ghalchah Languages) Zar. MFB.

3. An account of the geography of the country in which Sanglechi-Ishkashmi is spoken is given by Grierson in the Introduction to his book on Ishkashmi.

Ishk. is spoken in and around the village of Ishkashim in Afghan territory at the Oxus bend. According to Stein it also extends to a few villages on the Russian side of the river,<sup>2</sup> and it will be seen below that it is possible that a mixed Wakhi-Ishkashmi dialect is spoken in Wark in Western Wakhan.

It is doubtful whether the subdialect called Zebaki is spoken at all in the market village of Zebak (*Izivūk*) itself. My informants, both in 1924 and in 1929, all agreed that Prs. was the exclusive language of this place, and it is quite possible that they told the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Materialien, p. 3.—I have found no texts among his material.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Sköld it is used in Rind, and by half the population of Namadgut.

truth, and that Zeb. is spoken only in some of the surrounding villages. We know that the Zeb. material of the LSI comes from Bāzgīr, a village situated between Zebak and Ishkashim, and it may be that my informant Zb. was a native of some village in the neighbourhood of Zebak.

Acc. to Grierson 1 Sanglechi (or perhaps Zebaki) is spoken also in the valley leading from Zebak to the Nuqsan Pass (the Deh-i-Gul) and in the valley of the Wardoj below Zebak. I have not been able to check these statements.

My informants told me that the true Sanglechi dialect is spoken in the villages of Porogh, Iskitul and Sanglech. Sgl.s. asserted that it was also spoken in Flakhmarik, but p4 denied this (statement).

Acc. to Burhan-ud-Din, Fareg (Porogh) possesses 8 houses, and Isketul' and Sanglič 15 each. But Vavilov, who is no doubt a more reliable source, gives 40 houses for "Porx" (60 before the flood in 1923), and 30 for "Isketul". The same author states that Isketul' lies 14—15 km. above Zebak at a heighth above the sea of about 2900 mètres, and that Porx is situated a little below Isketul' at a heighth of 2840 mètres. Sanglech, the uppermost village of the valley, is 20—22 km. above Isketul, and 3280 m. above sea-level.

4. As observed already by Grierson, Ishk., Zeb. and Sgl. "are all slightly varying forms of one and the same language, which we may call Iškāšmī". 5

Ishk. is clearly distinguished from Sgl. in several respects. Thus, in a number of cases, Ishk.  $\bar{o}$  corresponds to Sgl.  $\bar{a}$ , Ishk.  $\bar{u}$  to Sgl.  $\bar{o}$  and Ishk. a to Sgl. o. Cerebral n is not known to Ishk., and the use of l is more restricted than in Sgl., while on the other hand Ishk. usually has  $l < \dot{s}l$ , corresponding to Sgl. l. Ir.  $\theta$  in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Op. cit. pp. 108 sqq., and 517 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Op. cit. p. 519. But 3380 m., p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Ishk. etc. p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Or, what I would prefer, Sanglechi-Ishkashmi.

some words apparently results in Ishk. s, but Sgl. t, and Sgl.  $\delta$  has been dropped or replaced by d in Ishk. Other points of phonetical difference are restricted to individual words among the material available to me. Thus, e.g.: Ishk. stok "girl"; sofan "comb";  $r\bar{e}muz(d)$  "sun"; soran "cock";  $rosn\bar{i}$  "fire"; soma "to dress"; fak "thee"; but Sgl.  $osc\bar{a}k$ ; afsan; ormozd; soma; sona; s

In the field of morphology, we may mention the absence of the accusative prefix va in Ishk., the differences in the inflexion of the pronouns and the verb substantive, the opposition between Ishk. (but also Sgl.s) 1st sg. -m and Sgl. p. is. -n, and the development of secondary preterites in Ishk.

As regards the vocabulary, Ishk., which on account of its geographical position is more exposed to foreign influences than Sgl., has given up a number of ancient words which are still in use in the latter dialect. Thus e.g. Ishk.: yōzda "11", durōzda "12", bīst "20", yarm "warm", yardak "neck", safēd "white", mātou, mā "moon", sab "night", lab "lip"; but Sgl.: kodos, dīdus, wīšt, yōrm, yorōk, əspēd, wulmēk, fəršōu, rīvlav, etc.

5. The variations recorded within Ishk. are most of them insignificant, consisting chiefly of slight oscillations in the quality or quantity of vowels. Thus, e.g., from my material: mvt "fist", wuluk "flour", kərcin "cock", ōvd "seven", vərū "brother"; Sköld: mut, ü'luk, wü'låk, kricīn, uvd wrūd, wru; Grierson: mut, uluk, kurcīn, uvd, vrūd; Zarubin: mot, wuluk, ———, (")ūvd, vərūd.

It is impossible to decide how far such discrepancies are due to real difference of pronunciation of a local or individual nature. To a certain extent they are probably due to the "personal equation" of the recorder. But forms such as  $f^3r\bar{e}t$  "asked", awild "brought", das "ten", as compared with Sköld's forast,  $av\bar{u}(l)d$ , dah and Grierson's frut, avul, dah, etc., point to the existence of certain variations within Ishk.

6. Zeb., as described by Grierson in LSI, resembles, perhaps, more Sgl. than Ishk. But it shares with Ishk. several characteristics.

<sup>19 -</sup> Kulturforskning

Thus e.g.:  $\ddot{o}$ ,  $\mathring{a}$  for Sgl.  $\tilde{a}$ ; cf. also Voc. s vv.  $m\bar{e}n$  "apple",  $\dot{s}t\mathring{a}k$  "girl",  $r\partial \dot{s}n\bar{t}$  "fire", pumec- "to dress", atayd "entered", etc.

In a few cases the Zb. forms of the LSI agree with Sgl., but those given by my informant with Ishk. Cf. e.g.: kərċīn "fowl", rēmōz "sun", tīnen "thy". It is, however, doubtful whether we can rely much upon the forms given by Z, whose vocabulary was interspersed with Prs., Wkh., or simply incorrect forms. It is, of course, only natural that the villages of the Zebak district should form a transitional zone between Ishk. and Sgl.

7. Sgl. itself is not an altogether homogeneous dialect, but presents several variations in the three villages from which material is available. And even the forms given by the different informants hailing from Porogh are not always absolutely identical.<sup>1</sup>

It is doubtful whether there are many other places in the world where local linguistic division has been carried so far as among the inhabitants of the handful of houses in the Sanglech Valley hamlets.

Thus e.g. Sgl. p. has wərvēs "fox" (Ishk. wurvēs etc.), but Sgl. p. s. vərvēs; Sgl. p. mokodok "frog" (Ishk. mukuduk, etc.): is, s. moyδōk; Sgl. p. nəmĕ(δ)k "salt" (Ishk. namulyâk, etc.): Sgl. is. s. nəmēyδ, etc.; Sgl. p. wużinjak (Z wujinjak) "woman": is. s. wuzinjak; Sgl. p. kul, kuδ "did": is. s. kul. Cf. also: Sgl. p. xwār- "to eat": s. xor-; Sgl. p. wāl "trousers": is. wāl; p. rig/vlav "lip": is. s. rīvlav; p. wənīst, wunīžd "turned round": Sgl. is. wəniyd, s. wunīžd.

Sgl. p. 3 shows a specially pronounced tendency towards diphthongization of  $\bar{e}$ . Cf. e.g.:  $t'\bar{e}\gamma m$ ,  $m'\bar{e}l$ ,  $d'\bar{e}r$ ,  $r'\bar{e}\gamma n$ , etc. Sgl. p. and is. agree as against the uppermost village of the valley in the following words:  $uu\dot{z}i\dot{z}i\bar{r}$  "partridge";  $\dot{z}\bar{a}n\dot{z}\partial k$  "entrails";  $\dot{z}an$ —"to kill";  $\dot{z}\partial n\bar{e}\bar{u}$  "fire"; 1st sg. -en, 1st pl. -em; but s  $uu\dot{z}i\dot{r}\dot{z}ir$ ;  $\dot{z}an\partial k$ ;  $\dot{z}an$ -;  $r\partial\dot{z}n\bar{e}\bar{u}$  (cf. Ishk. Zb.  $r\partial\dot{z}n\bar{e}$ , etc.); -em, -en (= Ishk., Zb.). Cf. also Sgl. p.  $p\ddot{o}v\partial$  "drank" (Ishk.  $p\partial v\partial$ ): Sgl. s  $p\bar{i}\partial$ .

In some other cases it is Sgl. is, alone which differs as well from

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm t}$  Cf. the vacillation in the use of the personal endings -3m and -3n (v. § 132), and in the preterital stems.

the villages below as from s. Most characteristic is the transition of  $\check{z}$  to  $\gamma$  in  $w \ni n i \gamma d$  "turned round";  $w \circ \gamma d \check{a} n$  "millet" and  $v \ni \gamma d \check{a} k$  "long". We also find Sgl. is.  $f \ni r \check{o} s$ — "to ask" and  $y \ni x \check{o} a i$  "sister" corresponding to p. s.  $f \ni r a s$ —,  $f r \check{a} s$ — and  $i x w \check{a} i$ ,  $\Im x \check{o} a i$ . In Sgl. is. there is moreover a certain tendency to lengthen vowels, cf. Voc. e.g. s.vv.:  $c \check{a} m$ ,  $k u \check{z} u k$ ,  $a s t a m a \gamma z \ni k$ ,  $s a \delta$ ,  $\check{\jmath} a n d \check{a} r$ .

8. The situation is rendered still more complicated through the possibility of a dialect of the Sgl., not the Ishk. type, existing in western Wakhan. My informant from Wark in Lower Wakhan, not far from Ishkashim, professed to speak Wkh., but of the words given by him the majority was of Sgl.-Ishk., not of Wkh. origin.

Some of them are typical Ishk. words. Thus, e.g.: pəšir "cheek"; mukuduk "frog"; vuks "snake"; kurust "bark"; cuwīn "apricot"; rəxnī "fire"; nic "nose"; posk "hide"; åkīk "egg"; ōxik "tear"; cōm "eye"; zōl "yellow"; and others with å, ō corresponding to Sgl. ā. But more often the Wark forms agree with Sgl. Thus e.g.: ōrmōzd "sun"; b'reż "birch"; fərxa "night"; fısē "nose"; γīc "coal" (Sgl. žīc, I zīc); γōruk "neck"; kiskūð "roof"; mərγōk "sparrow"; hari "work"; puðf "meat"; sūi "hare"; spēð "white"; žau "horn"; xūi "black"; tīwde "burnt" (Sgl. təv-, Ishk. sav-); wuyden "millet"; wulmē "moon"; wużeržer "partridge", etc., etc. Cf. also kenen "I do" and t'fak "thee". "Wkh." of Wark employs the fricative ð, and it changes ž into γ (besides ž into x, ž), just as is the case in Sgl. is. Note also fərγəmē "kid", which looks like an archaic form of Sgl. fəryəm, and the curious (hybrid?) form hīb'ð "7".

It is, of cource, quite conceivable that Wkh. of Wark is no genuine dialect at all, but only a mixture of Wkh., Sgl. and Ishk. forms made up by one who did not know any of these languages properly. But each of the theoretically possible explanations present difficulties of its own, and it would be quite idle without further knowledge to enter upon speculations about the possibility of a mixed dialect being spoken in the border villages of Ishkashim and

Wakhan. The question is not, however, devoid of a more general interest and ought to be investigated on the spot.

9. On the whole Ishk.—Sgl. is, however, a well defined dialect group, which is clearly distinguished from all its Ir. neighbours in the Pamir. Especially Ishk. in its vocabulary frequently presents points of resemblance with Wkh. But this may be due just as much to recent contact as to any special, inherited relationship.<sup>2</sup> The same may be said about the lexical accordances with Yd.—Mj.

A survey of the historical phonology and morphology of Sgl.—Ishk. will show the originality of this dialect-group on several points, but also its connection with the rest of the Pamir dialects.

The general appearance of the language, phonetically and morphologically, is less aberrant from the Ir. normal than that of other Pamir dialects. This is probably due to its geographical position on, or close to, the ancient trade route from Faizabad to the Dorah Pass.

We do not know anything about the ancient history of the small Sgl.—Ishk. (speaking) communities.<sup>3</sup> But nothing prevents us from believing that it has developed during a very long period in the districts where it is now spoken. It is likely that it once extended further down the Kokcha Valley, bordering somewhere upon Saraghlani.

The future of Sgl.—Ishk. is probably more immediately threatened than that of Wkh., Yd.—Mj. and the Shgh. group, both on account of the small number of speakers and through the proximity of and comparatively easy access to the central, Persian-speaking parts of Badakhshan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Acc. to Sköld, p. 2 sq., Namatgut, just below Wark but on the Russian bank of the river, is half Wkh. and half Ishk.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf., however,  $\delta t > t$ , f in both dialects, and e.g.  $p \partial v$  'to drink.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  Herzfeld's identification of Paikuli sxwlšn, sxwlč $^3n$  with Sanglech (AIM; VII, p. 58) is not convincing.

## PHONETIC SYSTEM

10. Any attempt to determine the exact phonetic value of all the sounds of the different dialects of Sgl.—Ishk. without a prolonged study of the language can, of course, only be quite provisional, and in a still higher degree this applies to the construction of the phonological system. About the phonology of Ishk. I do not venture to make any assertions.

### Consonants.

		Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glotta
Plosive		p, b	t, $d$	ţ, ḍ		k, g	q	1
Affricate .			c		è, )			
Fricative .		f, v				$x, \gamma$		h
Sibilant .			s, z	š, ž	$ \dot{s}, [\dot{z}]^1 $			
Nasal		; m	n	ņ		(13) 2		
Lateral		1	1	ļ				
Rolled			r					
Semivowels		w			y			İ

The consonant system of Sgl. appears to be based upon the following correlations:

 $<sup>\</sup>dot{z}$  is probably a variant of  $\dot{j}$ . v. below.

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$   $\eta$  is a variant of n appearing before velars, and not a separate phoneme. When appearing alone it is probably a variant of ng.

1. Voiced:  $b, d, d, g, j, v, \gamma, z, (\dot{z}) \ \dot{z}$ . Surd:  $p, t, t, k, \dot{c}, f, x, s, \dot{s}, \dot{s}$ .

The surd sounds c, q and possibly  $\dot{s}$  have no voiced counterparts.

- 2. Plosive: p, b, k, g. Fricative: f, v, x,  $\gamma$ .
- 3. Plosive: t, d, t, d. Sibilant: s, z, š, ž.
- 4. Oral: b, d, d, g. Nasal: m, n, n, n, n
- 5) Plosive: d, d, or, perhaps, Nasal: n, n. Lateral: l. l.
- 6. Labial: p, b, m f, vDental: t, d, n s, zRetroflex: t, d, n  $\check{s}, \check{z}$ Palatal:  $\check{c}, \check{j}$

Velar:  $k, g, (n) = x, \gamma$ 

12. The uvular q, the glottal h, and besides r and w, y are disjunct phonemes.

Of the above sounds q, h,  $\dot{q}$ , b, g (except in sandhi for -k) and possibly  $\check{c}$  are found only in loan-words.

Aspiration of surd stops, especially of p, is heard, possibly more markedly in Ishk. than in Sgl.

While n is a variant of n, the cerebral n must be considered as a separate phoneme, when it occurs unconditioned by a following t or d.

13. Labials: f and v are labio-dentals. Sk. does not always distinguish between v and w.

Dentals: In Sgl. postvocalic d is usually sounded as a  $\delta$ . Sgl. p 1 frequently pronounced  ${}^d\delta$ , while p 2's  $\delta$  approached, and often was mistaken for, l (e.g. in  $\dot{s}il\bar{o}k = \dot{s}i\delta\bar{o}k$  'become'; kolos = kodos '11';  $Iskit\bar{u}\delta = {}^o\bar{u}l$ ). Also Sk. gives  $\delta$  in a few words. Note  $\delta > \vartheta$  in p 2  $d\bar{a}n$ - $p\vartheta df$ .

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below regarding v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bilabial  $\varphi$  was, however, noted in  $c^{\flat}\varphi\bar{u}r$  '4.

t and d are nearly, and  $\delta$  quite inter-dental. r is alveolar, and in some cases it is pronounced even further back. In a few words Sk. writes rd for rd, cf. the similar tendency in Psht, Bal. and other Ir. dialects of the East. Postvocalic n is sometimes retracted towards the position of n.

Palatals: It is possible that j and  $\dot{z}$  are distinguished in initial position, j being used in some loan-words in preference to  $\dot{z}$ . But in postvocalic position  $\dot{z}$  is used always, or nearly always.

From the phonetic point of view initial y is a fricative, not a semi-vowel. But it forms a pair with w.

Cerebrals: t and d are really post-alveolars. In genuine Sgl. words t easily becomes t.  $\tilde{s}$  and  $\tilde{z}$  are usually readily distinguishable from  $\tilde{s}$  and  $\tilde{z}$  in Sgl., but perhaps not in Ishk. Note Sgl. is.  $\tilde{s} > \gamma$ .

l is not always clearly distinguished from l. It has no flap, and is articulated with the tongue in a more advanced position than Psht. r. Regarding the situation in Ishk., cf. § 4.

Uvulars: It is doubtful whether q is always distinguished from k in ordinary, careless pronunciation, and whether it is felt to be a foreign sound. But I always heard  $q\bar{\imath}v$ - 'to call'. Sk. and Gr. give q in several Ishk. words.

14. There seems to be no gemination of consonants in Sgl. But Sk. has noted geminates in several Ishk. past stems and also e.g. in albatt, γalla, kull, etc.

Final consonants are articulated weakly and sometimes disappear. Thus, e.g.:  $t\bar{a}(t)$   $b\bar{e}$  'to the father';  $Iziv\bar{u}(k)$   $b\bar{e}$  'to Zebak';  $x\bar{a}(n)$  'house';  $nilost\bar{o}(k)$  'is sitting';  $m\bar{\sigma}mi\dot{s}$   $x\bar{a}$   $r\bar{o}-tana = ma$  ' $mi\dot{e}$   $x\bar{a}n$   $r\bar{o}i$   $tan-\bar{a}n$  'there are three persons in our house';  $ko^e = ku\delta$  'did', etc. Note also the sandhi in  $avc\bar{a}$   $\delta\bar{u}\delta = avc\bar{a}$   $d\bar{u}\delta$ , etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 7.

## Groups of Consonants.

15. Through borrowing from Prs., recent elision of vowels, composition, suffigation and analogical formation of past stems in t nearly every kind of consonant group have found their way into Sgl.

Those appearing only in compounds (e.g. af-mahā, am-dak, dān-pəðf,  $\gamma$ ób-naduk,  $\gamma$ am-gīn, juwān-maṛdī, tōk-sarī, wəl-vōṣ, xōn-bərṣ, etc.) are not on a line with groups occurring in uncompounded words. Also before recent suffixes we find unusual combinations (e.g. īfč).

Through elision there arise—especially in Sköld's material—groups such as  $\partial \S c \bar{a}k$ ,  $\check{c}p \bar{o} \check{s}t$ ,  $\check{f}n \bar{u}b$ ,  $ps \bar{u}d$ ,  $px \bar{o}k$ ,  $p\check{s}aim \bar{a}n\bar{i}$ , etc. Cf. also  $fs \partial k$ :  $fu's\epsilon k$ ;  $p\check{s}\bar{u}r$ :  $p\partial \check{s}\bar{u}r$ , etc.\(^1\) Such combinations are probably not true, 'phonological' groups. More doubtful is the case of kr-, pr-, etc., e.g. in Sk.  $kr\ddot{u}st$ : Sgl. ko'rost.—In secondary preterites the combination of any consonant with t or d seems to be possible. Thus, e.g.: kimd, kurt,  $\dot{s}\partial xt$ ,  $t^2r\partial t$ , talapt,  $\check{x}\dot{e}bt$ ,  $sp\bar{a}r\partial$ ,  $\bar{a}wuld$ , etc.

In words of Sgl. origin the more important groups of consonants are: dk ( $n \ni m \in \delta k$ ), df ( $p \ni \delta f$ , etc.), dm ( $x \bar{o} d/\delta m$ ),  $v d/\delta$  (passim), vz ( $\bar{o} vz \bar{u}i$ ), vr- ( $v^2r$ -), xs,  $x\dot{s}$ ,  $\gamma(\dot{s})n$ ,  $\gamma(\dot{s})m$ ,  $\gamma d/\delta$ ,  $f\ddot{s}$ ,  $f \ni r$ , st, sk, sp,  $\ddot{s}t$ ,  $\ddot{s}k$ ,  $\ddot{s}p$ , zd,  $z(\dot{s})n$ ,  $\dot{z}d$ ,  $\ddot{z}d$ ,  $rv(\delta)$ , rk, rg, rx,  $r\gamma$ , rf, rs(?),  $r\dot{s}$ , rz, rn, rw, lm, lk, nd, n), nz, ng, mb.

In initial position we find: b(s)r-, d(s)r-. f(s)r-, [f(s)r-, v(s)r-, v(s)

### Vowels.

16. As far as I have been able to make out, Sgl. possesses the following vowel phonemes:  $\tilde{a}$ ,  $\hat{e}$ ,  $\hat{i}$ ,  $\hat{u}$ ,  $\hat{o}$  and, possibly, o.

 $\bar{a}$  is usually palatal [a].

e is most frequently a comparatively low  $[\varepsilon]$ , but e tends to be raised into  $[\varepsilon]$  and is sometimes diphtongized into  $[\varepsilon]$ .

*i* is usually open [1] and may even approach the position of [i], [a] or [a].

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 7.

Similarly u [v] frequently merges into the neutral vowel [ $\vartheta$ ], or even into [ $\vartheta$ ].

An overshort svarabhakti or prothetic vowel appears e.g. in  $b(^{\flat})r\bar{u}t$   $^{\vartheta}st\partial n$ , etc.

Sgl.  $\delta$  is usually articulated near the cardinal point, or a little lower. It shows, however, a tendency to move slightly forward towards the mixed vowels  $[\delta]$ .

Diphthongs are ou [u,  $\delta u$ ,  $\delta u$ ,  $\partial u$ ,  $\partial u$ ], oi and ai. They are, however, probably to be considered as combinations of two sounds a + y, etc.

17. Although there can scarcely be any doubt that vowel length is of phonological significance, secondary lengthening of stressed short vowels and abbreviation of unstressed long ones appear to be quite frequent. The problems raised by these apparently conflicting facts are not peculiar to Sgl. and will need a special study, which takes into consideration the conditions in a great number of modern Ir. dialects.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Y-M § 35.

## HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

### Consonants.

## Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.

18. Initial k-, t-, p- remain unchanged. Thus, e.g.: käδι 'when'; kif k-, t-, p- 'hump'; kas- 'to see'; tu 'thou'; tovōr 'axe'; t'ēym 'seed'; pōi 'sour milk'; pū- 'to become rotten'; pac- 'to cook'; pəδf 'meat', etc., etc., v. Voc. s.v.

Acc. to Grierson, § 21,¹ an initial surd is sometimes changed into a fricative. Of the two examples given xafuk 'foam' has x in all neighbouring dialects, while fei 'shovel' has original f-, cf.  $fi\bar{u}k$  'shoulder-blade'.² Ishk. sav/w 'to burn' (Sgl.  $t\partial v$ -) is probably derived from a form in  $\partial$ -, cf. Wkh.  $\partial \bar{u}w$ - and v. § 37.

de 'a particle denoting existence' and dunda 'so much' probably have d < t- in unstressed position. Cf. Psht. de encl. pron. 2 sg. < \*tai, etc.

19. Ancient à regularly becomes c, just as in Y—M and Wkh. Thus: èce 'what'; cəmənd 'how many'; ca'mōk 'winking'; carx 'spinning wheel' (but čarx borr. from, or influenced by Prs.). The majority of words in è- are lw.s. Thus, e.g.: èɛl 'forty'; èišmē 'a spring'; èɔṭ 'small'; èūl 'penis'; èuxēl 'apricot' (Gr. ewēnd); čudan 'cookingpot'; čōl Z 'multicoloured' is prob. borrowed from Shgh. èūž (Sar. èiēl) with è- regularly from k-, cf. M kaš, Yazgh. k'āw. čūt 'shegoat' may be somehow connected with Werchikwar èūl, and also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. also Geiger, p. 299.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. Wkh.

čumôļ 'basket' appears to be a migratory word. The origin of čōv 'little' and čos 'fart' is unknown.

As there is no other certain instance of  $\dot{c}$  in any other genuine Sgl. word than  $\check{c}\bar{a}m$  'eye' (poss. with  $\dot{c}$  from Prs.) it seems probable that also  $\check{c}en$ :  $\check{c}i\delta$  'to pick' is a Prs. lw. Reg.  $\check{e}i\check{s}$  'urine' v. Voc. s.v.

# Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates.

20. In the -ka- suffix, -k- is retained unchanged. Thus, e.g.: ostok -k- 'bone', ust'ruk 'star'; wok 'one'; durk 'wood', and reduplicated in worokok 'lamb'; ākik 'egg'. I heard g in kīrūg 'plough', and once in γοrōg 'neck'. These are probably sandhi forms. Also wulākī 'first' and wulyēka 'alone' contain the ka- suffix.

Other instances of intervocalic k- in genuine words are not available.  $ko\delta os$  'eleven' <\*aiwakadasa has lost its initial syllables irregularly in unstressed position. In  $(o)k\delta v\delta$  'boot' it is very doubtful whether the initial vowel is ancient.  $v\delta k\delta l\bar{n}$  'the day before yesterday';  $l\bar{a}k\bar{l}n$  'belt', and  $\check{c}uk\bar{a}n$  'a kind of dye' are of unknown origin, and  $pak\delta l$  'cap',  $bak\delta l$ ,  $bak\epsilon ndi$  'calf', and  $\dot{c}uk$ - 'to beat' are lw.s.

On the whole it seems probable that the retention of -k- is phonetically regular, cf. the parallel development in Orm.<sup>1</sup> and Y—M.<sup>2</sup> šayor 'hedgehog' is certainly a lw., and in  $mo\gamma\delta ok$  ( $moko\delta ok$ ) 'frog' and  $n\partial m\bar{e}\gamma\delta$  ( $n\partial m\bar{e}\delta k$ ) 'salt'  $\gamma$  is due to assimilation with  $\delta$ .

21. Intervocalic -t- regularly results in Sgl. -δ-, thus coalescing with -toriginal -d-. Examples of -t- are: ογοδ 'came'; αδ(α), īδ 'that'; dīδ
'smoke', dūδ 'gave', kuðum 'which'; kuð 'dog'; kiskūð 'roof'; korīδ
'pigeon'; numōδ 'felt'; pīδ 'drank'; \*spēδ 'white'; šīδ 'went'; xuðārī
'watermill'; zəmūδ 'son-in-law'; zənūδ 'washed'; žōδ 'killed', etc.
In saδ '100'; aštāδ '80'; amēδ 'hope'; māður 'mother', etc., δ has
been substituted for Prs. d. Čatråδ 'Chitral' has probably been
borrowed from a form in -δ.³

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> IIFL, I, p. 330.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> With -t, -p- > -y-, -v-, but -k- > -g-. Cf. Y-M §§ 45 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.v.

In Ishk. we in most cases find d corresponding to Sgl.  $\delta$ . Thus:  $\bar{\delta}_{i}\gamma ad$ ;  $d\bar{i}d$   $(d\bar{u}d)^{1}$  'smoke';  $d\bar{u}d$  'gave'; kudum; k'ud,  $ksk\bar{u}d$ ;  $kov\bar{i}d$ ;  $v\bar{\sigma}r\bar{u}d$  Zar.;  $x\bar{\sigma}d\bar{\delta}ri$ ;  $zen\bar{u}d$ ; zad. Cf. also  $w\bar{e}d$  'willow';  $d\bar{e}d$  'fight', etc.

22. Ishk. d does not represent a stage of development intermediate between t and Sgl.  $\delta$ , but is due to the influence of Prs., which is much stronger in Ishk. and Zeb. than in Sgl.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the possible Prs. influence on initial d-, cf. § 29.

Apart from the intrinsic probability of this explanation we also have evidence of the previous existence of  $\delta$  in Ishk. Thus Wkh.  $kowi\delta$  'pigeon' must have been borrowed from Ishk. and not from the more remote Sgl.;  $kri\hat{c}$  Gr. 'hut' is derived from  $*k(a)\delta i\hat{c} = \text{Wkh. } kt\bar{i}\hat{c}.^3$  Cf. also  $p \ni rn\bar{i}\hat{c}$  'threshold'  $< *pa\delta(a)n\bar{i}\hat{c}$ . (Orosh.  $pa\delta in < *pa\delta an\bar{i}$ ) and  $pr\bar{e}\hat{s}t$  Gr. 'wrist'  $< *p(a)r\delta\bar{e}\hat{s}t$  (Sar.  $par\delta\ddot{u}st$ ). Also Ishk.  $x\bar{o}dm$  'dream': Sgl.  $x\bar{o}\delta m$  proves a secondary change of  $\delta$  to d.

In Sgl.  $p \partial \delta i t$  'kindled',  $w u \delta i t$  (-d Zar.) 'span' the sequence \* $\delta$ - $\delta$  has been dissimilated into  $\delta$ --d (-t). But notice  $p \bar{a} r d \bar{u} \delta$  'sold' ( $p \bar{a} r \delta \bar{e}$ -), which has been influenced by the uncompounded form  $d \bar{u} \delta$  and other preterites.  $d \bar{u} \delta$  'gave' shows that the initial voiced stop is at any rate older than the dissimilation  $\delta$ - $\delta$  >  $\delta$ -d. In Sgl.  $w u \delta \sigma \gamma \delta$  'daughter' (Ishk. w u d u g d) the intervening  $\gamma$  has prevented the dissimilation.

23. A further reduction of  $-\delta$ - has taken place in the unstressed suffix pres. 3 sg.  $-\bar{u}$ ,  $-\bar{o}^{\,5}$  in  $ko = ku\delta$  'did', and in  $\hat{s}\bar{\iota}\bar{a}n < \hat{s}\bar{\iota}\delta\bar{a}n$  'they became',  $\hat{s}u\bar{o} = \hat{s}u\delta\bar{o}k$  (and  $\hat{s}il\bar{o}k = \hat{s}\bar{\iota}\delta\bar{o}k$ ). Cf. also  $t\bar{\sigma}-v\bar{o} = t\bar{\sigma}-\delta/d\bar{o}$  'thou art'. In Ishk. the reduction takes place even in some stressed words, e.g. in  $v\bar{\sigma}r\bar{u}$ , wru (and  $v^{\sigma}r\bar{u}d$ ) 'brother',  $x^{\tilde{u}}(d)\bar{o}ri$  Sk. 'watermill', cf.  $p\bar{u}$  'foot'  $< p\bar{a}da$ -.6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gr.  $d\bar{\imath}t$ , with unvoicing of final d, not with retention of original t (Grierson § 22). Cf. also  $p^2\delta\bar{\imath}t$  'kindled';  $wu\delta\bar{\imath}t/d$  'span'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 4.

<sup>\*</sup> Prs. kurīč. kurīz, etc. 'hut, protecting roof' might perhaps be a dialect form related to the Ishk. word. Cf. Prs. lex. rōl 'ear', which is an Ishk. form.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Y-M, §§ 52, 136.

<sup>5</sup> Once I heard isyūδ 'may he come .

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 14.

In  $re\check{e}ik$  Gr. 'entrails'  $\delta$  has been elided before -ik.

As is the case in other Ir. dialects the prefix pati has been reduced to  $p\partial$ , etc., e.g. in  $p\partial nec$ , pumec 'to dress';  $p\partial d\bar{n}$  'to light a fire';  $p\partial z\bar{n}$  'to recognize'; pa 'with, on'. Cf.  $pot\bar{u}n$  'thigh' < " $pat\bar{u}n$ , or \* $pat-t\bar{u}n$  <  $paitist\bar{u}na$ .

Reg. p 3  $\delta > l$  v. § 13.

24. The preservation common to most Ir. dialects, of t in wist 'twenty' is due to early syncope. Cf. also  $y\bar{o}tuk$ , yetik 'bridge'  $1 < *\bar{e}tk$ , or  $*\bar{e}dk < *haituka$ , and v. Voc. s.vv.  $w\bar{o}tuk$  'feast';  $p\bar{a}tik$  'eyelashes'.— $v\bar{e}tuk$  'high' is derived from \*brzatuka.

atiy-: atuyd Zar. 'to enter' (Sgl.  $axt \ni \delta$ , with metathesis) may have got its t from a form corresponding to Sogd. tys-:  $t\gamma t$ . it 'arrived' it (it) goes back to a secondary past stem it it-t, cf. Or. yat(t) (from yat-) and the numerous Wkh. preterites in it.

Regarding  $z\bar{o}t$  'son' and 'wuter' ashes, cf. § 37. Final -t is found in lw.s, corresponding to Prs. -d/-t.

25. Ancient -p- shares the fate of -t- and results in a voiced fricative. -p- As -v- is a sound which is not foreign to Prs., it remains also in Ishk.

Thus, e.g.  $k\bar{o}v\bar{\imath}o'$  'pigeon';  $t\bar{\imath}v$ - 'to burn';  $tov\bar{\imath}v'$  'axe';  $v\bar{\imath}vv\bar{\imath}s$ , etc. 'fox';  $v\bar{\imath}n$  'beard' ( $<*up\bar{a}na$ -);  $v\bar{\imath}k$  'water'; va a particle denoting the acc. (<upa);  $v\bar{\imath}v$  (-lav) 'lip'; yiv-, yev- 'to spin'. Cf. also  $\bar{o}vzui$  'heart' (v. Voc.) and  $Iziv\bar{\imath}uk$  'Zebak'. sab Gr. 'night' is a lw., but  $f\bar{\imath}rs\bar{\imath}ou$  may be derived from \*fra- $x\bar{s}ap\bar{a}$ -, with secondary change of  $-\bar{o}v > -\bar{o}u$ . The etymologies of  $s\bar{\imath}ov\bar{\imath}ok$  'weeding';  $s\bar{\imath}oval$ ,  $s\bar{\imath}aval$  'road';  $s\bar{\imath}av\bar{\imath}aval$  'shirt', and  $n\bar{\imath}v$ - 'to bring' are unknown.

 $ka^{n}p\bar{a}l$  Gr. 'skull' is a lw. But  $api^{-}$  'to be lost';  $apanis^{-}$  'to lose';  $apax\dot{s}^{-}$  'to hear';  $ap\check{e}\bar{u}n$  'winnowing fork' suggest the possibility of pretonic -p- remaining unweakened (cf.  $at\ddot{i}y$ -, § 24), an unstressed vowel having less assimilation force than a stressed one.

26. The regular outcome of -c- is -c- as in Wkh.3 The affricate -c-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Yaghn. itk.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 25.

But note Sk. piz- 'to boil'.

evidently had greater power of resistance than t and p.¹ Examples are: pac- 'to cook';  $wnrc\bar{u}n$  'smoke-hole';  $c\partial$  'from';  $^2k\bar{c}c\bar{c}$  'anybody';  $p\partial nec$ -, pumec- 'to dress'. The ancient suffix  $-c\bar{c}i$  appears in vric 'eyebrow';  $\dot{s}\partial c$  'female';  $n\bar{c}c$  'nose';  $w\bar{c}rc$  'quail';  $w\bar{u}n\bar{c}c$  'female calf';  $\dot{z}\bar{c}c$  'coal';  $f\bar{c}c$  'mouth'(?). Cf. also  $d\bar{e}c(\bar{a}k)$  'skin-bag': Wkh.  $d\dot{a}ck$ ;  $m\bar{u}rc\bar{c}k$  'ant': Orm.  $marc\bar{c}n$ , etc.;  $v\partial c\partial r\bar{c}n$  'three days ago'(?) < \* $upac\bar{c}a\partial r\bar{u}mac$ ?. wuc- Zar. 'to find room'; vnc Gr. 'uncle' and voc- 'to copulate' are of unknown origin.

A differentiation has taken place in "stən 'needle' (< \* $\dot{s}(u)\dot{c}$ >n) and in Ishk.  $\dot{s}tok$  'girl', Sgl.  $\ddot{s}\dot{c}ak$  (< \* $\dot{s}\dot{t}\dot{c}ak$  < \* $stri\dot{c}i$  +  $ak\ddot{a}$ ).

A suffix  $\dot{c}$ , which occurs in  $if\dot{c}$  'spindle';  $kri\dot{c}$  'hut';  $perni\dot{c}$  'threshold';  $un\dot{c}$  Gr. 'moth';  $ual\dot{c}$  'rafter';  $yar\dot{c}$  'avalanche';  $y\tilde{e}\dot{c}a$  'nest', and, with sonorization, in xinj 'whey';  $j\bar{a}nj$  'woman' and possibly in  $z\bar{a}nz\dot{c}k$ , etc. 'entrails'. It might, of course, be borrowed from some unknown dialect, but a more probable derivation is from the genitive \*- $\dot{c}y\bar{a}h$ , cf. Konow, Saka Studies, p. 25. Cf. also  $mi\dot{c}$ ,  $m\bar{c}\dot{c}$  'us', § 111.

Gauthiot, MSL, 20, p. 70, derives  $k \ni r' \hat{c} \bar{i} n$  ( $k u r' \hat{c} \bar{u} n$ ) 'fowl'  $< *k a r k' \hat{i} n$ . More probably it contains a suffix  $-\hat{c} \bar{u} n$  ( $< *-\hat{c} y \bar{u} n a - \hat{c}$ ) cf.  $p \ni \hat{c} \bar{u} n$  'bullet'. Note Sgl.  $p e \hat{c} u k$ , but Ishk.  $p u \check{c} u k$  'worm'.

# Initial Voiced Stops and Affricates.

- 27. Ir. g- is represented by Sgl.—Ishk. γ. Thus, e.g. γô! 'ear'; γōndom g- 'wheat'; γenôk 'hair'; γōrm 'hot', etc.—γərðāv, go 'whirlpool' and γort- 'to wander about' are of Prs. origin, but have been adapted to Sgl. phonology. Reg. nyūi 'cow', cf. § 92. Before i ancient g- has become y- in yir, yər 'stone'; yiu- 'to spin' (Y γū(w)-); yivðōk 'thread'. yōz 'firewood' is probably borrowed from Wkh. γūz, with substitution of y- for the foreign sound γ.
- 28. Also Ir. b- results in a voiced fricative. Thus, e.g.: vəb 'was'; b-vānd- 'to bind'; vār 'burden'; roš 'rope'; vəz 'goat', etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Parachi -č-, HFL, p. 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But Sk. čpōšt 'behind'.

Most words beginning with b- are borrowed, from Prs. or from IA., but some are of unknown origin.

29. Sgl.—Ishk. has no initial  $\delta$ .\(^1\) It is possible that this sound has an ever existed in the language, but it seems more probable that Sgl.—Ishk. at one time had  $\delta$ - in accordance with other E.Ir. languages, and that the voiced stop has been substituted for the fricative through Prs. influence. Cf. Voc. s.v.  $\delta \bar{o} \delta x$  'goat's hair'  $< \delta \bar{o} \delta x$  (?).

Examples of d- are e.g.:  $d\bar{o}u$  'two';  $d\bar{u}nd$  'tooth';  $d\bar{v}r$  'far';  $d\bar{u}r$  'sickle', etc., etc. Sgl.  $wud\partial \gamma d$  'daughter' either goes back to \*huduyd $\bar{a}$ , or to a form with early prothetic vowel.

lēw Sk. 'idiot', Gr. 'night-mare'; leu, lēv Gr. 'stupid' are of Mj. origin. Reg. tēu 'brother-in-law' v. Voc. s.v.

30. Ancient j- results in ż-, j-. Thus: žan-, jan- 'to kill'; žōnj, jōnj j- 'woman'; zōšt 'big' (if = Skr. jyestha-). Jih- 'to flee' is probably a Prs. lw.—ża 'before'; żūōk 'male markhor' (ž-?); żānžok 'entrails'; żwondok 'hungry' are of unknown or uncertain origin.

The variant j for  $\dot{z}$  is probably due to Prs. influence. Ancient  $\dot{z}$  became  $\dot{z}$  too early to be dentalized into j. Gr. gives j in a few words, chiefly lw.s, corresponding to Zeb., Sgl. j. Thus, e.g.  $j\dot{a}$  'place',  $jub\bar{a}r$  'canal'.

# Intervocalic Voiced Stops and Affricates.

31. Ancient -γ- (-g-) is retained. Thus oγοδ 'came'; <sup>5</sup> yəγ, fəryaγ 'yoke'; -g-zūγ 'raven', and, possibly, Pōroγ 'n. of a village'; Parōγ 'Kafir'.

Palatalization takes place after \*ai in  $m\bar{o}i$  'cloud' and after r (in secondary contact) in  $f \ni r y \ni m$  'kid'. In  $f \ni r \gamma \ni r t$ - 'to wander about' the association with  $\gamma \circ r t$ - has apparently prevented this development.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Zar.'s  $\delta \bar{e}c = d\bar{e}c(\bar{a}k)$  'goatskin' is scarcely correct.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 92.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. wužinjak 'woman' with \*hu-, or prothetic vowel.

<sup>4</sup> But Psht. j > j,  $\cdot j$ -  $> -\tilde{z}$ -  $(-\tilde{c}$ -  $> \cdot j\cdot)$ .

But Sgl. ὄγὄδ, Ishk. ågad 'brought' (tžīm-).

arək 'eructation' is borrowed from Prs.  $\bar{a}r\bar{o}q = \bar{a}r\bar{o}\gamma$ .

32. We find Sgl. -δ- in mēδ 'waist'; mōδ 'here'; wōδ 'there'; nīδ- 'to -d-sit down'; pūδ 'foot'; käδi 'when'; koδos (kolos) 'eleven'; wuδīd 'span'; zīδ- 'to flow'; pəδīn- 'to kindle'; īδ- 'to arrive' (Orosh. yaδ-); par-δē- 'to sell'.

Ishk. has -d- in  $m\bar{e}d$ , etc. Note  $p\bar{u}$ , but Zeb., Zar.  $p\bar{u}d$ . As to ma 'in', see § 107 a. xair 'perspiration', given by Gr., is not supported by other sources.

uštīn 'hay-stack' is derived from  $*w\bar{u}$ -dān  $< *w\bar{a}stra-d\bar{a}na$ -, and wotuk 'feast' possibly < \*waduka-.

As to the special treatment of  $-\delta$ - in  $p \ni rni\check{c}$  'threshold';  $pr\check{e}\check{s}t$  'wrist', cf. § 22.

33. Ancient -b- occurs as -v- in  $p\ddot{v}v$ - 'to drink'; nav- 'to rain'; xav- -b- 'to descend'; possibly also in  $r\bar{u}v$  'rhubarb';  $y\bar{o}v$  'cornbin'. Reg.  $\bar{a}w\bar{i}r$ -,  $av\bar{i}r$ - 'to find', v. Voc. s.v.

The obl. pl. in  $-\partial f$  is derived through \*- $\partial v$  from \*-abis.

We find  $\check{z} < -\check{j}$  in  $\grave{z}wondok$  'hungry', if  $< *a\check{j}iwantaka$ .

34. The derivation of  $i\bar{z}im$  'to bring (a thing)' is not certain, -j-but it is probable that the word contains ancient  $j.-\gamma\bar{e}\bar{z}$  'to say';  $pi\bar{z}in$  'clay-pot for milk';  $ri\bar{z}uk$  'male kid',  $uu\bar{z}i(r)\bar{z}ir$  'partridge' are of more or less uncertain origin.— $b^{\gamma}r\bar{e}\bar{z}$  'birch' is borr. from IA.

### Cerebrals.

35. In words of Ir. origin we find, at any rate with some speakers of Sgl.—Ishk., cerebrals developed from -s-, -st-, -rt/d and -rn.\(^1\) As to rd for rd v. \(\xi\) 13.

Sgl. čəṭ 'small'; kvṭ 'short'; māṇḍ- 'to rub'; bakɛṇḍī 'calf'; naṭ 'play'; kuṇḍār 'destroyed' are probably IA lw.s. In həṭ 'open' (cf. haṭe 'loosened'); bēṭāk 'sheep-skin coat'; sōṭ-i-pəδf 'calf of the leg'; xaməṇḍak 'tick'; paṭək (Sk. pätük) 'lentils' the origin of the cerebrals is unknown to me.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 41. 64, 70 and 73.

#### Surd Fricatives.

36. Ancient x- occurs in:  $x\bar{a}nd$ - 'to laugh';  $x\bar{o}r$  'ass';  $x\bar{a}z$ - 'to rise'; x-xav- 'to descend';  $x\bar{u}r$ - 'to scratch'.  $x\bar{o}f$  'seum, foam', and  $xa\dot{s}$ 'to pull' have x- instead of k- also in other Pamir dialects.

Intervocalic -x- remains. Thus: amax 'we'; təmux 'you'; pēx -x- 'span'; wēx 'root'; with an ancient suffix -xā also: alax 'hill'; wolox 'rib'; sōrox 'ear of corn'; sōōx 'goat's hair'. Other words with -x- are: box, bok 'vomiting'; mēx 'table' (?); sōx 'hard, locked'; yarx 'animal's droppings', and the lw. malax 'locust'.

37. It seems probable that the fricative θ existed in common Sgl.— θ Ishk., and resulted in Sgl. t, Ishk. s. Thus: Sgl. tev-, Ishk. sav- 'to burn' (Wkh., Shgh. θāw-); Sgl. wuter, Ishk. wusīr 'ashes' (Orosh. aθīr, etc.); Sgl. zōt, Ishk. zus 'son' (NW Turf. zhg 'child').

In  $y\bar{e}\dot{c}a$  'nest' (Wkh.  $yo\vartheta$ , etc.);  $p\partial\dot{c}\bar{u}n$  'bullet' (Shgh.  $p\hat{a}\vartheta$ )  $\vartheta$  has been elided before a suffix.— $m\bar{e}i$  'day' may be derived from  $*m\bar{a}\vartheta ya$ -,¹ and the exact form from which  $n\partial m\bar{e}\gamma\delta$ ,  $n\partial me\delta k$  'salt' is derived, remains uncertain (\* $nama\delta ka$ -?). The relation between  $\gamma ud\bar{a}r\gamma a$  Gr. 'dung' and Av.  $q\bar{u}\vartheta a$ - is doubtful.

38. Ancient f- before a vowel occurs only in  $f\bar{\imath}$  'shovel' and  $fi\bar{\imath}k$  f 'shoulder-blade'. The derivation of  $f\bar{\imath}e$  'mouth'; fusek 'nose', etc. is uncertain.

In intervocalic position we find  $\bar{i}f$  'to weave';  $k\bar{i}f$  'hump';  $r\bar{e}f$  'broom'; z  $x\bar{o}f$  'to cough';  $x\bar{o}f$  'foam';  $t^{2}r\bar{u}f$  'to steal'; puf (and  $p\bar{o}b$ , v. § 130 g) 'to blow'.— $k\bar{u}^{h}$  'mountain' is borrowed from Prs.

### Sibilants.

39. Ir. s remains unchanged in initial position before a vowel, and s between vowels. Thus, e.g.:  $s\bar{u}i$  'hare';  $s\bar{o}r$  'head';  $s\bar{o}vd$  'shoulder', etc.; apanis- 'to lose'; is- 'to come'; dos 'ten'; fərnis- 'to forget';  $f\bar{o}ras$ - 'to ask'; kas- 'to see'; nas- 'to take'; rus '30'; vərvēs 'fox';

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 59, 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Yd.-Mj. rūfo.

<sup>20 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

vərvəs 'barley'; vəsīn 'whetstone'; wosōk 'calf', etc.—cos- 'to break wind'; dəsīn 'oats'; wusūk 'elbow'; wasē 'wide'; wūs- 'to take away'; wōsi 'cotton thread' are of uncertain derivation.

Note the early syncope in wist '20', cf. § 24.

- 40. Examples of ancient (Av.) š- are ŝ-: ŝīδ- 'to go', and ŝūrm 'horse- ŝ-dung'. ŝ- also appears in a number of words—apart from Prs. lw.s—most of which are of unknown origin. Cf. Voc. s.vv., and v. also s.v. xom.
- 41. Intervocalic -s-, whether derived from IE \*s or \*ks, results in 1/1, -s-the intermediate stage no doubt having been ž. Cf. the parallel development in Sar.

I always heard  $l \ll -s$  in Ishk. and Zeb., and the same sound is given by Grierson and Sk.<sup>1</sup> The rules determining the distribution of l and  $l \ll -s$  in Sgl. and in the 'Ishk.' dialect recorded by Zar. are far from being clear. But at any rate the treatment of ancient \*-s differs from that of ancient \*-rt/d-<sup>2</sup> in two respects:

1) In words with ancient rt/d Sk. in several cases gives l. 2) In such words Zar. and Sgl. always have l.<sup>3</sup> In Stein's and my own Ishk. and Zeb. records rt/d and s have coalesced into l.

It is at present impossible to give a satisfactory explanation of the curious fact that in Sgl. (including Zar.'s Ishk.) l < \*s is liable to change into l, while l < \*rt/d usually remains. Possibly the stage \*r was long retained in the case of ancient \*rt/d.

Owing to the above-mentioned vacillation l has also penetrated into some Prs. lw.s in Sgl. Thus, e.g.: kali 'key'; soyol 'jackal'; gol 'dumb'; cang-l-l/ring 'hamstring'. It is also heard as a variant of final r in  $column{1}{l}$  'four', angal 'grape', etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But note Sk. yol 'ear' besides yol.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 70.

Written r.h) by Mulla Faiz Bakhsh in ghàr 'throat', kirh 'knife'; var 'trousers'. But also ghovar 'ear'; khoàr 'six' (dulmik 'moon'; valvàsh 'trouser-band').

<sup>4</sup> I once noted may 'died'.

The presence of l in some of Sk.'s words with ancient rt/d is curious. Either Sk. has happened to get hold of a speaker of Ishk., whose pronunciation was more archaic than that of other informants; or his informant came from a village between Ishkashim and Sanglech.

Words of unknown origin containing -l- are, e.g.: wulo 'before'; wulākī 'first'; wulyēka 'alone'; flāvuk 'breakfast'.

Internal  $\check{s}$  occurs in lw.s ( $ka\check{s}vi\check{s}$  'armpit'; \*  $k \ni vi\check{s}ik$  'lizard';  $n\bar{\iota}\check{s}orm$  'shady side of a valley'), onomatopoetics ( $t \ni ri\check{s}$ - 'to sneeze'), and in words with original \*(x) $\check{s}y$  ( $d\bar{e}\check{s}$ - 'to milk').

42. Ir. z remains unchanged. Thus, e.g.: zəmūð 'son-in-law'; zāļ z 'yellow'; zūŋg 'knee', etc.; and az 'I'; araz- 'to fly'; pəzīn- 'to understand'; vəzōk 'fat'; vərāz 'above'; vəz 'goat'; waz- 'to fall'; xāz- 'to rise'; yōz 'firewood'.

Reg. zöl Zar. 'sleeve' ( $<*zusa-<*\delta usa-?$ ), and zenz- 'to seize, lift', v. Voc. s.vv.

The etymologies of joz 'mosquito',  $v \ni z \ni k$  'branch' are unknown. Reg. Sgl. s, p  $w \ni n \ni z$ , Sgl. is  $w \ni n \ni \gamma$  'to walk about', v. § 7.

<sup>1</sup> mai Zb., given as a side-form of mēl, is prob. a Wkh. word.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Lw. from Shgh., with  $l < \tilde{z}$ ?

<sup>4</sup> But Wkh. kalbun from Ishk.?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. § 55.

#### Nasals.

43. Ir. antevocalic m-, n-, and intervocalic -m-, -n- remain unchanged. m, n Examples of m-, n- are: mōi 'cloud'; mēδ 'waist'; māļ 'husband'; mət 'fist'; nou 'nine': nīc 'nose'; nīδ- 'to sit down', etc.

Examples of -m-, -n- are:  $n\bar{\imath}m$  'name';  $m\bar{\imath}o\delta$  'here' (\* $imad\bar{\imath}a$ );  $f \ni ry \ni m$  'kid';  $n\bar{\imath}an$  'mother';  $v\bar{\imath}n$  'beard'; ken- 'to do';  $p \ni \delta \bar{\imath}n$ - 'to light a fire';  $pot\bar{\imath}an$  'thigh';  $p \ni z\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to understand'; -en suffix of the obl. sg. In Sgl.  $p \ni nec$ - 'to dress' (Ishk. pumec-) n is probably due to dissimilation, cf. Shgh., etc. penij-. Final -n is occasionally dropped in  $x\bar{\imath}a(n)$  'house'.—Note n in Sgl.  $s \ni p\bar{\imath}n/n$  'iron';  $s \ni s \nmid nn/n$  'puppy'.

As for the verbal suffixes 1 sg. -em, -en, 1 pl. -un, -um, cf. § 132.

## Liquids.

44. Examples of initial r- are:  $r\bar{e}f$  'broom';  $r\bar{e}\gamma^o n$  'ghee';  $r\bar{o}sk$  'truth';  $r\bar{u}v$  'rhubarb';  $r\bar{i}v(-lav)$  'lip'.

Intervocalic -r- occurs in: mur- 'to die';  $m\bar{u}r$  'centipede';  $v\bar{u}r$  'rain';  $par\cdot\delta\bar{e}$ - 'to sell';  $s\bar{o}r$  'head';  $turk\bar{\imath}$  'darkness'; tar 'into'; worok 'male lamb';  $x\bar{o}r$  'ass'.

Apart from the cases mentioned §§ 41 and 70, l occurs only in l lw.s, or in words of uncertain origin.  $v^3l\bar{e}l$ - is dissimilated from  $vr\bar{e}l$ - 'to break'. As for  $avz\bar{a}l$  'headstall of a horse', v. Voc. s.v.

### Glottal.

45. Initial h- is lost as in most other E.Ir. dialects. Thus, e.g.: ōvδ h'seven'; andərv- 'to sew'; ambol 'moraine' (\*ham-), and, possibly,
uyūi 'cow'; wuδəyδ 'daughter' (\*hu-?).¹ In Prs. lw.s h is usually
retained, but a glance at the Voc. will show that it is a very
¹ Cf. § 92.

unstable sound. Cf., e.g.: ammåm 'bath'; aiwån 'animal'; amīn 'this'. Evidently h- in Sgl.—Ishk. is not a real phoneme, but a more or less foreign ornament devoid of any phonological significance. In (h)ot 'eight' h- has been introduced from Prs.

No trace of intervocalic -h- remains. Cf., e.g.: ormōzd, rēmuz -h-(anc. lw.?) 'sun'; nīc 'nose' (\*nāhačī-); nīð- 'to sit down'; sūi 'hare'; vīn 'beard' (\*upāhana-, or \*upāna-?); wul-mēk 'moon'; wēn 'blood'; xūy- 'to thresh'; yəxōai 'sister'; ken-ī 'thou dost', etc. Cf. also kō 'whom' < kahya.

) $\hbar$  'to flee';  $k\bar{u}^h$  'mountain',  $r\bar{a}^h$  'road' are Prs. lw.s.  $k\bar{u}$ ,  $r\bar{a}$ ,  $m\bar{a}$  'month';  $p\bar{a}d\hat{s}\bar{a}$  'king', etc. may have lost their h already in the Prs. dialect from which Sgl. has borrowed these words.

### Semivouvels.

46. Initial w is preserved as a sound closely resembling Engl. w in was a great number of words, e.g.: wed 'willow'; win- 'to see'; work, work 'wolf', etc., v. Voc.—if- 'to weave' is derived through \*(w)nf- from \*wāf-; cf. Sk., Gr. urk 'wolf'.

Ancient intervocalic -w- occurs in: wa  $(\bar{o}, a\bar{u})$  'that';  $w\bar{o}\bar{o}$  'there'; -w- wok 'one'; <sup>2</sup> nou, naw 'nine';  $now\partial \delta os$  'nineteen';  $n\partial w\bar{o}k$ ,  $n\bar{o}u$  'mill-race';  $nuw\bar{o}k$  'new'; you 'grain';  $t\bar{e}u$  'husband's brother';  $t\bar{e}w$ - 'to stir'. In unstressed position we find  $t\bar{o}$  'thy', etc.

Reg.  $aw\bar{\imath}r$ -, avir- 'to bring', v. Voc.—The derivation of  $\hat{\imath}aw$ - Zar. 'to chew' is unknown, and  $\bar{a}kik$  'egg' contains ancient \* $\bar{a}wya$ -.

47. Ancient y- is retained in: you 'grain';  $y \partial \gamma$  'yoke';  $y \bar{u} \delta$  'husband's y brother's wife'. Reg. y < g, v. § 27.

Intervocalic -y- remains in present stems, such as  $d\ddot{a}y$ - 'to give';  $zen\bar{e}y$ - 'to wash'; api-, apay- 'to be lost'. It forms a diphthong together with the preceding vowel in  $r\bar{o}i$  'three';  $p\bar{o}i$  'thick milk', cf. -ou < -aw-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.-Mj. § 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But kodos 'eleven' with complete loss of \*aiwa-.

### Prothetic y- and w-.

48. Prothetic y- is found not only in yōtuk 'bridge',¹ but also in y-yūn- 'to grind'; yūṇɛk 'marten'; yəxōai 'sister'; yēča 'nest', and, possibly, in (y)āvċ 'avalanche'; yarx 'animal's droppings'.

Yet it is much less common than prothetic w-, of which numerous w-examples will be found in the Voc.

Prothetic w- appears chiefly before u (or  $\theta < u$ ), e.g. in:  $wu\theta\theta \gamma\theta$  'daughter';  $wul\bar{\theta}k$  'flour';  $wur\bar{e}\bar{u}n$  'smoke-hole';  $wu\bar{z}d\bar{u}n$ ,  $\bar{u}\bar{z}d\bar{\theta}n$  'millet';  $(w)us\bar{u}k$  'elbow', etc. But note, on the one hand, Ishk. wastuk 'bone' (Sgl.  $ost\bar{o}k$ ), and, on the other,  $y\bar{u}n$ -,  $y\bar{u}n\bar{e}k$  mentioned above, with prothesis of y- before the change of  $*\bar{d}, *\bar{o}$  to u.

The tendency is the same as in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh., but it has developed in an independent manner in each dialect. In some of the words mentioned above the initial \*u- is of secondary origin (e.g. in  $wul\bar{o}k$ ,  $wurc\bar{u}n$ ).

There are several words of uncertain origin beginning with wu-. Here w- may, or may not, be prothetic. Such words are, e.g.: wudzļ 'dung' (\*wi-?); wulo 'before'; wurmēk 'poplar', etc.

# Groups of Consonants.

# First Component an Affricate.

49. If we are to judge from  $f \ni ris$  'to remain' < fra-ric ya and  $mus \ c y$  Gr. 'clothes' < muc ya-(?), the affricate has lost its occlusion before y in cy < c y. In that case  $m \delta c$ , mic 'us' must be derived from ahmac iya.

# First Component a Voiced Stop.

50. We are not able to decide whether  $\gamma\delta$ , e.g. in  $wu\delta\partial\gamma\delta$  'daughter', gd goes back to gd ( $\gamma d$ ), or to xt any more than in the case of the corresponding words in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Grierson, § 19.

Reduced to mas, mis before a consonant,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 87.

No example is available of ancient gr or initial gn, but we find gn-gn-gn- in  $r\bar{e}\gamma(u)n$  'ghee'.

51. Ancient dk appears in  $n \ni m \in \delta k$  'salt'  $< n \ni m \in \delta k a$ , with transposition dk into a more usual group in  $n \ni m \in \gamma \delta / d$ , and, with dissimilation of the first of two fricatives, in Sk.  $n = m m \gamma / l \gamma \delta k$ .

Ancient dr- occurs in  $der\ddot{a}y$ - 'to reap';  $d\partial rn\bar{a}k$  'bow-string', dr 'arrow'(?), and, possibly, in  $d\partial ram$  'pine-tree'.

In  $c\bar{a}m$ - $m\partial r dik\bar{i}g$  'pupil of the eye', which is probably an ancient lw., rd goes back to -dr-.

52. In võr 'door'; vəzōk 'fat, thick' we find a development of dw- dw corresponding to that of Psht, but differing from that of the surrounding dialects: Yd.—Mj. Pv-, Wkh. b-, Shgh. dev-. The common starting-point, however, must have been \*δv-.¹

 $d\partial v\bar{i}n$ - 'to winnow' may have been borrowed from Shgh.  $dev\bar{i}n$ -. It is at any rate difficult to detect any reason for a different treatment of dw- in this word.  $d\bar{o}u$  'two' is derived from  $*duw\bar{a}u$ , cf. Y  $lo^h$ , etc., Or.  $\delta au$ .

The development of -dy- is shown by  $m\bar{e}\delta$  'waist' and  $z\bar{i}\delta$ - 'to dy flow'  $< *\gamma za\delta ya$ -.

53. Ir. br- results in v(r)r- in  $v(r)r\tilde{\imath}e$  'eyebrow',  $v(r)r\tilde{\imath}e$  'brother'; 2  $vr\tilde{\imath}e$ l- br (and  $v^{3}l\tilde{\imath}e$ l-) 'to break',  $v^{3}r\tilde{\imath}z$  'above' <\*barz-.—Sgl.  $arv\tilde{\imath}e$ sum 'silk' is a lw., cf. Ishk. (a) $br\tilde{\imath}e$ sum.

# First Component a Surd Fricative.

54. In Sgl. xt and ft develop into  $y\delta$ ,  $v\delta$ , and do not remain, through preventive differentiation, at the stage -yd, (-id) and -vd found in Yd.—Mj., Wkh. and Shgh. Ishk. yd, vd are not more archaic forms, but are due to the general change of  $\delta$  into d in this dialect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Regarding woxs, vuxs 'snake' v. Voc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sk. and Gr. Zeb. give the scarcely correct form  $w(a)r\bar{u}d$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj, § 90 sq.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  I heard, however,  $\bar{u}v\delta$  'seven', etc., from one Shgh. informant.

Examples of ancient xt are:  $t\bar{o}\gamma d$  Gr. 'he went';  $at\bar{o}\gamma d$  (Sgl., with xt metathesis  $axt\partial \delta$ ) 'he entered';  $d\partial\gamma\delta$  'milked';  $p\partial na\gamma\delta$  'dressed';  $v\bar{a}\gamma d$  Gr. 'nightmare';  $zu\gamma\delta$  'took' ( $z\partial nz$ -); probably also  $wud\partial\gamma\delta$  'daughter'.

Ancient  $ft > v\delta/d$  occurs in:  $\bar{o}v\delta$  'seven';  $s \bar{s}v\delta$  'shoulder';  $okov\delta$  ft 'boot';  $yev\delta$  'spun';  $and\bar{o}rv\delta$  'sewed';  $n\bar{v}v\delta$  'brought'; xavd 'descended';  $belava\delta$ , belavd 'said';  $p\bar{o}v\delta$  'drank'. This last form is of secondary origin, and the same may be the case with some of the other preterites of verbs in -v.

Reg. ift 'wove'; təδ 'burnt', etc., v. § 138, IV.

55. Ancient xs is retained in apaxs- 'to hear' (\*apa-uxs-), with the xs secondary forms  $apax\check{s}$ - and apux-. Cf. also Voc. s.vv.  $\check{s}\partial xs$ - 'to cross' and uoxs 'snake'.

 $\S i\delta$ -,  $\S in$  'to weep' (: Yd.  $x\S i$ -) is a fairly certain example of the  $x\S$  transition of Ir.  $x\S$ -  $> \S$ -. Cf. also  $\S uwin$  Gr. 'cradle', if connected with Av.  $x\S aob$ -. In internal position we find  $f \ni r\S ou$  'night'  $< *frax\S ap\bar{a}$ -, and  $d\bar{e}\S$ - 'to milk'  $< *daux\S ya$ -(?).

xuāl, etc. 'six' goes back to \*xwaša < \*xšwaša. Possibly also xum 'milk' < \*x( $\dot{s}$ )waudman- < xšaodman- + xšvipta-.

The group  $x \dot{s} m$  was reduced to  $\dot{s} m$  at an early date,  $\dot{s} u(x) \dot{s} - mahya - ka - x \dot{s} m$ ,  $x \dot{s} n$  resulting in  $wulm\bar{e}k$  'moon'.  $\dot{s} \partial n\bar{a}\bar{i}$ ,  $r \partial \dot{s} n\bar{a}\bar{i}$  'fire' is an early lw.

56. The only possible, but very doubtful example of Ir. -fs- is mis- fs 'to sleep', if < \*ham-(h)ufsa-.

In the group  $f\tilde{s}$  followed by another consonant f is lost:  $\tilde{s}\tilde{k}\tilde{o}\delta$   $f\tilde{s}$  'cattle-shed'  $< f\tilde{s}u-kata$ :;  $\tilde{s}t\tilde{s}n\tilde{o}k$  'new-born kid'  $< f\tilde{s}u-kata$ ?), and in  $\tilde{p}\tilde{e}\tilde{s}t\tilde{s}n$  'udder'  $< paya-f\tilde{s}tana$ . But it remains, or is transposed, in Sgl.  $\tilde{a}f\tilde{s}\tilde{u}n$ , Ishk.  $\tilde{s}\tilde{s}f\tilde{u}n$ , etc. 'comb': Yd.  $\tilde{s}f\tilde{s}n$ .

57. Initial xr- occurs, with svarabhakti vowel, in  $x \partial r i \partial$  'bought' xr (pres.  $x \partial r n$ -, with metathesis), cf. also  $xr\bar{e}seg$  n. of a mammal. Intervocalic xr is subject to metathesis. Thus: carx 'spinning wheel';  $s\partial rx$  'red';  $narx\bar{o}k$  'nail'.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Reg. apaxt 'learned'; Ishk. puməxt 'dressed'; Zar. dēšt 'milked', etc., cf. § 138, V, b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Saka ggända < \*xrnati, Bailey, BSOS, IX, 71. (Corr. note).

Similarly fr- in:  $fr\bar{\iota}$  'good';  $f \partial r \gamma \partial r t$ - 'to wander about';  $f \partial r \bar{\iota} s$ - 'to fr ask';  $f \partial r n i s$ - 'to forget' etc. (v. Voc.); but warf 'snow'.

In fai 'much, very' r appears to have been lost in unstressed position.

Ancient  $\vartheta r$ , however, has been reduced to \*hr and further to r  $\vartheta r$  in all positions. Thus:  $r\bar{o}i$  'three' 1 rus 'thirty';  $d\bar{u}r$  'sickle';  $turk\bar{i}$  'darkness';  $w\bar{\sigma} c\bar{\sigma}r\bar{i}n/m$  'three days ago'.

In  $t \partial r \partial f$ ,  $t^3 r \ddot{u} f$  'to steal' tr is due to a secondary development (v. Voc. s.v.);  $t^3 r \dot{u} \dot{s}$  'to sneeze' is an onomatopoetic; and  $tr \ddot{u} s$  'to fear' is either transposed from tars, or of IA origin.

58. Ir. x is sonorized before m in  $t'\bar{e}\gamma m$  'seed', just as is the case in xm, xn the neighbouring dialects. But xn apparently resulted in n in  $f^{\gamma}r\bar{v}n-d$  'remained' < \*fra-rixna.

The only certain example of Ir. fn is  $x\bar{o}\delta m$  'dream', regarding fn which cf. Benveniste, BSL, 30, 75 sq.— $m\bar{i}n(d)$  'slept' ( $<*ham\cdot(h)ufn\cdot?$ ) Ir. may have been influenced by  $f^{\circ}r\bar{i}nd$  'tired'.

59. Ir. xw (< hw and Indo-Ir. \*kw) is retained in  $xw\bar{a}r$ - 'to eat'; cf.  $y \ni x\bar{o}ai$  xw 'sister';  $xu\bar{a}l$  'six'. But w is lost before a rounded vowel:  $xu\delta\bar{a}ri$  'mill';  $x\bar{o}\delta m$  'dream';  $x(w)\bar{o}l$  'ate'; Ishk.  $x\bar{o}l$  'six';  $x\bar{u}y$ - 'to thresh'; cf. also pux- 'cooked'. It is not clear why w should have been dropped in  $x\bar{e}$  'own' (unstressed?), and  $x\bar{i}r$  Zar. 'sister's son'.

Ir.  $\vartheta w$  probably became  $\vartheta f$ , cf. the development of  $\delta w > *\delta v$ .  $\vartheta w$   $\vartheta f$  is retained in Sgl. is.  $p \vartheta d f$ , but Sgl. p.  $p \vartheta d f$ , Ishk. p u t f, p u d f 'meat'  $< *p i \vartheta w$ .  $*c \vartheta f \tilde{o} r$  'four' was simplified into  $c(\vartheta) f \tilde{u} r$ , and  $*\vartheta f a k$  'thee' was differentiated into  $t^{\vartheta} f a k$  in Sgl., but resulted in Ishk. f a k. It is, however, also possible to assume that  $\vartheta w$  regularly became f (as in  $c \vartheta f \tilde{u} r$ , f a k), that  $t^{\vartheta} f a k$  has got its t- secondarily from t u, and that  $p \vartheta d f$ , etc. goes back to  $*p i \partial^u f < *p i t u \vartheta w a$ .

The only possible example of  $\vartheta y$  is  $m\bar{\epsilon}i$  'day'  $< *m\bar{a}hy \vartheta y$   $< *m\bar{a}\vartheta ya$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mulla Faiz Bakhsh's trăi can scarcely be correct.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 55.

## First Component a Sibilant.

60. Initial sk- occurs only in \*skonok, s\*könük 'puppy', and in the sk place-name (I)skitūl. The tendency towards the development of a short vowel is shared also by the groups st and sp.

In  $p\bar{a}sk$  'cow-hide' and  $r\bar{o}sk$  'truth' sk goes back to \*-st(a)k-.

We find Sgl. \*stīn, Sk. stīn, Ishk. ustun (lw.?) 'post'', but, with a st full vowel, Sgl. ust\*rūk, \*st-, ist-, Sk., Gr. struk 'star'; Sgl astar-, Ishk. sitar-, s'tar- 'to sweep'.

Internal st is retained. Thus, e.g.: ast 'is'; ast-, ust- 'to stand up'; ostōk 'bone'; āstay- 'to send'; dōst 'hand'; korost 'skin'; nilōst 'sat down'; pəstūk 'bark'; vōst 'bound'; zūst 'flowed, ran'; xēste 'bread', etc. In the lw. bilis 'span' the loss of the t may belong to the Prs. dialect from which the word has been borrowed.

wist 'twenty' is derived from \*wis't'(i) < \*wisati, 1 and prēst Gr. 'wrist' possibly from \*pr( $\delta$ )as't'(i) < \*pari-dastya-. It seems doubtful whether pēstən 'udder' is derived, with palatalization, from \*payah-stanya- (cf. Yd. pīstän), or from \*-fštanya-2--šutur Gr. 'calf', which Gr. derives from staora-, must be a sandhi form.

61. Initial sp- appears with or without a vowel in Sgl. <sup>e</sup>spēδ 'white'; sp Sgl. (<sup>g</sup>)spēl, Ishk. s(<sup>g</sup>)pul 'louse'; Sgl. spēr, Ishk. (w)uspīr 'plough'; Sgl. spār- 'to entrust'. In the lw. sɪpērz 'spleen' Sgl., too, has the vowel inserted between s and p in the Modern Prs. manner.

Sgl.  ${}^{3}sp\bar{o}n$ , Ishk.  ${}^{8}p^{3}n$ , etc. 'iron' goes back to  ${}^{*}isp\bar{o}n$ , with palatalization of s after the unexplained  $\check{i}$ .

The fate of Ir  $s\dot{c}$  is uncertain.  $pas\bar{t}$ ,  $pas\bar{t}(d)$  'after(wards)' is prosided by borrowed from, or influenced by, Prs. But cf.  $\dot{c}a-p\bar{o}\dot{s}t$  Sk 'backwards, behind' (< \*- $p\bar{o}\dot{c}t$ ?), Sgl.  $pa\dot{c}u'wax\dot{s}t$  'last', and  $wu\dot{c}$  Zar. 'high', which seem to indicate that in  $s\dot{c}$  the palatal character of the  $\dot{c}$  was retained through preventive differentiation, with subsequent loss of the  $s.^3$  Just as in Yd.—Mj. and in Shgh. sn is sonorized

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Par. yušt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. c > c, § 19.

into zn: zenē- 'to wash'; wuznel 'daughter-in-law'; possibly also wiiznuk Zar. 'inflated goat-skin'.

**62**. Ir. sr and str are assimilated into s, just as in the neighbouring sr,str languages. Thus, with \*sr: āšik 'tear'; šou 'horn'; šēn 'podex'; xaš 'mother-in-law'; sud Gr. 'heard'. With \*str: sec 'female' escak 'girl' (\* $str\bar{\iota}$ - $\tilde{\epsilon}i + \tilde{a}k\bar{a}$ );  $vo\tilde{s}$  'rope';  $w\bar{u}\tilde{s}$  'straw';  $u\tilde{s}t\bar{\imath}n$  'hay-stack'.

Palatalization of sy appears to have taken place in to's Sk (= Wkh.) sy 'empty'. But note apanis- 'to lose'; sūyūk 'spleen' (\*syāwaka-??).  $\tilde{sui}$  'black' presents the same difficulties as Wkh  $\tilde{siu}$ , Khow. lw.  $\tilde{sa}$ .

moyz 'marrow' and asta-mayzik 'upper arm' are probably lw's, or 63. influenced by Prs. mayz. zīd- 'to flow' is derived through \*zyīd- $<*z\gamma i\delta$ - $<*z\gamma a\delta ya$ - with palatalization of  $\gamma$  before i. The preterite zūst has been influenced by the present. The derivation of z³yōlog 'humble bee' is unknown (\*uz-gartaka-?).

Ir. zd remains in Sgl.  $\bar{o}rm\bar{o}zd$ , Ishk.  $r\bar{e}muz(d)$  'sun'. But note the zddesonorization in wost 'fat', cf. also Wkh. wast. — The preterites yuzd and kozd (yuz- 'to run', koc- 'to copulate') are secondary formations. — Sk. gives  $zd\bar{a}r$ - 'to sweep' apparently with st > zd- in unknown conditions, just as in Sar.

āļuzd 'the day before yesterday' and pāruzd 'yesterday' contain zn a base \*azna-, cf. Av. azan-, asn- 'day'. And vozd Zar. 'pillow' must be derived from \* $v\bar{o}zn < *v\bar{o}rzn < *barzn$ . But zn < sn did not share this development, and rz + n in secondary contact is subject to segmentation in wuždän, etc. 'millet' < \*u(r)żdn < \*hārzana-.

The derivation of reż Gr. 'platform for sleeping', and riżuk 'male zy kid, one year old' (cf. rizyāk 'small') from forms in zy is uncertain.

**64**. A characteristic feature of Sgl.—Ishk. is the change of st into t, t. st This development separates Sgl.—Ishk. both from Yd.—Mj. and from the Shgh. group. 2 Both Sgl.—Ishk. t and Yd.—Mj. šč, šky presuppose an earlier stage \*st, with 'cerebral' t.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See § 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Shgh. mut 'fist' is a lw. from Ishk.

On the other hand Sgl.—Ishk. t,  $t < \hat{s}t$  reminds us of Psht. t < \*t?), e.g. in  $at\partial$  'eight'. But it is improbable that there is any direct connection between the developments in Sgl.—Ishk. and in Psht. It might be natural to think of IA influence being responsible for the change of  $\hat{s}t$  into a cerebral in an Ir. border dialect, but the neighbouring IA language, Khowar, retains  $\hat{s}t$  unchanged. An early adoption of lw's containing cerebrals may, however, have facilitated the development in Sgl.—Ishk., as well as in Psht.

It is a curious fact that Ishk., which is in most respect less archaic and more influenced by Prs. than Sgl., has retained the t in some words in which Sgl. has changed it further into t. Thus, Ishk. ingit 'finger'; at 'eight'; mut 'fist' set 'dust'; wat 'fell', and Gr. Zeb. ket 'killed', but Sgl. ingit; (h)ot; met; wat, kut.

Other examples of t,  $t < \hat{s}t$  are: put 'parched grain';  $pot\bar{u}n$  'thigh', and the preterites  $ar\bar{u}t$  'ran', etc., cf. § 138, III.

Some verbs have secondary preterites in  $\dot{s}t$  (cf. l.c.), and  $\dot{s}t$  appears also in lw's, e.g. in  $n\partial vi\dot{s}t$  'wrote';  $angi\dot{s}t$  'coal';  $ra\dot{s}t$  'dawn';  $\dot{s}\dot{s}t\partial r$  'camel', and through secondary development of other groups, cf.  $\dot{s}t\dot{s}n\bar{o}k$  'new-born kid' (\* $f\ddot{s}tanyaka$ -);  $\dot{s}\dot{s}t\partial n$  'needle' (\* $su\ddot{c}ani$ -);  $u\ddot{s}t\bar{n}n$  'hay-stack' (\*vastra- $d\bar{a}na$ ), etc. The origin of  $va\ddot{s}t$  'fur-coat' and  $va\ddot{s}t$  'juniper' is unknown.

It is possible that  $f = r \gamma \partial t$  'walked about' is developed regularly  $r \delta t$  from  $f = r \gamma \partial r \delta t$  ' $f = r \gamma \partial r \delta t$  is an early lw.

65. The only example of  $\hat{s}p$  ( $\langle p\hat{s} \langle f\hat{s}?\rangle$ ) is  $tri\hat{s}p$  Sk. 'sour milk', cf.  $\hat{s}p$   $ter\partial_s^*$  'sour',  $awi\hat{s}p$  'ploughpole' (Wkli.  $w\partial_s^*p$ , Y  $\hat{a}wusp$ ) is of unknown origin.

Ir.  $\check{s}m$  is assimilated into m as in Shgh., Yd.—Mj., etc. Thus:  $\check{s}m$   $c\bar{a}m$  'eye';  $p\bar{a}m$  'wool';  $t\partial mux$  'you'.

No genuine word with ancient  $\dot{s}n$  occurs.  $p\dot{a}\dot{s}n\bar{\epsilon}$  'heel' and  $\dot{s}\partial n\bar{a}i$ ,  $\dot{s}n$  etc. 'fire' are borrowed from Prs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In lw.s we find, however, cerebrals also in Sgl.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. under xšn.

żd occurs only in dużd Gr. 'thief' (Sgl. dzd from Prs.), and in żd the secondary preterites  $y\bar{e}\dot{z}d$  'said' and  $p\bar{e}\dot{z}\delta$  'wrapped up'; cf.  $w\partial n\bar{z}d$ 'went round'.

## First Component a Nasal.

66. Surd stops preceded by a nasal are sonorized, just as in intervocalic position.

We might expect nk to remain, but there is no instance of an-nkcient nk in a genuine Sgl.—Ishk, word. Song 'stone' and angur 'grape' are Prs. lw.s, and in  $z\bar{u}ng$  'knee' the contact is secondary.

Examples of ancient nt are:  $d\bar{a}nd$  (-nt, - $n^d$ , -n) 'tooth';  $\gamma \bar{o}nd\bar{o}m$  nt'wheat'; dunda 'so much'; èwondok 'hungry' (an ancient pres. ptc. 2); awand, etc. 'they' 2. kandāk 'thorn' may be an IA lw., and vond 'stick', wont 'calf of the leg' are of unknown origin.

We find nd also in secondary past stems of the type wind, t 'saw'; kond 'dug';  $f^2rind$  'left behind'. Possibly punuk 'pass' < \*pun(t)k\*pantaka-.

In the unstressed ending 3 pl.  $-\bar{u}n$  final -d has been dropped.

Ishk. ambol 'moraine' probably contains ancient mp, v. Voc. s.v. mp Ir. ng is preserved in ingit 'finger'; ingitak 'finger-ring'. With rag reduction in final position we find bon(g) 'crowing'. The origin of

inge 'now, then' is unknown.

Ir. nd remains. Thus: vānd- 'to bind'; xānd- 'to laugh'; and rv- nd 'to sew'. Reg. čuwēn(d) 'apricot' and mend (mel) 'apple' cf. § 73. Also soyond 'hair, curl' may have secondary d.

Reg. nd v. § 35.

ndIr. mb remains. Thus: domb- 'to eard'; domb 'tail'; sumb 'hoof'

(lw.?); sumbôk 'hole'; namb 'wet'. gāzdəmb, gożdum 'scorpion' is a lw. (borrowed twice) Ishk. ambi 'cave' is of unknown origin, and såmb- 'to smear' has no exact parallel in other dialects. — The lw. sambaka 'tortoise' (< sangbaga) has mb also in Tajiki.

67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 116.

68. The only certain example of Ir.  $n\dot{c}$  is  $p\bar{o}nz$ ,  $p\bar{o}nj$ ,  $pon^zs$ ., etc. 'five';  $n\dot{c}/j$   $p\bar{o}nz\partial\delta os$  'fifteen'. The etymology of zenz-'seize' is uncertain. — In  $j\bar{o}nj$ , etc. 'woman' there is secondary contact.

In lw.s we find n). Thus: bərɛn) 'rice', Injigān 'Lutkuh'. Reg. Mandežān 'Munjan' cf. BSOS, VI 439.

A possible example of Ir. nm is  $\hat{surm}$  'dung'  $< \hat{sanm} < \hat{san}(a)n$ .

## First Component a Liquid.

69. We might expect k to remain after r, just as it does after a vowel. rk
And in fact we find this to be the case in work 'wolf', and, with
secondary contact, in durk 'stick'; nārk 'male'; pōrk 'mouse'; park
'ashes'; turkī 'darkness'. The etymology of karksang 'handmill' is
unknown.

On the other hand k has become voiced and palatalized in ari 'work'  $\ll *ary \ll *arg' \ll *ark$ ; koryos 'vulture';  $xu\delta\bar{a}ri$  'water-mill'; cf.  $kurc\bar{u}n$  'fowl'  $\ll *kury$  or  $*kurk + *c\bar{u}n$ .

work can scarcely be a lw. But it is possible that k remained after vocalic r, but not after ar. This would presuppose a very early date for the change of ark > arg'. On the other hand -rak, -rukwould regularly result in -rk, and  $xu\delta\bar{a}ri$  might be borrowed from an early Shgh.  $*x^wad\bar{a}rg'$  (from which Shgh.  $xed\bar{a}rj$ ). It is very improbable that also koryos and ari are early lw.s from Shgh.

A similar difficulty arises with regard to the development of rg, rg  $m \partial r \gamma \partial k$  'sparrow' goes back to a form in r, cf.  $w \partial r k$ , but  $m \partial r \gamma$  'meadow' appears to be derived from  $m \partial r g \partial \tilde{d}$ . There is no example of ancient rg resulting in rg/i, but note  $f \partial r g \partial m$  'female kid'  $< f \partial r \gamma \partial m$  (?)  $< f \partial r g \partial m$ .

čiryazek 'spark' is not a genuine Sgl. word (v. Voc. s v.), and dargāv 'valley' is also probably a lw.

70. In contradistinction to all other Pamir dialects, but in accordance rt with Psht., Par., etc., Sgl.—Ishk. has obliterated the difference between

<sup>1</sup> Wkh. has  $\check{s}apt$ . But Burushaski urk may have been borrowed from early Wkh. \*(w)urk, and not from the more remote Ishk.

ancient rt and rd, both groups resulting in  $l.l.^1$  There is evidently some connection between this development and the fact that both -t- and -d- result in Sgl.—Ishk.  $\delta/d$ . Ir. rt and rd coalesced in  $r\delta/d$ , which changed further into r, from which ultimately l/l. Regarding the distinction between l and l see above § 41.

Examples of Ir. rt are: Sgl, Sk.  $\gamma \bar{a}l$ , etc., MFB  $\gamma \bar{a}r$ , Ishk., Zeb. Gr.  $\gamma \bar{o}l$ , etc. 'throat'; Sgl.  $k\bar{\imath}l$ , MFB kirh, Ishk., Sk, Gr.  $k\imath l$ , etc. 'knife'; Sgl. kul, ³ Ishk, Sk., Gr. kul, etc. 'did'; Sgl., Sk.  $m\bar{a}l(\bar{o}k)$ , Ishk., Gr.  $m\bar{o}luk$  'husband'; Sgl., Zar.  $m\bar{o}l$ , Sk.  $m\bar{o}ld$ , Gr. (Zb) mul 'died'; Sgl., Zar.  $uu\delta\imath l$ , etc. 'dung' (< \* $d\imath ti$ -?); Sgl. Zar.  $u\bar{a}l^4$  'trousers'; Sgl.  $u\bar{a}l$  'roof-beam'; ⁵ Sgl. uvlk, Zeb. uvlk 'kidney'; ⁵ Sgl., Zar.  $uul\bar{o}k$ , etc., Sk., Gr. "ůlåk, etc. 'flour'; Sgl. uvl, Gr. avul, etc., Ishk., Sk.  $\bar{u}wuld$ , etc. 'found'  $(\bar{a}w\bar{\imath}r$ -); Sgl., Zar.  $x(u)\bar{o}l$ , etc. Ishk., Sk.  $x\bar{u}l$  'ate'; Sgl.  $z\bar{a}l$  (Wkh. Iw.  $z\bar{o}l$ ) 'yellow', with secondary rt.

The etymology of Sgl.  $\grave{cumol}$  'basket' is unknown, but it corresponds to Shgh.—Orosh. forms with ancient rt. Sgl.  $g\hat{o}l$ , Gr.  $g\bar{u}l$  'collected', etc., is an ancient lw. from Prs., while Sk. dar(d) 'pain' and  $\grave{juwan-mardi}$  'courage' are recent borrowings.

In wore (Wkh. wôle) 'quail' < \*wartiè there was an early elision of i, and \*warte resulted in wore. Reg. spārd 'entrusted' (spār-), kurt 'ploughed' (kīr-), etc. cf. § 138, I, II a. yort-, and fəryərt- 'to walk about' appear to be very early lw.s from Middle Prs. gart-.

Examples of rd are: Sgl. asāļ 'this year'; pərsāl, Sk. pərsōl 'last rd

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prs. rd: l; Shgh. group d/g:  $r\delta$ ; Wkh. rt:  $r\delta$ , Yd.—Mj. p'r: l, but Psht., Par. t: p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> As  $\cdot \check{s}$  and  $\cdot rt/d$  have not yet coalesced completely in Sgl.—Ishk., we are not entitled to assume that rt/d ever passed through the stage  $*\check{z}$ . Wkh.  $kJ\check{z}$  'knife' may have been borrowed from early Ishk. with substitution of  $\check{z}$  for r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sgl. p. also kvl, kvd, pf. kuō, probably because this word was frequently unstressed. Cf. Yghn. ikta, Chr. Sogd. qt.

Sgl. p. 1,2 wāl, probably in order to distinguish this word from wāl 'roof-beam'.
Cf. also wəl wōš, etc. 'trouser-string'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> But deminutive walć 'rafter', with  $l\dot{c} > l\dot{c}$ ?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Wkh.  $w \ni lk$  from an early Ishk. form?

year'; <sup>1</sup> Sgl. wolox 'rib', Sk. ålax, Gr. alax 'hill' (< 'side, flank'?). A derivation of al- 'to stand', Sk.  $\bar{a}l$ - 'to wait' <sup>2</sup> from arabwa- is improbable. —  $g\bar{o}la$  'bread' may be an ancient lw., cf. Shgh. garba.

71. Ir. rp occurs perhaps in Sgl. vərvəs, Sk. urvəs, etc. 'barley', and rp in kərvisik 'lizard', if this is not an early lw.

The only example of rb is warv- 'to boil' < \*warb- (Par.  $\gamma arw$ -, rb etc.), with early metathesis from \*barw-.

72. There is no certain example of the development of Ir. rs, but rs there is a possibility of  $\delta \bar{o} \delta x$  'goat's hair' being derived through  $*\delta \bar{o} \delta x < *\delta o rs x$ , cf. Sar.  $\delta o rs$ , etc.

Nor do we find ancient rs in any Sgl.—Ishk. word, except perhaps in  $x\ddot{a}s$ - 'to pul'.

andərz-'to sew' (v. s.v. andərv-) is a doubtful form, and in  $v \ni r \ddot{a}z rz$  'above', etc. ( $<*\beta arz$ -) an early metathesis has taken place. Regarding Zar.  $v \bar{o}z d$  'pillow'  $<*\beta arz n$ - cf. § 63. The regular outcome of intervocalic rz appears to have been  $\dot{z}$ . Thus, Sgl.  $v \ni \dot{z} \cdot du k$  (Sgl. is.  $v \ni \gamma d\bar{u}k$ ) 'long' <\*b r z ataka-;  $v u \dot{z} \cdot d\ddot{a}n$  (Sgl. is.  $v o \gamma d\ddot{a}n$ ) 'millet'  $<*\bar{o}z n <*h(\bar{a})rz ana$ -; Gr.  $v a \dot{z} o k$  'sweet'  $<*x w a r \dot{z} a ka$ -;  $v \ddot{e}z$ - 'to wrap up' <\*p a ti - d r z- (?). The etymology of  $v \ni n \ddot{z} \dot{z}$ - 'to wander about' is unknown.

Ir. rm remains in  $\gamma \bar{o} rm$  'hot'. The etymology of  $wurm \bar{e}k$  'poplar' rm is unknown, and wur- may go back to  $r\bar{u}$ -. 2

73. Ir. rn developed into \*n, from which Slg. ~l, Ishk. n, nd. rn Thus: Sgl. mēl, etc., Zeb. mēn, Ishk. mēnd 'apple' < \*marnyā-, cf. čuwēl, cuwēn(d) 'apricot', of uncertain origin, but probably influenced by mēl; Ishk. wanh 'coat' < varənā-. In Sgl. yūn-, yūn-, yūl-, Ishk. yūln-, Zar. yurn- 'to grind' the development has been troubled through the influence of the preterite. Cf. also Sgl. yūn-k 'pine-marten': Y. wūn, etc.—ken- 'to do' had lost its r at a very early date, cf. Anc. Pers. kun-, etc. It is possible that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But sāl 'year' probably from Prs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Also in Wkh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. § 88.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 130 g.

 $\dot{z}\bar{a}n\dot{z}\partial k^{1}$  'entrails' contains the same word \* $\dot{z}arna$ - which survives in 'Psht.  $\dot{z}\bar{a}na$ - 'catgut'.

In xarn 'raven' and  $x \partial rn$ - 'to buy' rn is of secondary origin, v. s.vv. Grierson (§ 30) considers r to be the regular outcome of rn. But, of the two examples given, waruk 'lamb' shows no trace of n in most Ir. dialects, and dir 'ravine' can not with any certainty be derived from \*darna-.

Reg. hy (in  $x\bar{e}$  'own' < \*hwahya) cf. § 89.

hy

### Assimilation.

74. A very great number of the sound-changes discussed in the preceding paragraphs are due to assimilation of some kind. Only a short recapitulation of the more important ones will be given here.

The surd stops t and p have been sonorized after a vowel, nasal, or r. Similarly intervocalic  $\cdot$  has passed through the stage \*- $\dot{z}$ -. 3 Also implosive, postvocalic x and f have been sonorized in the groups xt, ft. 4

Intervocalic \*-b-, -d-, resulting from -p-, -t-, have been opened into -v-, - $\delta$ -, thus coalescing with ancient -b-, -d-, which had probably been opened at a very early date.<sup>5</sup>

Ir. sn was assimilated into zn while \*\frac{1}{2}m (\leftleq \delta m)\$ was reduced to simple m owing to the articulatory weakness of \hat{z}. Also \*rd/\delta (\leftleq rt)\$ was assimilated further into l, l.

Complete assimilation of groups of consonants has also taken place in the case of  $x\check{s}$ , rs, rz, sr, str and  $\vartheta r$ . <sup>6</sup> Cf. also s.vv.  $n \ni m \check{e}k$ ,  $p \check{e} \check{u}k$ ,  $p \check{e} \check{s}$ ,  $r \check{e} \check{c} \check{i}k$ ,  $\check{s} \ni n \check{a} \check{i}$ ,  $w \check{o} rc$ . An assimilatory loss of nasality is entailed in the change of zn > zd. <sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> From \dot{z}an + \dot{j}\partial k < \dot{z}arna\ddot{c}i + k\hat{a}?
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 21, 25, 66, 69 sq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. § 41.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf § 32 sq. Note the regression from  $\delta > d$  in Ishk,

<sup>6</sup> Cf. §§ 55, 62, 72, 57.

<sup>7</sup> Cf § 63.

<sup>21 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

Palatalization of consonants is comparatively rare, but occurs in  $\gamma i > yi$  and rk/y > \*ry, 1 as well as in  $sy > \dot{s}$ , cf. also  $wi\bar{s}t < w\bar{i}sati$  '20'. 2

Assimilation at a distance occurs sporadically. Thus, e.g.:  $v^3l\bar{e}l$   $< v^3r\bar{e}l$  'to break';  $j\bar{a}nj$  'woman'  $< z\bar{a}nj$ ;  $n\partial sm$  'half'  $< *n\partial sf$ ;  $w\partial rw\bar{e}s$ ,  $v\partial rv\bar{e}s$  'fox'  $< *w\partial rv\bar{e}s$ ;  $s\partial u\bar{z}\bar{u}$ : Shgh.  $s\bar{e}v\bar{j}e$ , etc.

# Dissimilation and Differentiation.

75. Examples of differentiation are: Ishk.  $\dot{s}tok < \partial \dot{s}c\bar{a}k$  'girl';  $\dot{s}ton$  'needle'  $< \dot{s}\dot{s}on$ ;  $\dot{s}\bar{u}rm$  'dung' (also Wkh.)  $< \dot{s}\dot{u}nm$ ;  $\dot{s}agnam$  'dew' has probably been borrowed in this form, cf. Mj.  $\dot{s}aklam$ .

Dissimilation at a distance occurs in ponec < pumec 'to dress'; riglav < rīvlav 'lip'; wuzinjak < wużinjak (with assimilation wujinjak) 'woman'; čakmax < čaxmax (?) 'fire-stone'; doldorok 'thunder' < \*dordorok (?); Fəlaxmarīg < Fraxmarīg. Cf. also pooīt, wubīt for \*pobīb, etc. \*\*

### Metathesis.

76. The usual Ir. metathesis has taken place in the groups -fr-, -xr-, -br-, -gr-. 4 Of a similar nature is the recent change of the lw. tifl 'child' > telf. The development of fra- > fər- may have passed through a stage \*fəra-, with subsequent loss of a. Cf. also dərnāk 'bow' and xərn- 'to buy'.

Peculiar to Sgl.—Ishk is the metathesis of initial  $r\bar{u}$ - (<\*rau-) to (w)ur-,  $w\bar{r}r$ -. Cf. § 88.

In  $n \ni m \tilde{e} \gamma \delta$  'salt'  $< n \ni m e \delta k$  and  $b \tilde{a} l \gamma \tilde{e}$  'beans'  $< *b \tilde{a} \gamma l \tilde{e}$  easier sequences of consonants have been substituted for heavier ones.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 27. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> §§ 62, 60.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 22.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. §§ 51 sqq., 57. But note lw. Ishk. čabrā 'fat'.

The remaining cases of metathesis can hardly be classified or arranged according to general principles. The following ones have been noted, sometimes only in one dialect:

axte $\delta < ata\gamma d$  'entered'. kiskūd 'roof' < \*ssk-ku $\delta$ .  $c^{\sigma}r\bar{a}z$  'hill', 'tall' < \*varz- (?). amāsyē 'neighbour'  $< *(h)ams\bar{a}ye$ .  $\tilde{s}\delta\delta x$  'goat's hair'  $< *\delta\delta\tilde{s}x$  (?).  $z\tilde{t}\check{c} < \tilde{c}$  (coal'.

### Voivels.

#### Ir. a.

- 77. When we try to trace the development of Ir. 'a' in Sgl.—Ishk. we are faced with the same difficulties that we encounter in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh., viz. our ignorance of the phonetic value of the original Ir. sound, the extreme variability and complexity of the changes of 'a', and the impossibility of deciding in all cases which words have been borrowed, and at what date.
- 78. The different developments of 'a' may be arranged in the following groups:
  - a) In a great number of words Ir. 'a' is represented by Sgl.  $\tilde{o}$ , Ishk. usually u.

Thus, before a group of consonants, modern or ancient, we find o/u in: Sgl.  $\bar{o}v\delta$ : Gr., Sk., Zar.  $\bar{u}vd$  (but my Ishk, Zb.  $\bar{o}vd$ ) 'seven'; Sgl.  $ok\bar{o}v\delta$ : Sk.  $k\bar{u}vd$  (but Gr., Zar.  $k\bar{o}vd$ ) 'boot'; Sgl.  $d\bar{o}st$ : Ishk., Zb.  $d\bar{u}st$  'hand'; Sgl. korost: Ishk. kurust 'skin'; Sgl.  $\gamma\bar{o}nd\bar{o}m$ : Sk., Gr Zar.  $\gamma undum$  (but my Ishk., Zb.  $\gamma ondum$ ) 'wheat'; Sgl.  $\bar{o}rmozd$ : Ishk.  $r\bar{e}muz$  'sun'; Sgl.  $mo\gamma d\bar{o}k$ : Ishk.  $m\bar{u}kd\bar{u}k$ , etc. 'frog'; Sgl. song: Ishk. sung 'stone'; Sgl.  $p\bar{o}nz$ : Ishk.  $p\bar{u}nz$  'five'. Cf. also Voc. s.vv.  $p\bar{o}rk$  'rat';  $v\bar{o}s$  'rope'; xos 'mother-in-law', and the preterites  $f^{3}r\bar{o}t$  'asked' ( $f^{3}r\bar{o}s$ -);  $k\bar{o}nd$  'dug' (kan-); kot 'saw' (kas-);  $nil\bar{o}st$  'sat down' ( $n\bar{i}ost$ -);  $v\bar{o}st$  'bound' ( $v\bar{u}nd$ -);  $v\bar{o}st$  'rose' ( $v\bar{u}z$ -).

The same narrowing of the vowel has apparently also taken place in unstressed syllables (e.g. in Sgl.  $k\bar{v}v\bar{i}\delta$ : Sk., Gr.  $k\hat{u}/uwid$ , but Zar.  $kov\bar{i}d$  'pigeon'; Sgl.  $tov\bar{v}r$ : Ishk. tuwur 'axe'), and in the ancient masculine suffix \*-akah (e.g. in Sgl.)  $v^2r\bar{o}k$ : Ishk. Sk. wruk 'horse'; Sgl. worok: Ishk. waruk, Sk. wruk 'lamb'.

But also Sgl. <sup>2</sup>špōn 'iron'; fōc 'mouth'; šōx 'hard'; xōr 'donkey'; zōt 'son', and the preterite nod 'took' (nas-) have forms in u in Ishk. Sgl. γοrōk 'neck'; γōrm 'hot'; kodos 'eleven'; koryos 'vulture'; <sup>2</sup>škōd 'cattle-shed'; wōst 'fat', and xōdm 'dream' have no known equivalents in Ishk.

In several words Gr. (Zb.) has  $\bar{a}$ , corresponding to Sgl.  $\bar{o}$ . Thus, e.g.,  $d\bar{a}st$ ,  $fer\bar{a}t$ ,  $teu\bar{a}r$ ,  $w\bar{a}\dot{s}$ , but  $x\bar{u}r$ . I heard o/u in Zb.  $p\bar{o}nz$ ,  $p\bar{o}rk$ ,  $s\bar{u}ng$ , sur, tovor, worok,  $x\bar{o}r$ , etc., and it seems doubtful whether Gr. (Zb.)  $\bar{a}$  represents the correct Zb. sound.

- b) Before a single consonant we find Sgl. o, Ishk. a, in Sgl. ογοδ 'came'; dos 'ten'; mŏð(ak) 'here'; numōð 'felt'; rōr 'door'; xōf 'foam'; wōtuk 'feast'; wo/asōk 'calf'; żoð 'killed': Ishk. ōγad; das; madak; namad (lw.?); var; xaf(uk); watik; wasuk; żad. Besides Sgl. is. f³rōs-'to ask' we find ā not only in Ishk., but also in Sgl. s. p.¹ Ishk. mayz 'marrow' (Sgl. moyz) may easily be a lw. from Prs., and in Ishk. wastuk 'rib' (Sk. wåstuk, Sgl. ostōk 'bone') the initial w-may have had a differentiating effect.
- c) A number of present stems have  $\check{a}$  in all dialects before a single consonant. Thus, e.g. araz- 'to jump'; astar- 'to sweep'; kan- 'to dig'; kas- 'to see'; pac- 'to cook'; waz- 'too fall'; xaš- 'to pull'; xaz- 'to rise'; žan- 'to kill'. Known only from Sgl. are: nas- 'to take'; nav- 'to rain'; xav- 'to descend'.

I suspect this development to have been caused by the influence of the following a in  $-\bar{a}mi$ ,  $*kan\bar{a}mi$  resulting in  $kan\bar{a}n$ , cf. Shgh.  $x\bar{a}rum$  'I eat', but 3 sg.  $x\bar{i}rd$ , etc, and the -a- (not  $-\bar{o}$ -) of Parachi present stems, e.g. astar- 'to rub'; bar- 'to carry'; xar- 'to eat', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below sub c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See NTS, 1, p. 84.

Cf. also warf 'snow' = Par.  $\gamma arp < *wafr\bar{a}(h)$ .\(^1\) tar 'into' might be derived from  $*tar\bar{a}$ ,\(^2\) and mak 'me' has original long  $\bar{a}$ , while Zar. park 'ashes' might go back to a form in  $-\bar{a}$ ; but I am unable to explain the a in  $n\bar{a}rk$  'male' (infl. by Prs. ?) and  $narx\bar{o}k$  'nail'.

- d) In initial position we find a- in ari 'work'; apanis- 'to lose'; az 'l', etc. 3 Note, however, Sgl. ostōk 'bone', etc., and, with vowel harmony, ingīt 'finger'.
- e) Before certain original groups of consonants, some of which have been simplified, the vowel has been lengthened into Sgl.  $\bar{a}$ , Ishk.  $\dot{\bar{a}}$ ,  $\bar{o}$ .

This development is, I believe, regular before a group of consonants originally followed by  $\bar{a}$ . Thus, we find the verbal stems Sgl.  $v\bar{a}nd$ - 'to bind';  $x\bar{a}nd$ - 'to laugh';  $w\bar{a}rv$ - 'to boil': Ishk.  $v\bar{o}nd$ -,  $x\bar{o}nd$ -,  $w\bar{o}rv$ -. Ancient stems in -an, with nominatives in - $\bar{a}$ , 6 are: Sgl.  $c\bar{a}m$  'eye';  $p\bar{a}m$  'wool';  $d\bar{a}nd$  'tooth' and  $m\bar{a}l$  'husband' (Av.  $mar\bar{\sigma}tan$ -): Ishk.  $c\bar{a}m$ ,  $p\bar{a}m$ ,  $d\bar{o}nd$ ,  $m\bar{o}l$ , etc. Sgl.  $w\bar{a}l$ : Ishk.  $w\bar{o}l$  'trousers' goes back to \* $wart\bar{a}$  (Y woro) and also Sgl.  $\gamma\bar{a}l$  'throat';  $p\bar{a}sk$  'hide', and Ishk.  $v\bar{o}zd$  'pillow' may be derived from forms in - $\bar{a}$ ."

Cf. also Sgl.  $as\bar{a}l$  'this year',  $pars\bar{a}l$  'last year' < \*-sarda (cf. Par.  $s\bar{a}r$  'year') and Sgl.  $j\bar{a}nj$  (but also  $j\bar{o}nj$ ): Ishk.  $z\bar{o}nj$  'woman' < \* $jan\bar{a}+c\bar{i}$ , or influenced by  $m\bar{a}l$ . The vocalism of Sgl.  $z\bar{a}l$ : Ishk.  $z\bar{o}l$  'yellow', of Sgl.  $xu\bar{a}l$ : Ishk.  $x\bar{o}l$  'six', and of Sgl., Sk., Gr.  $\bar{a}s\bar{i}k$  etc.: Zar.  $os\bar{i}k$  'tear' must be due to special conditions which I am not able to detect.

It is not probable that  $\bar{a}\tilde{s}(\bar{\imath}k)$  goes back to a n. pl. \*asrwā, nor that  $xu\bar{a}l$  represents an Ir. form \* $x\hat{s}wa\hat{s}\hat{s}\bar{a}$ , with  $\hat{a}$  in contradistinction to  $ov\delta < haft\tilde{a}$  and Psht.  $\hat{s}pa\hat{z} < *x\hat{s}wa\hat{s}a$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 178, and see IIFL, I, p. 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. tar 'before'  $< *tar\bar{a}$ .

<sup>\*</sup> See Voc. s. vv. Cf. Y zo 'I' < \*azā?.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above snb. c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Par. khan., yarw., etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Reg. nom. in -ā from neutral stems in -an cf. Psbt. lūma 'snare'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cf. Par.  $b\bar{a}n(apa\bar{i}) < *barzn\bar{a}$ .

A few lw.s with  $\bar{a}$  have been included in this series. Thus, e.g. Sgl.  $x\bar{a}n$  'house';  $t\bar{a}t$  'father';  $xu\delta\bar{a}ri$  (lw.?) 'water-mill': Ishk.  $x\bar{o}n$ ,  $t\bar{o}t$ ,  $xud\bar{o}ri$ .

The same development is found also in the fem. suffix \*-akā, and in Sgl. pl. \*-akāh, e.g, in Sgl. əscāk: Ishk. štok, etc. 'girl'; wērāk 'female lamb' (m. worok), etc.; and oyooā 'they have come'; nilostag 'they have sat down'; zəmōnak 'boys'; vərūðār 'brothers'. Cf. sub c). Cf. also Parachi nērök 'male': sičak 'female'; phör 'grain': pl. phar. 3

- f) Quite irregular developments of 'a' occur in Sgl. (h)ot: Ishk. ot, åt, at, åt 'eight', and in Sgl. wok: Ishk. wök, wåk, wak 'one'.
- g) In unstressed syllables a is reduced to a in Sgl. ca 'from'; ca  $f\bar{u}r$  'four'; ca  $m\bar{u}a$  'son-in-law'; va ra 'horse'; pa  $z\bar{u}n$  'to know'; na va 'mill-race' etc. Cf. also pa, pa 'on'.
- h) In Sgl. kuðum, Ishk. kuðum 'which'  $< *k \partial \bar{u}m$  the u is due to vowel harmony. Cf.  $ing\bar{i}t$  'finger' sub d). In am unable to explain the u in zust 'flowed'  $(z\bar{i}\delta)$ , and in  $\gamma uz$  'to run'. Cf. also -uk for  $\bar{\delta}k$  and  $\bar{u}(i)$  for  $\bar{\delta}(i)$  after narrow vowels.
  - i) An early contraction has taken place in  $s\bar{u}i$  'hare' < \*sa(h)a.

### Ir. ā.

79. Ir. long  $\bar{a}$  was a less labile sound than short a, and its development has been more regular and untroubled.

It regularly results in Sgl.—Ishk.  $\bar{u}.^5$  The examples are numerous. Thus, e.g.:  $\bar{a}st\bar{u}\delta$  'sent' ( $\bar{a}stay$ -);  $ust^3r\bar{u}k$  'star' ( $<*star\bar{a}ka$ - $<*st\bar{a}raka$ -?);  $c \ni f\bar{u}r$  'four';  $d\bar{u}\delta$  'gave';  $d\bar{u}r$  'sickle';  $f \ni rm\bar{u}\delta$  'ordered';  $m\bar{u}r$  'centipede'  $p\bar{u}\delta$  'foot';  $r\bar{u}v$  'rhubarb' (Yd.  $r\bar{u}v$ );  $s\bar{u}i$  'hare';  $\delta s\bar{u}\dot{z}$  'eagle' (Y  $\delta i\dot{z}$ );  $\delta u\bar{u}i$  'black' (?);  $t\bar{u}l$ - 'to shave';  $v\bar{u}r$  'burden';  $v^3r\bar{u}\delta$ 

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 96, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 94, 99. — Cf. Shgh. sad m. and f. 'they went' ∠\* c(y)utāh.

<sup>8</sup> See HFL, I, p. 23 sq., and cf. Yd.-Mj. § 195.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. §§ 96, 5; 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. the parallel developments in Yd.-Mj. and Wkh.

With secondary a, cf. § 78? Cf., e.g. Psht. soc.

'brother';  $w\bar{u}$ ' 'straw';  $x\bar{u}r$ - 'to scratch';  $x\bar{u}y$ - 'to thresh' (v. Voc. s.v.);  $y\bar{u}\delta$  'husband's brother's wife';  $z\bar{u}\gamma$  'raven';  $z\partial m\bar{u}\delta$  'son-in-law';  $z\partial n\bar{u}\delta$  'washed';  $zev\bar{u}k$  'tongue';  $Iziv\bar{u}k$  'Zēbāk'.

Other possible examples are šūrm 'dung' (cf. Av. šāman-?); kiskūđ 'roof' (\*uska-kātā-?); āļūzd 'day before yesterday'; pārūzd 'yesterday' (\*-āzna-?); wuzdān, ūzdən, etc. 'millet' (\*hārzana-?); wūs, uss-'to take'; wūlōk 'flour' (\*ārtaka-); yūz 'fire-wood'.

A secondary shortening has taken place in some of the words mentioned above, and also in *durk* 'stick'; *turkī* 'darkness'; *kuðum* 'which'.

80. Before a nasal we find  $\bar{u}$  in  $af \ \bar{u}\bar{u}n$  'comb';  $d\bar{u}nik$  'grain';  $fr\bar{u}n$  'plank' (\* $fr\bar{a}na$ -?); Sgl  $pot\bar{u}n$  (but Wkh.  $pat\bar{u}n$  from Ishk.?) 'thigh';  $wurc\bar{u}n$  'smoke-hole' (\* $rau\bar{c}\bar{a}na$ -?);  $y\bar{u}n$ - 'to grind';  $z\bar{u}yg$  (Sk. zyg, etc.) 'knee'; possibly also in  $kur\bar{c}u\bar{n}$  (Ishk.  $k\bar{s}r\bar{c}in$ ) 'fowl', etc.;  $p\bar{c}\bar{c}u\bar{n}$  'bullet'.

But in several cases we find  $\bar{\imath}n$ ,  $\bar{\imath}m$ . Thus:  $u\dot{s}t\bar{\imath}n$  'haystack' (\* $uv\bar{a}strad\bar{a}na$ -);  $n\bar{\imath}m$  'name';  $v\bar{\imath}n$  'beard' (\* $up\bar{a}n(y)a$ -?);  $v\partial s\bar{\imath}n$  'whetstone';  $d\partial v\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to winnow';  $p\partial z\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to know'. It is scarcely possible to attribute the  $\bar{\imath}$  in all these words to the influence of a following y.

The prefix  $\bar{a}$ - has been shortened and appears, probably with vowel harmony, as  $\bar{a}$ -, o- in araz- 'to jump';  $\bar{a}stay$ - 'to send'; oyod 'came'. Also in the pronouns mak 'me'; t = fak 'thee', Sgl. amax, am = x, Ishk. mux 'we' ancient  $\bar{a}$  has been shortened.

Initial  $\bar{a}$ - (or a-?) has been lost in  $v\bar{e}k$  'water'. I am unable to explain the vocalism of Ishk. (w)uspīr 'plough-share' (Sgl.  $sp^{g}r$ ), and of Gr.  $us\bar{i}d$  'baking pan'.

81. Sgl. nāf, Ishk. nåf 'navel'; rōsk 'truth'; xuðārī, xudōrī 'watermill' are probably lw.s. Cf. the more recent lw.s from Prs., such as Sgl. ἐρρān 'shepherd'; ἐārda '14'; ἐirāγ 'lamp'; ἐārvā 'horned cattle'; digdān 'fireplace'; ἐaftōlū (NB ō!) 'peach': Ishk. ἐūρōn; čårda; ἐirōγ; ἐōrvō; digdōn; šaftōlū. Sgl. xušdāuman 'wife's brother's wife' is irregular.

Ir. i.

82. As in other Pamir languages, *i* is unstable, and is only retained in favourable circumstances, cf. e.g. *fəris*- 'to be left behind'; Sgl. *nilōst*, but Ishk. *nulust* 'sat down' (*nīδ*-).

In most cases Ir. i has been relaxed, and moved towards a lower and more central articulation. Thus: yir, gir, yir 'stone'; let 'licked' (les-); ce 'what'; cen- 'to pick' (les-); sigma e, etc. 'female'; sigma rn- 'to buy' (\*sigma rn-).

After a labial we find  $\partial$ , u, etc. in:  $p\partial f$ ,  $pv\partial f$  'meat'; put Gr. 'parched grain' < \*pista;  $p\ddot{o}v$ ,  $p\partial v$ ,  $p\partial v$  'to drink'; numul- Zar. 'to shut the eye';  $\partial sp\partial l$ ,  $\partial spul$ , etc. 'louse';  $\partial sp\partial l$  Gr. 'moraine' (\*ham-pisa-?);  $\partial sp\partial l$  'dung';  $\partial sp\partial l$  'span'. But why  $\partial sp\partial l$  'thirty' (\* $\partial risas$ )?

A lengthening has taken place in  $fr\bar{i}$  'good' (< \*friya-), and, before an ancient group of consonants, in  $f \ni r\bar{i}n$ -d 'left behind, tired', if < \*fra-rixna-. In  $\flat wondok$  'hungry' (< \*a- $\jmath(i)wantaka$ -), the loss of  $\bar{i}$  may be very early, cf. Av.  $\jmath vant$ -.

#### Ir. ī.

83. Ancient  $\bar{\imath}$  remains in  $p\bar{\imath}\delta$  'drank'  $(p\partial v)$ ;  $x\partial r\bar{\imath}\delta$  'bought'  $(x\partial rn)$ ;  $w\bar{\imath}\delta t$  'twenty';  $n\bar{\imath}\delta$ - 'to sit down'  $(<*ni(h)i\delta$ -); with shortening in  $\dot{c}i\delta$  'picked'.

§in- 'to weep';  $n\bar{i}v$ - 'to bring';  $n\bar{i}\delta uk$ , nuduk ( $<*n\bar{i}taka$ -?) are of uncertain derivation.

#### Ir. n.

84. Short u shows the same tendency as short i to move towards a more central articulation, and it frequently results in  $\partial$ .

Thus, e.g.:  $d \ni mb$ ,  $d \bowtie mb$ ,  $d \ni mb$ , etc. 'tail' (lw.?);  $d \ni mb$ - 'to card wool';  $d \ni \gamma d$  'milked'  $(d \in S^2)$ ;  $d \ni zd$  'thief' (lw.?);  $d \ni r \ni S^2$  'rough' (prob. lw.);  $\gamma o nd \ni m$ ,  $\gamma o nd \bowtie m$  'wheat';  $k \bowtie d$ ,  $k \ni d$  'dog';  $k \bowtie d$ -,  $k \ni d$ -, etc. 'to kill';  $m \ni t$ ,  $m \bowtie t$ , etc. 'fist';  $p \ni f$ -,  $p \bowtie f$ - 'to blow';  $p \ni na \gamma d$ ,  $p \bowtie ma \not t$  'dressed';  $p \bowtie (a \bowtie b) \not s \not t$  'daug';  $s \bowtie (a \bowtie b) \not s \not t$  'lead' (lw.);  $s \ni r \not s$ , etc. 'red';  $s \ni v \not t$ , etc. 'shoulder';  $t \bowtie (a \bowtie b) \not s \not t$  'goat';  $w \bowtie (a \bowtie b) \not s \not t$  'daughter';  $w \bowtie (a \bowtie b) \not s \not t$  'daughter in-law', etc.

Initial u- has been delabialized and lowered in Sgl. ast- (but Ishk. ust-) 'to stand up', and in the lw. amēd 'hope'. But cf. also rašt 'morning' (lw.?).

ingīt 'finger' is derived through \*əngūt (cf. Wkh. lw. ingūt) < angušta-. Sgl. šīd (but Ishk. šud, šəd) 'went, became' must also be derived from a form with lengthened vowel (\* $\dot{s}u\bar{t}$  < \* $\dot{s}iyuta$ -?); cf. Par. čhī.

Ir. u has been elided in 'stan, etc. 'needle' < \*sucani- and in the suffix -uka-, cf.  $z\bar{u}ng$  'knee';  $p\bar{o}rk$  'rat'; durk 'stick';  $y\bar{o}tuk$ , yetik 'bridge' (< \* $\bar{e}tk$  < \*haituka-).\frac{1}{2}

### Ir. $\bar{u}$ .

85. Ir.  $\bar{u}$  results in  $\bar{i}$  as in Wkh. Thus:  $d\bar{i}d$  'smoke';  $d\bar{i}r$  'distant';  $vr\bar{i}c$  'eyebrow';  ${}^{2}st\bar{i}n$  'pillow'. Possibly also from secondary  $\bar{u}$  in  $d\bar{i}dus$  'twelve' < \*duw(a)dasa, and in ingit,  $s\bar{i}d$  (v. above § 84).

angūr 'grape' and other words with  $\bar{u}$  are evidently lw.s, and also  $p\bar{u}$ - Zar. 'to be rotten',  $p\bar{u}duk$  'rotten' may have been influenced by Prs. It is, however, possible that  $\bar{u}$  was retained after a labial, cf.  $v \ni d$ ,  $v \ni d$  'was'  $< b\bar{u}ta$ -, with shortening, as in Psht.  $v \ni$  and elsewhere.

Sgl. ner 'to-day' cannot be derived direct from nuram.

## Ir. r.

86. Ir. r results in ur, ər, etc. in wərk, wurk, urk 'wolf'; məryōk, muryuk 'sparrow'; andərv- 'to sew'; məl, mul 'died'; kul, kul, kəð 'did'; kurċūn, etc. 'fowl'; vəἰdūk, etc. 'long'; wolk, wulk, wəlk 'kidney', and possibly in wölok 'flour', if from \*rtaka- and not, as seems more probable, from \*ūlok < \*ārtaka-; al- 'standing' is scarcely derived from ərəðwa-, with u- > a-, cf. above § 78, d.

In some preterites the vowel has been lengthened. Thus:  $x\bar{o}l$ , x(w)ol,  $x\bar{u}l$  'ate'; Sgl. astol (Ishk.  $s^2tul$ , etc.) 'swept'; Sgl.  $w\bar{o}l$  (Ishk.  $\bar{a}vuld$ , etc.) 'found' ( $\bar{a}v\bar{v}r$ -).

 $k\bar{\imath}l$  'knife' is a mutated form ( $< *k_r t y \bar{a}$ -), and so is possibly  $wu\delta \imath l$  'dung' ( $< *wi-d_r t i$ -?).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 96, 1.

#### Ir. ai.

87. Ir. ai regularly results in  $\bar{e}$  Thus:  ${}^{\circ}sp\bar{e}\delta$  'white';  $m\bar{e}l$  'sheep';  $w\bar{e}d$  'willow';  $w\bar{e}d$ - Sk. 'to put';  $w\bar{e}x$  'root';  $t\bar{e}u$  'husband's brother';  $l\bar{e}s$ - 'to lick' (lw.?);  $w\bar{i}n$ -,  $w\bar{e}n$ - 'to see';  $y\bar{e}v$ -, yiv- 'to spin';  $ap\bar{e}\delta$  'was lost' (\*apa-ita-). In  $m\bar{o}i$  'cloud'  $<*m\bar{e}i$ (?) <  $m\bar{e}\gamma$  the  $\bar{o}$  is strange, but may, perhaps, be due to differentiation.

Initially the development is troubled. Besides complete loss of ai in special conditions (wok 'one'), we find  $\bar{\imath}\delta$  'iste' (<\*aita-),¹ and  $\bar{\imath}s$ - 'to come' ( $<*\bar{a}$ -isa-?), but Sgl.  $y\bar{\delta}tuk$ , Ishk. yetik, Zar. yatik 'bridge'.

## Ir. au.

88. Ir. au generally results in ē, probably through an intermediate stage \*ö. Thus: rēyn 'clarified butter'; tēym, t'ēyum 'grain'; yēnok. γεnōk 'hair'; dēš- 'to milk'; rēf 'broom'; rēċik 'entrails'; xrēseg 'n. of an animal' (M xurūso); šēn 'podex'; pənec-, pumec-, pomuc- 'to dress' (< paiti-maoč-); wēn 'blood' < \*wa(h)uni-. We find, however, ī in kōvīð 'pigeon'; kīf (and k'ēf) 'hump', cf. the ancient lw. Kīvī (Chinese K'o-wei) 'Chitrali'.

This development can scarcely be due to the neighbouring v and f, cf.  $r\bar{e}f$  above.

A special development of initial \*rau- appears in wurcūn 'smokehole' and  $v \ni r v \bar{e} s$ ,  $w \ni r w \bar{e} s$  'fox'. In these words rau- has apparently become \*rū-, from which \*ur-, before  $au > \bar{e}$ .

Also  $\gamma \delta l$  'ear' is irregular, and is possibly a lw. (from Shgh.?)  $d\delta u$  'two' may go back to \* $du\delta u$  and Ishk.  $\gamma \delta u$  to \* $g\delta u$ .

# Ir. aya.

89. Examples of Ir. final -aya(h) are  $r\bar{o}i$ , etc. 'three' and  $p\bar{o}i$  'sour milk'. Internal aya results in  $\bar{e}$  in  $p\bar{e}$ - $\dot{s}t\bar{s}n$  'udder'. Ancient present stems in  $-\ddot{a}ya$  have generally Sgl.  $\bar{e}(y)$ , but Ishk. ay. Cf., e.g. Sgl. <sup>1</sup> But cf. Wkh. yet-,  $y\bar{s}t$ - <\*ita-.

deräy-, derē-: Ishk. deray- 'to reap'; Sgl. däy-: Ishk. day-, dey- 'to give'; Sgl. astē-: Ishk. astay, etc. 'to send'; Sgl. zənē(y)-: Ishk. zeney-, zenay- 'to wash', etc., cf. § 130.

#### Ir. awa.

90. Ir. final -awa- occurs in nou, etc. 'nine'; you 'grain'; you 'horn'; ō, aū, pl. awand 'that'; Sgl. tō 'thine'. Internal -awa- occurs in nowədos 'nineteen'; nəwōk 'millrace'; nuwōk 'new'. Sgl. uyūi 'cow' may perhaps be derived from \*(hu)-gāwyā

### Umlaut.

91. I- and y- mutation appears in mēδ 'waist' < maiðya-; mēry 'meadow' < \*margyā-; nɔmēδγ 'salt' < \*namaθkī-(?); mē̄ļ 'apple' < \*marnyā-(?); wulmēk 'moon' < \*uxš-māhyaka-; mεi 'day' < \*māθya-; pēšten 'udder' < \*payah-fštanya-; dēr- 'to hold' < \*dāraya-; wērak 'she-lamb' < \*warī + -akā (?); vēk 'water' < āpākiya; vərvēs 'fox' < \*raupāsī-.

Without any apparent cause we find, however,  $\tilde{\imath}$  in  $wu\delta it$  'span'  $< *wi-dati-; x\bar{\imath}r$  'sister's son'  $< *hwahrya-; z\bar{\imath}\delta$  'to flow'  $< *z\gamma a\delta ya-; c\bar{\imath}s$  'urine'  $< *c\bar{\imath}sya-(?); n\bar{\imath}c$  'nose'  $< *n\bar{\imath}h-c\bar{\imath}i$ , or  $*nahya-c\bar{\imath}i$ . Cf. also  $\bar{\imath} < r^i$  in  $k\bar{\imath}l$  'knife', if  $< *krty\bar{\imath}d$ , and  $wu\delta il$  'dung' < \*wi-drie.

The only certain example of u- mutation is pvx,  $p \ni x$  'boiled' < \*paxwa-.

Regarding vowel harmony cf. §§ 78, c, h, 96, 5, 132.

### Prothetic Vowels.

92. A prothetic vowel is developed before an ancient or secondary initial group of consonants, e.g. in ustrūk 'star'; astar- 'to sweep'; afšūn 'comb'; əṣcāk 'girl'.¹

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

Characteristic of Sgl.—Ishk. is the prothetic (w)u- which appears before an initial voiced consonant followed by  $\vec{u}$ . Thus:  $wu\delta \partial \gamma \delta$  'daughter';  $wuzn\partial l$  'daughter-in-law';  $uy\bar{u}i$  'cow';  $w\ddot{u}znuk$  'inflated goat skin'.

In spite of the difficulty of explaining wuzinjak 'woman' and  $us\bar{\imath}d$  Gr. 'baking pan' (cf. Wkh. sat) I am inclined to believe that this prothesis is of a phonetic nature, and that w(u)- does not go back to a prefix hu-.

Regarding the word for 'sister'  $(y \ni x \bar{o} a i, i x \bar{o}, \text{ etc.} < *(h) a h w \bar{a} < *h w a h(w) \bar{a})$ , cf. Voc. s.v.

Note also the o- in okovo 'boot': Prs. kafš.2

# Loss of Initial and Final Vowels.

93. There is possibly some connection between the Sgl.—Ishk. tendency to develop prothetic vowels and the comparative rarity of elision of initial vowels.

Cf. e.g. am(a) 'this': Yd. mo;  $a\delta a$  'that': Yd.  $y\bar{o}$ ; az 'I': Yd. zo; amax 'we': Yd. max;  $and\bar{o}rv$ - (Sk.  $d\bar{o}rav$ -) 'to sew': Yd.  $d\bar{u}z$ - 'to bury', etc.;  $\bar{a}stay$ - 'to send': Wkh.  $s\bar{o}t\bar{v}y$ -;  $\bar{o}vzui$  'heart': Wkh.  $p\bar{o}z\bar{o}v$ ; apanis- 'to lose': Shgh. benes-.

We find, however, loss of initial u- in  $v\bar{\imath}n$  'beard'  $< *up\bar{a}na$ -; va < upa, and possibly in  $\tilde{s}$  ' $l\bar{o}k$  'wet' < \*a- $\tilde{s}u\bar{s}uka$ -;  $\tilde{z}wondok$  'hungry' < \*a- $\tilde{j}uwantaka$ -; of  $\bar{a}$ - in  $v\bar{e}k$  'water'; wa 'him'; Sgl.  $\tilde{s}$  ' $p\bar{o}n$ , Ishk  $\tilde{s}$  pan 'iron'; and of ai-, or even of aiva-, in the unstressed numerals wok 'one'; kodos 'eleven'. Cf. also  $w\bar{o}l$  'found' from  $\bar{a}w\bar{v}r$ -.

Regarding the doubtful derivation of mis- 'to sleep', v. Voc. s.v.

Except in monosyllabies, final vowels are elided. Regarding am(a) 'this',  $a\delta(a)$  'that', cf. Grammar, § 116. Regarding possible traces of the obl. ending -ahya, v. §§ 96, 2 a, 5; 94.

<sup>1</sup> From which in some cases modern 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Sogd. c. 'krty < krty 'deed', etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Reg. traces of final -ā(h), cf. §§ 78 e, 96, 3, 101.

#### Accent.

94. The accent which lies at the base of the development in Sgl.—Ishk., appears to have been of the ordinary, late Old Ir. type.

Thus:  $\checkmark =$ , e.g. in dos 'ten'; az 'I';  $\checkmark =$  in  $corf \bar{u}r$  'four';  $port \bar{u}n$  'thigh';  $k\bar{v} = \bar{v}\bar{v}\bar{v}$  'pigeon', etc.;  $\checkmark =$  in  $z\bar{u}l$  'yellow';  $p\bar{o}rk$  'mouse';  $n\bar{u}rk$  'male';  $j\bar{o}nj$  'woman', etc.;  $\dot{}= \checkmark =$  in  $w\bar{u}k$  'twenty';  $z\bar{u}ng$  'knee'; ' $p\bar{o}ndum$  'wheat'; possibly  $\checkmark =$   $\checkmark =$  in ' $d\bar{v}$  twelve' (<\*duwadasa?).

Words in  $-\delta k$  are probably derived from the oblique form, thus  $\gamma \tilde{e} n \delta k$  'hair' < \*gau'nakahya.

Elision of a short vowel before the accent has taken place in  $kri\check{e}$  'hut' ( $<*kati\check{e}i?$ ), possibly in c)für 'four', and before a secondary suffix in  $\delta\check{s}c\bar{a}k$  'girl'  $<\check{s}\partial c+\bar{a}k$ . I am unable to explain the loss of u in  $\delta\check{s}t\partial n$ , etc. 'needle'  $< su\check{c}ani$ .

The loss of the vowel in an unstressed first syllable occurs also in lw.s (e.g. Sk.  $b\check{c}dk$  'he-goat'; bland = biland 'high';  $brat = b^{2}r\bar{u}t$  'moustache', etc.), and may be of recent date.

<sup>1</sup> But note ko'δοs 'eleven' < \*aiwaka'dasa?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 96, 2 a.

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. § 59.

## MORPHOLOGY

#### Nouns.

## Primary Stems.

95. No distinction is made in Sgl.—Ishk. between words belonging to the various ancient Ir. groups of nominal stems.<sup>1</sup>

Only on etymological grounds, or in some cases from a comparison with Yd.—Mj., are we able to distinguish between ancient stems in -a- (e.g. ingīt 'finger'; dīd 'smoke'; dūr 'sickle'; γōl 'ear'; potūn 'leg'; wāl 'roof-beam', etc.); stems in -ā- (e.g. uštīn 'hay-stack'; γāl 'neck'; kīl 'knife'; wuznel 'daughter-in-law'; wāl 'trousers'); stems in -ī- (e.g. fəryəm 'female kid'; met 'fist'; səvð 'shoulder'; wēd 'willow'; yer 'stone'; šəc 'female'; jānj 'woman'²); stems in -ū- (xoš 'mother-in-law'); stems in -au- (uyūi, yōu 'cow'; šōu 'horn'(?)); stems in -r- (v³rūð 'brother'; wuðəyð 'daughter'; yūð 'husband's brother's wife'; yəxōai 'sister'; zəmūð 'son-in-law'); stems in -n- (cām 'eye'; dānd 'tooth'; māl 'husband'; nīm 'name'; pām 'wool'; šūrm 'dung'(?); cf. also pār-uzd 'yesterday'); stems in -s- (sōr 'head', and, ultimately, ormōzd 'sun'), and nouns which may go back to ancient plurals (e.g. pōī 'milk'; you 'corn'; warf 'snow'; wolk 'kidney', etc.).

# Suffixes in k.

96. Various types of suffixes containing a k are found in Sgl.—Ishk., and some of them are still productive. The forms in g are mere variants, due to sandhi, or to the influence of a preceding nasal.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The only exception known being the 'irregular' pl. of  $v^3r\tilde{u}\delta$  'brother', see § 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 26.

<sup>3</sup> As for traces of ancient -a(h), cf § 78, c, e.

- 1. A simple -k, derived from \*-ka-, appears in wolk 'kidney', ef.  $n \partial m \bar{e} \partial \gamma / k$ , etc. 'salt'. Also nom. msc. \*-akah, -ukah probably result in -k, ef.  $n \bar{a} r k$  'male'; p a r k 'ashes';  $p \bar{u} s k$  'hide';  $r \bar{o} s k$  'truth'; d u r k 'stick';  $p \bar{o} r k$  'rat';  $z \bar{u} g g$  'knee'. Reg.  $g \bar{o} t u k$ , etc. 'bridge' and  $g \bar{u} t u k$  'feast' ef. § 24.— $g \bar{u} n j \bar{s} k$  'sparrow';  $g \bar{u} s k$  'dung' etc. are lw.s.
- 2. A suffix Sgl.  $-\delta k$  (Ishk. regularly -uk, cf. § 78 a) appears in several categories of nouns.
- a. In names of animals. Thus: moy'dōk, etc. 'frog'; mor yōk 'sparrow'; jila yōk 'spider'; skonōk 'puppy'; stonōk 'kid'; vorōk 'horse'; worok 'male lamb' (Mj. woroy); wo sōk 'calf' (Par. γα sō); żū'ōk 'male markhor'; zo yōloy 'bumble bee', etc. It will be noted that this suffix is used by preference about male animals, and it goes back to \*-akah, or, perhaps, \*-akahya.²
- b. In names of parts of the body and other nouns: os tāk 'bone' (Y yastë);  $\gamma \bar{e}^{\alpha}n\delta k$  'hair' (M  $\gamma \bar{u}n\partial y$ );  $\gamma o r\delta k$  'neck' (Psht.  $\gamma arai$ );  $narx\delta k$  'nail';  $m\bar{a}l\delta k$  'husband' (Y mara);  $wul\delta k$  'flour' (Y  $y\bar{a}\gamma\bar{e}$ , etc.);  $yiv\delta\delta k$  'thread' (pf. ptc.), etc.
- c. In many cases  $-\delta k$  is evidently a secondary suffix. Thus, e.g., in: parwinekog 'moth' (parwinek 'butterfly'); worokok 'small lamb'; ingi  $t\delta k$  'finger-ring' (in git);  $m\bar{w}l(\bar{o}k)$  'husband';  $v\delta rok$  'window' ( $v\delta r$ );  $n\partial w\delta k$  'mill-race' ( $n\delta u$ );  $z\partial ma n\delta k$  'boy' ( $z\delta man$ );  $ni y\delta k$  'reed' (< Prs. nai).
- d. In adjectives:  $nu'w\hat{o}k$  'new';  $\hat{s}^{j}\cdot l\bar{o}k$  'wet';  $v^{j}z\hat{o}k$  'fat'; \*  $\hat{z}wondok$  'hungry';  $xa\hat{z}ok$  Gr. 'sweet'.
- e. In the Perfect. Thus, e.g.: nilōslog 'having sat down'; no'dōk' (nas-) 'has been seized'; Sgl. kuōk, Ishk. kuluk 'has done' (Par. ku'rŏ); dūduk Sk. 'has given', etc. Cf. p(\delta)xōk 'cooked', and also the verbal nouns of the type d\delta ryōk 'reaping'; vī-diōk 'watering'; deyuk Sk. 'to give'; no'rōk 'rain', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See § 94.

<sup>8</sup> And also vozok 'branch', but not \*vozok 'male goat'.

- 3. Sgl.  $-\bar{a}k$  occurs in words denoting female beings in  $\partial_z \bar{c}a\bar{k}$  (Ishk. z t = 1) 'girl';  $w \bar{e} r \bar{a}k$ , etc. 'she-lamb'. Other examples are: Sgl. z t = 1 kyēv'z t = 1
- 4. In some cases -ak appears to be an unstressed variant of  $-\bar{a}k$ , cf. Sgl. p. 2  $w\bar{e}rak$ : p. 3  $w\bar{e}r\bar{a}k$ ; Gr.  $k\bar{a}ndak$ : Sgl. is. p. 1, 2  $kan^id\bar{a}k$ , Zb. kondok 'thorn'; Sgl. p. 2  $\gamma ulak$ : is.  $\gamma \bar{o}'l\bar{a}k$  (but Sk.  $\gamma \bar{u}'lak$  'pelletbow'.

In other words -ak has been borrowed from Prs., cf., e.g.  $das^{\dagger}tak$  'rafter';  $gilimb\bar{o}fak$  'spider' ( $gilam^{\dagger}b\bar{o}f$ ). In  $gar^{\dagger}dak$  'neck'; kamak 'spine'; parak, parik 'rib'; dand(ak) 'tooth'; parak 'violin'; tiyaxarak 'donkey's foal'; wuzin)ak 'woman' the suffix may be genuine < \*- $ak\bar{a}$ . Cf. also mak 'me';  $(t\bar{o})fak$  'thee', and  $m\bar{o}\delta(ak)$  'here',  $w\bar{o}\delta(ak)$ , etc. 'there'.

5. The suffix  $-\bar{u}k$  goes back to  $-\bar{a}k\bar{u}$  in  $z\partial v\bar{u}k$  'tongue';  $Iziv\bar{u}k$  'Zēbāk'. With  $-\bar{u}k < -aka$ - after a narrow vewel (cf. § 78 h):  $f!\bar{u}k$  'shoulder-blade';  $ust^{o}|r\bar{u}k$  'star' ( $<*st\bar{u}ruk < *st\bar{a}raka-?$ );  $v\partial z\bar{u}\bar{u}k$  'long'. Cf. also Ishk.  $avz\bar{u}k$  (Sgl.  $\bar{o}vzui$ ) 'heart';  $\gamma u'r\bar{u}k$  'lucerne';  $ku'z\bar{u}k$  'bull';  $n\bar{u}d\bar{u}k$  'buttermilk';  $s\bar{u}'y\bar{u}k$  'spleen';  $wu's\bar{u}k$  'elbow'.

Verbal nouns in -ūk are: kīrūg 'plough'; minduk 'asleep'; yūnūk 'grinding'; xōfuk 'coughing'. From the past base are formed misūk 'sleep'; jistuk Gr. 'swift', and żåduk Sk. 'murderer'. The same may be the case with batuk Gr. 'beetle'. Cf. also flåvuk Gr. 'breakfast'; Sgl. p'čuk 'worm'; rižuk 'male kid', etc.

tanuk Gr.,  $tan^ik$  Sk. 'thin' may possibly go back to \*tanukahya. From \*tanukah we should expect \*tunk.

6. The suffix -ik appears in a number of words, most of which are lw.s. Thus, e.g. bůr'k Sk. 'thin'; cūcik Sk. 'chicken'; tōrik

<sup>1</sup> All of which have shortened stem-vowel before -āk.

'darkness';  $kaule \ge ik$  'tadpole';  $p\bar{a}tik$  'eyelashes'. I have noted both  $|\bar{a}kik|$  and  $|\bar{a}\cdot kik|$  'egg';  $|\bar{a}| \le ik$  and  $|\bar{a}\cdot kik|$  'tear'.

Other examples are: bāndik 'elbow, joint'; cām-mərdikīg 'pupil of the eye'; curīk Gr. 'a shed'; dūnik 'grain'; kərrisīk 'lizard'; mācik 'she-dog'; mārcīk 'ant'; mužīk 'pea' (Bad. Prs. mužuk); rēcik 'entrails'; sədik Sk. 'porridge'.

Several ancient suffixes appear to have been merged in Sgl.—Ishk.  $-\tilde{i}k$ .

- 7. The suffixes -ek and -ək appear mainly in lw.s from Prs. with original -ak. Examples are: 'ainek 'mirror'; åta šek 'lightning'; šaupa'rek 'bat'; paruī'nek 'butterfly'; damfåžek 'yawn'; gazək 'tamarisk'; xənək 'cold'; gulbåd(ək) Sk. 'whirlwind'; xōlək 'maternal uncle'; zardək 'carrot'. Also some words of probably non-Prs. origin have got these suffixes added. Thus, e.g. astamāyzek 'upper arm'; 'sārek 'cream'; xrēseg 'n. of an animal'; fusek, fəˈsōk 'nose'; żān'ṣək 'entrails', etc.
- 8. A few words end in -ēk. Thus: wulmēk 'moon'; vēk 'water'; wurmēk 'poplar', cf. wwlyēka 'alone'.
- 9. In ari 'work' and xodari 'water-mill' r + k has developed in a special way. Cf. § 69,

# Other Suffixes.

97. Prs. -ī and -is have been borrowed and occur, e.g., in ¿ondokī 'hunger'; kīris 'ploughing'; yūnis 'grinding'.

The ancient suffix -xa- occurs in wolox 'rib', etc.; sorox 'ear of corn';  $\delta \bar{o} \delta x$  'goat's hair' ( $< *d\bar{o} \delta x$ ?).

Regarding the ancient fem. suffix  $-\hat{c}i$  cf. s.vv.  $\hat{s}oc$  'female';  $\hat{j}on$ ' woman';  $w\bar{a}n\bar{i}c$  'female calf', and possibly  $kr\bar{i}c$  'hut';  $p \hat{\sigma}rn\bar{i}c$  'threshold'. Cf. also  $wn\hat{s}in\hat{j}ak$  'woman';  $\hat{s}\hat{s}c\bar{a}k$  'girl', and, possibly,  $\hat{z}\bar{a}n\hat{z}\hat{\sigma}k$  'entrails' (< \* $\hat{z}\bar{a}n$ - $\hat{j}ak$ ?), and see § 26.

<sup>22 -</sup> Kuiturforskning.

#### Gender.

98. As far as my material goes, there is no trace of any distinction of gender in Sgl.—Ishk.¹ Names of males and females of the same species of animals are often expressed by different words. Thus ku'zuk 'bull': ō'yūi 'cow'; ta kɛ 'male kid': fər'yəm 'female kid'; juwānē 'male calf': bakɛndī, wanic 'female calf', etc. Note, however, wo'rōk 'male lamb': wē rāk 'female lamb', and cf. §§ 78 e, 96, 3 about the suffixes -ŏk and -āk.

## Number.

- 99. Traces of ancient plural forms are preserved in Sgl.  $vr\bar{u}\delta\bar{d}r$  'brothers' = Shgh.  $vir\bar{o}d\bar{a}r < *br\bar{a}tar\bar{a}(h)$ , and  $z \ni ma'n\bar{a}k$  'boys', from  $z \ni ma'n\bar{o}k$ , etc.; cf. the Pf. and Plupf. pl. forms, §§ 144, 147. Examples are: m-amic  $t\bar{a}t$   $x\bar{a}n$   $h\bar{o}v\delta$   $vr\bar{u}\delta\bar{a}r$ - $\bar{a}n$  Sgl. p. 2 'there are seven brothers in my father's house'; am  $x\bar{a}n$   $m\ni s$   $v\ni r\bar{u}\delta ar$ -en Sgl. is. 'these houses belong to my brothers';  $m\ni n$   $x\bar{a}n$   $h\bar{o}v\delta$   $z\ni ma'n\bar{a}k$ - $\bar{o}$  Sgl. p. 1 'there are seven boys in my house'.
- 100. A more recent formation is the pl. in -ən, -ān.³ Thus, e.g.: amānd ādamən rōsk γēżān Sgl. p. 1, 2 'these men speak the truth'; amand ādamān p. 1; ādamān xwōṛan p. 2 'the men ate'; ada ādaˈmā (= -ān?) ˈarī kenan p. 1 'those men are working'; waˈzīren γēżdan p. 3 'the ministers said'; gōḍ ken xē waˈzīren 'assemble your ministers'; xarżgiren nəs la-kuān p. 2 'the custom-officials did not let me go'; mə Kāfiren i tīn p. 2 'they arrived among the Kafirs'; maxluˈkān gudōm xas tān p. 2 'the people (?) plundered the storehouses'. In bəˈtā fəˈrēd p. 3 'he broke the idols', and in vəza xaˈsān p. 2 'they drag the goats', -ā may have been borrowed from Prs. -(h)ā. Also Sk. observes that Ishk. åla xā 'hills', rēmuz-dā 'suns' are recent forms,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. also Gr. § 42.

<sup>\*</sup> The existence of a parallel pl. \*wuðuyðār was denied.—Cf. "Wkh."  $v^{j}r\tilde{u}\delta arku\check{c}=\mathrm{Sgl.}\ vr\tilde{u}\delta ku\check{c}$  'brother's wife'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gr. § 43.

corresponding to more archaic  $r\bar{e}muz'd\partial n$  'suns';  $t\bar{a}t\partial n$  'fathers';  $n\bar{a}'n\partial n$  'mothers';  $t\bar{a}t\bar{a}'k\partial n$  'ancestors'.

It is even possible that also  $-\tilde{u}n$ , Gr. -an may be of Prs. origin, while  $-\partial n$ , -en is genuine and corresponds to Shgh.  $-\bar{e}n$ ,  $-\bar{i}n$ .

- 101. I never heard the Zb. pl. forms in -e, -ai, which appear to be used in the LSI about inanimate things, animals, and collectives (naukar, muzdur, kanèanī), while -an, -en is reserved for human beings considered as individuals. The difference of use prevents us from identifying this ending with -en.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is impossible to derive -e, -ai from -āh, as proposed by Tedesco, l.c. All final syllables are lost in Sgl.—Ishk., and a development -āh > -ai is in any case most unlikely. Reg. traces of -ā(h) cf. above.
- After numerals, fai 'many', comond 'how many', kull 'all', etc., 102. the sg. is regularly used. Thus, e.g., fai muluk ari k'enū Ishk. 'many men are working'; fai wuduyd-o Sgl. p. 2 'there are many daughters'; azəm fai (wok) vəz wendo vəb p. 2 'I had seen many goats (one goat'); comond ādam ōsto? p. 2 'how many men are there?' də zöt 'two sons'; c'fūr za'mīn-ō, ce'fūr zōt-ō me'nēn, va ce fūr bax's kenen p. 2 'I have four fields and four sons, and I divide the four (fields among them)'; roi xwāi mənen-ē p. 2 'I have three sisters'; ma mič xān rōi tan-ān 'there are three persons in my house'; wog, dō, rōi mēi p. 2 'one, two, three days'; čel dar'wāza vəδ p. 3 'there were 40 gates'; cel haf sar ... nīdof p. 3 'you forty officers shall sit down'. Sometimes we also find the substantive put in the sg. after a pl. demonstrative: a wand ādam žwondok-ān Sgl. p. 2 'those men are hungry', and even-if correct-ō (sg.!) āðam xēsta xwāran p. 2 'those men eat bread'.

The examples given above show that the verb is frequently in the sg. even with an animate pl subject.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Tedesco, ZII, IV, 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> With less of .n, cf. Grierson l.c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But cf. Grierson I.c

#### Case.

103. Regarding traces of ancient, oblique cases in -ahya and -yāh, cf. §§ 96, 2 and 26.

## Agent Case.

103. In cut zōtī xē tā-vē γēżəδ Sgl. p. 2 'the younger son said to his father', and tāte xē māl taxsīm kvδ p. 2 'the father divided his property' we apparently find an agent case in -ī, -e. But it is possible that -ī, -e is the possessive enclitic suffix 3 sg.

In other cases the nominative is used as an agent, thus, e.g.,  $p\bar{a}d\dot{s}\bar{a}$  form $\bar{u}\delta$  'the king commanded', etc. Note also that to is used as an agent.' I have noted no instance of obl. pl. in -of of nouns. Nor are such forms found in Sk's material. But Gr. gives ca wazīrāw 'from the ministers', etc.

## Accusative.

104. The indefinite object does not differ in form from the subject, and I never came across the form in -i mentioned by Gr.<sup>2</sup> from Ishk.—Zeb.

Thus, e.g.: Ishk., Sgl. p. 1, 2 ari kenum, kenen 'I work'; Ishk 'vēk 'pərum 'I drink water'; Sgl. p. 1 puðf-um pv'xəm; Ishk. putf-um puxt 'I cooked meat', etc.

With determinative pronoun: Sgl. p. 1  $x\bar{e}$  dōst zenēyen 'I wash my hand(s)'; tāte  $x\bar{e}$  māl taxsīm kvo' the father divided his property'; ama ādam-əm wēnt 'I saw this man'; p. 2 ma kitāv kō-ve dē 'give this book to somebody'.

In Sgl. a definite object not preceded by a pronoun is indicated by the prefix va.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 2 va senāi żan 'extinguish the fire' (but also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 112, and see Gauthiot, MSL, 20, 64.

<sup>2 8 44.</sup> 

<sup>8</sup> Regarding the derivation of va cf. Yd.-Mj. § 220.

šənāy-əm żōδ); va uyū dēsəm, va uyū-m dəyδəm 'I milk(ed) the cow'; va kitāb dūδīn mum bē 'they gave me the book'; va cafūr bacs kenen 'I divide the four (fields)'; nēr-əm kuδ v-āri δak 'imrūz hamū kār kardam'; p. 1 va māl taxsīm ke 'divide the property'; p. 3 va koryos vōst 'he bound the eagle' (but c'fūr koryos nas 'catch four eagles', etc.).

With a pronominal object: Sgl. p. 1 a'max va 'tfak 'wēndan' we saw thee'; p. 2 wēndəm va tfak; az-əm va tfak wēndo vəð; az va tfak yēżen 'I tell thee' (but also təfak bəsānəm 'I make thee sit down'; az təfak kasen-ī 'do I see thee?'); is. va tō gap-am apəxt 'I heard thy word'.

In Ishk. I never heard va used. Thus, e.g.: yundum derāyen 'I cut the wheat' (cf. Sgl. p. 2 va yōndum yalbēl kenen); azi fak wēnduk 'I saw thee'; mak dēd 'he beat me'.

## Genitive.

105. The attributive genitive is expressed, just as in Ishk., by prefixing the governed to the governing noun. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 ma mic tāt xān 'in our father's house'; ma 'xān mi yāne-mō 'I am in the middle of the house'; vərō yāl 'the horse's mane'; p. 3 Ōzar zōt 'Azar's son'.

In some fixed formulas of Prs. origin the izafat is used, but it is impossible to tell whether such constructions really belong to everyday speech. Examples are, e.g.: Sgl. p. 3 mə rām-i mādar 'in his mother's womb'; beγär-i mak 'except me'; Sgl. is. har qism-i-čiziā-i xūb 'every kind of good things'.

The predicative genitive is formed with the suffix -en (< \*-aina-?). Thus: Sgl. p. 2 am  $x\bar{a}n$  ( $v = r\bar{o}$ ) mom  $v^2 r \bar{u} \delta e n - \bar{e}$  'this house (horse) is my brother's'; am  $x\bar{a}n$  am  $\bar{a} \delta amen - \bar{e}$ ; p. 3  $\bar{a}h\bar{u}\bar{i}n$  wok \$\dar{a}x\ da v = \delta\$ 'the stag had one horn'; is. am  $x\bar{a}n$  mə\dar{s}  $v^2 r \bar{u} \delta aren - \bar{e}$  'this house belongs to my brothers'. But note: Sgl. p. 2 wok  $\bar{a} \delta am$  də  $z\bar{o}t$  v = \delta 'a man had two sons'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Grierson § 44.

In Ishk. we find a possessive suffix -nā, -na, cf. Sk. 'rēmuzd-nā-i 'nūr' 'the light of the sun'; åļax-nā-i warf' 'the snow of the mountain'; 'tāt-nā-i ki tāb 'father's book'; Gr. pādsā-na wak udōyd 'a daughter of the king'. The derivation proposed by Gr. § 44 from -āna- is phonetically uncertain.

Note also the use of the oblique pl. in Gr. xē wazirāw dur 'the house of his viziers'.

## Dative.

106. The dative is expressed by means of the postposition -bē 'to'. Thus, e.g.: Sgl, p. 2 rōi rōpē ākum-be dūdīn 'they gave the governor three rupees'; xē tā-vē (= tāt bē) γēžəd 'he said to his father'. But the original local sense of -bē is evident in Sgl. p. 2 cə wōd šīd Mandežān-be 'from there it went to M.'; o'γοd Gazkestān-bē 'it arrived at G.'.

The Ishk. form is  $b\bar{o}$ ,  $b\hat{a}$ . Thus: I mum  $b\bar{o}$  'to me'; Sk. 'rēmuzd-bå' to the sun'; 'nån-bå,  $t\hat{a}(')$ -bå 'to the mother, father'; pl. nå 'nəm-bå,  $t\hat{a}$  təm-bå (with  $-\partial n < *-an\bar{a}m?$ ).

bě, bå is probably derived from \*upai.

## Other Local 'Cases'.

107. Local relations are sometimes expressed without the aid of any preposition or postposition. Thus: Sgl. mən xān hōvð zəmanāk-ō 'there are seven boys in my house'; p. 3 ō'yoðam pe'nuk 'we arrived at the pass'; ō'yoðan Kōe stān 'they arrived in Chitral'.

In other cases prepositions are used:

a) ma, mə 'in': Sgl. p. 2 cəmənd tanān ma təməx xān? 'how many people are there in your house?' psāt mə Ski tūl fāuž 'now the army is in S.'; p. 3 mə sār cel darwāza vəð 'there were forty gates in the town'; is. mə waxt-i qadām 'in olden times'; mo xōðm wēnd 'he saw in a dream'; a'rāz mə vyēk 'jump into the water'; p. 2 mə Kāfiren i'tān 'they arrived among the Kafirs'.

ma is probably a shortened, unstressed form of \*ma $\delta < mai\delta y \hat{o}i$ , mai $\delta im$ . Cf. also Parachi ma yus 'in the house', etc., but the origin of the Par. particle is at least partly of different origin.

- b) cə 'from' < hačā. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 cə  $k\bar{u}$  yuzə xašəm 'we fetch fire-wood from the hills'; ce har  $x\bar{o}ri$ -dak da  $r\bar{o}p\bar{e}$   $n\bar{o}\delta$  'he took two rupees from each donkey'; p. 3 cə  $\bar{a}s$ - $m\bar{a}n$  pase xavd 'mosquitoes came down from the sky'; cə past-i past-i past-i from his father's loins'.
- c)  $p\bar{\sigma}$  'to, into' < paiti. Thus: Sgl. p. 3  $s\bar{\imath}\delta$  pa ( $n\bar{\sigma}sm\bar{\imath}i$ )  $asm\bar{a}n$  kafas 'the cage rose into (the middle of) the sky';  $p\bar{\sigma}$   $w\bar{a}da$   $h\bar{\imath}t$  'he arrived at the time of marriage';  $r\bar{o}$   $p\bar{\sigma}$   $v\bar{\sigma}d\bar{a}$   $k\bar{\sigma}\delta$  'he turned towards his God,  $r\bar{u}$  ba  $xud\bar{a}$  kat'.
- d) tar 'through, between, to, in',  $< tar\delta$ . Thus: Sgl. p. 3 tar  $asm\bar{a}n \ \hat{s}\partial xt$  'he passed through the sky'. Cf. Voc. s.v.

Regarding  $s\bar{o}r$  ( $m\partial s\bar{o}r$ ) 'on';  $vi\dot{s}$  ( $c\partial ... vi\dot{s}$ ,  $m\partial ... vi\dot{s}$ ) 'under, below';  $g\bar{o}l$  'together with';  $\dot{z}a$  'before;  $p\bar{e}\dot{s}\cdot\dot{r}$ ', v. Voc. s.vv.

# Adjectives.

108. No distinction of gender or of number has been noted in the adjectives of Sgl.<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g.: az żwondok-mō, aməx ż.-ān, amənd āðam ż.-ān, təməx ż.-ān-ī? 'I am, we are, these men are, are you hungry'; jan) amēðvār-ō 'the woman is pregnant'; am xān żəšt, hað xān riziāk 'this house is big, that house is small'.

The *izāfat* is occasionally used in idioms of Prs. origin.

I have come across no comparative or superlative forms. Cf. the sentence quoted just above, and also Sgl. p. 2 čārvā cə vəz žəštō 'cattle is bigger than goats'; mic tāt xān wokīak kalān-ū 'our father's house is a little larger (yak-taš kalāntar a)'; Sgl. is. am ādam cə mak (tfak, məcəf) jəšt 'this man is bigger than I (thou, we)'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. IIFL. I. p. 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But note the ptc. nilostog, pl. nilostag, etc. § 146.

## Numerals.

109. The main forms of the numerals 1 are:

- 1. Sgl., Ishk., Zeb. wok, Sk. wok < \*aiwakah, cf. § 87.
- 2. »  $d\bar{o}u$ ,  $d\bar{a}u$ , Ishk.  $d\bar{\phi}^u$ , Zeb.  $d\bar{u}$ , Sk.  $d\partial u < *duu \bar{a}(u)$ .
- 3.  $r\tilde{o}\tilde{i}$ , Ishk.  $r\tilde{o}\tilde{i}$ , Zeb.  $r\tilde{u}$ , Sk.  $r\tilde{u}i < \vartheta r\tilde{a}y\bar{o}$ .
- 4. » Zeb., Sk.  $c(\tilde{r})f\bar{u}r$ , Ishk. (lw.)  $\tilde{c}\tilde{o}r$ .
- 5. » p(')ŏnz, -s, Zeb. p'ons, Ishk. ponj, Sk. pūnz.
- 7. »  $(h)\bar{o}v\delta$ , Ishk., Zeb.  $\bar{o}vd$ , Sk. uvd.
- 8.  $\rightarrow$  (h) $\delta t$ , Ishk. at, Zeb., Sk.  $\delta t$ .
- 9. » Sk. nou, Ishk. nao, Zeb. nau.
- 10. » dős, Ishk. das, Zeb. (lw.) dāu, Sk. dah.
- 11. » koʻbos, etc. < \*aiwakadasa; Ishk., Sk.(lw.) yōzda, Zeb. yōzdāu.
- 12. » diðus < \*duwadasa; Ishk. (lw.) dwåzda, Zeb. dwōzdāu.
- 13. » Ishk. (lw.) 'sēzda, Zeb. sīzdāu.
- 14. » (lw.) čārda, Zeb. čōrdāu.
- 15. » põnzə dős; Zeb. (lw.) põnzdau.
- 16. »  $xu\bar{a}l(\partial)\delta\bar{\delta}s$ ; Zeb. (lw.)  $\hat{s}\tilde{o}nzd\bar{a}u$ .
- 17. » ο̄vdəδο̄s; Zeb. (lw.) habdāu.
- 18. » hŏtəδōs; Zeb. (lw.) hażdāu.
- 19. » nowəδos; Zeb. (lw.) nuzdāu.
- 20. » wīšt; Zeb., Ishk., Sk. (lw.) bīst.
- 30. » rvs, r₃s < \*∂risat.
- 40. » (lw.) č*il*, čεl.
- 50. » »  $pan^{1}j\bar{a}$ .
- 60. » » \$\bar{s}\alpha\sets/st.
- 70. » »  $(h)af^{\dagger}t\bar{a}\delta$ .
- 80. » » aš tāδ.
- 90. » » na¹wāδ. (NB ā!).
- 100. » » sἄδ.
- 1000. » ha zār.
  - $^{1}/_{2}$ . » »  $n\bar{i}m$ .

<sup>1</sup> For phonetic details v. Voc. s.vv.

# 110. Pronouns. Personal Pronouns.

S. Sg.	Ishk. Sköld	$\epsilon t$	pet	: fak		$y_0$ -, $d_0$	tinå			bo tə-bä			s. PI.	Ishk. Sköld	tomox tomox	temexou			xem.ct-ed	tomexna			$tomo,r$ - $b ilde{a}$	
2nd Prs. Sg.	Sgl. Isl	et n'et	iggraphi - iggraphi	$(va)t^{j}jak$ $fak$	$co-t^{j}fak$	pə-təfak	$t ilde{o}$ $t ilde{i}$	tonen tino		tō-b/vē tn-bo	tó yõl	$tar{u}$ - $ar{z}a/ar{\imath}$	2nd Prs. Pl.	Sgl. Isl		1	- $(fe)xemet(pa)$	(fe)xemet-extrapolarity	(fe)xemet-ed	təməx	təməxen			
_	Sköld	a'z $i$	a'zim, azın	mak		po-mak	пеш			pq-mem,	pnb-ucu,			Sköld	хеш	тәхеш	nezem vem		aezem-ed	pușem,			nes-bå	
Sg.	Ishk.	azi	azi	mak			mon	$m\mathbf{v}^{\iota}nar{o}$		oq- $unu$ ,			. PI.	Ishk.	max		max			mis				
1st Prs. Sg.	Sgl.	(e)z p	as-sm	(va-) $mak$	cə-mak	$p_{\theta}$ - $mak$	иеш	$ma_1nen$	та-тэн	mə/1011-bē	log-nem,	əf-nem,	1st Prs. Pl.	S. S. S. S. S. S. S. S. S. S. S. S. S. S	xe/pun	}	feim(-p.i)	fezeu-es	fezem-ed	$(a)mi\ddot{c}$	məcen		miż-be	
		Nom.	Ag.	Acc.	Abl.	Loc.	Gen.	Pred.Gen.	'Iness',	Dat.	Comit.	'Anteess.'			Nom.	Ag.	Acc.	Abl.	Loc.	Gen.	Pred.Gen.	'Iness.'	Dat.	

111. The various forms which, for the sake of convenience, have been included in the preceding paradigm, are of diverse nature, and it is doubtful whether all of them ought really to be called "cases".

They are all derived from a limited number of bases, viz. in Sgl.:

	1st Sg.	2nd Sg.	1st Pl.	2nd Pl.
Nom.	azə	tə	amax	t  ightarrow m  ightarrow x
Obl.	mak	$t^{j}fak$	mičə $f$	$t  ilde{ u} m  ilde{ u} ( ilde{ u} f)$
Gen.	mən	tō	$mi\check{c}$	$t \partial m \partial x$ .

It will be observed that the differentiation is less marked in the Pl.—especially in the 2nd prs.—than in the Sg.

azə and tə go back to ancient nominatives, azə perhaps to a form \*azâm, cf. Sogd. b. 'zw and Yd. zo, etc.

mak and  $t^{0}fak$ , fak represent ancient accusatives and ablatives, and mon and  $t\bar{o}$  ancient genitives. Ishk. (and Zeb. Gr.)  $t\bar{i}$  corresponds to Wkh.  $t\bar{i}$ , and may go back to \*tai. Regarding this system of cases cf. Gauthiot MSL, 20, p. 69.

In the pl. the nominatives have been lost, as elsewhere in Ir.—amax goes back to \*amāxam as proposed by Gauthiot l.c.;  $mi\dot{c}$ , however, must be derived from \*ahmāciya- (cf. Shgh.  $mā\dot{s}$  and possibly Psht.  $m\bar{u}n\dot{z}$ ), not from \* $mak'\bar{e}\beta$  (Gauthiot, l.c.). The oblique base has been differentiated from the genitive by the addition of the oblique case suffix  $-\partial f < *-ai\beta i\dot{s}$  (Gauthiot, l.c.).

The 2nd pl. has been differentiated from the 1st pl. by the addition of t- from the sg., just as is the case in Sar. and Yazgh. Regarding the use of the Agent case, cf. § 103.

# 112. The oblique base is used:

- a) Without any addition as an accusative: Sgl. p. 1 tu mak kasī 'thou seest me'; tfak dehēm 'we beat thee'; azə tumuzuv kasen 'I see you'; p. 2 təfak wēndəm 'I saw thee'; Ishk. azi tumux yēżum 'I say to you'; azi fak wēnduk 'I have seen thee'.
- b) With va as a definite or emphatic accusative: Sgl. p. 1 az t<sup>2</sup>fak kasen, kull va tfak kasem 'I see thee, we all see thee'; to va micof kasī; azo va tumuxv kasen; azom va tumux wēnt (va tumuxof-om

wēnt); az-əm va tfag wēnt 'I saw thee'; tō-u va mak wēnt, p. 2 az-əm va tfak wēnd; tə-vō va-mak wēnd.

- c) With the izafat: Sgl. p. 3 bēyär-i mak 'except me'.
- d) With  $c\partial$  as an ablative: Sgl. p. 2  $t\partial$   $c\partial$ -mak <sup>1</sup>  $pi\bar{a}n$ - $d\bar{o}$  'thou art below me';  $c\partial$   $t\partial$ fak  $v\partial$ rāz-mō 'I am above thee'; Sgl. is. am ādam  $c\partial$ -mak  $(c\partial$ -tfak, cc-m $\partial$ č $\partial$ f, cc- $t\partial$ m $\partial$ x $\partial$ f)  $|\partial$ st 'this man is bigger than I' (etc.).
  - e) With po as a locative.

The genitive base is used:

- 113. a) As an attributive genitive: Sgl. p. 1 am mon xān, ō tō xān 'this is my house, that one is thy house'; p. 2 am xān mom vorūđen-ē 'this house is my brother's'; ma mič (tomox) xān 'in our (your) house'; p. 3 ma mon xōđm 'in my sleep'; tō lavz 'thy word'; Ishk. tī zovūk 'thy tongue'; wadak tī (miš) xān 'there is thy (our) house'.
  - b) With the suffix  $-(n)\check{e}n$ , Ishk.  $-n\check{o}$  as a Predicative Gen.<sup>2</sup>: Sgl. p. 1 am  $x\check{a}n$  kull mənen- $\check{e}$  'all these houses are mine';  $c \ni f \check{u}r$   $z \ni t \check{o}$  mən $\check{e}n$  'I have four sons'; p. 2 mənen wok kit $\check{a}v \check{o}$  'I have a book';  $\check{o}$   $x\check{a}n da$   $t \ni nen-\check{e}$  'this house is thine'; Sgl. is. am  $x\check{a}n$  mənen- (məčen-,  $t \ni m \ni x \in n$ -)  $\check{e}$  'this house is mine (ours, yours)'; Ishk. amīn  $x \mathring{a}n$  mun $\check{o}$ , wadak  $x \mathring{a}n$   $t \ni n\check{o}$  'this house is mine, that house there is thine'; mən $\check{o}$  wok kit $\check{o}b$  vəd 'I had a book'. Note Sgl. p. 3 mən $\check{i}$  zi Xud $\check{a}i$  nəst 'az mā  $\check{i}$  tar $\check{i}$  Xud $\check{a}$  n $\check{e}$ st'.—Cf. § 105.
    - c) With the preposition ma as a locative.

Note Sgl. p. 2 aze-i t<sup>2</sup>fak(?) xēsta xwārem 'I and thou(?) eat bread'; but Ishk. azi t<sup>2</sup> maduk ari kenon 'I and thou are working here'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sogd. &m'k.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Grierson § 52.

## Enclitic Personal Pronouns.

114. I have come across no genuine Sgl. enclitic pronouns, and I have heard no sentence corresponding in its construction to Ishk. dēdāk-am-a 'I have beaten him'.

In some cases, however, the Prs. pronominal suffixes are being used. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 mə šēn kenen-et 'mā tura mēgāyam-et'; p. 1 nīvô-et 'he brought it to thee'.—Sgl. p. 2 belarzānu-ŝ 'he makes him tremble'; belišmānu-ŝ 'he makes him slip'; cukō-ŝ 'he beats him'; dā-š ambār 'they put it into the granary'; nə wīnô-š 'he does'nt see him'.²—Sgl. p. 1 kull-mōn-dag nilōstag-an 'we are all sitting'; kull-mōn dag va t̄fak kasem 'we are all of us looking at thee'; am xān-dag kull-mōnin-dag-ē 'this very house belongs to all of us'; Sgl. is. wīndō-mōn 'he has seen us'.—kull-šōn-dak sāar xwārān 'all of them will eat to-niorrow'; kull-šōm-bē taxsīm kenen 'I shall distribute it to all of them'; zamīn kull-šōm baxš kenen 'I divide the fields amongst all of them'; hōr kull-šōm baxš kenen 'I divide the fields amongst all of them'; hōr kull-šōm vāna-i xud)'.—The enclitic pronoun 1st sg. is possibly contained in Sgl. p 2 šənāy-əm mərōk 'the fire has died for me(?)'.

## Demonstrative Pronouns.

115. Sgl.—Ishk. possesses three demonstrative pronouns corresponding etymologically and functionally to those of Yd.—Mj.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Acc. to Grierson, § 62. But cf. Sgl. is. windom·on 'I saw them (?)'. Cf. also Voc. s.v. ·ī.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But why Sgl. p. 2 trāsen be apiō(-š) 'I fear that he will become lost'?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Note the addition of the Sgl. suffix of the predic. gen. to the Prs. enclitic pronoun.

<sup>4</sup> Read -šon?

<sup>1</sup> This is said to be the correct form, but also aw is used.

		Zeb.(Gr.)	ao, wo			уñ	$y\bar{u}nen$	$yar{u}$ - $bar{a}$			₩)		āwend			
	 20	Sköld Ishk.(Gr.) Zeb.(Gr.)	wa	uan		i(n)i		wan-ba					) 1		wėv	ůn
	"ILLE, IS"		wa-dak a'wī, an	wan		$\bar{\imath}n$	้าหน้	im-bd(?)		upn-ed			a'rc(āndān) 1 a'rcàndân		īvnā īw-bâ	pə-a wündân
		Ishk.	wa- $dak$	man												
Sg.	_	Sg.	$ \dot{o} (aar{u})$	wa/o	$aw\hat{e}, \ \hat{o}$	yō	yonen	yō-vē	(awai be)		om-co	PI.	arcand		awâm-bē	
<b>42</b>	"ISTE"	$\mathbf{Sk\ddot{o}ld}$		dan												
	SI,	Sgl.	$a\delta(a)$		ađě	$\rho_i$	iden	$i\delta$ -be					adeind(e)		aðānden aðām-bē	
		Ishk.	ma-dak	man(Gr.)						Zeb.(Gr.)	c- $i(em)$		(e)	miv (Gr.)	e: 2	
	"HIC"	$S_{gl}$	am(a)	ma	amē	im	īmen						amind(e)		ı. amänden amām-bē	
			Nom.	Acc.	Ag.	Gen.	Pred. Gen. imen	Dat.		Loc.	Abl.		Nom. Ag.		Pred. Gen. amänden Dat.	Loe.

116. The Sgl. bases are:

$$am$$
  $a\delta$  ·  $(a)\bar{o}$   
 $\bar{i}m$   $\bar{i}\delta$  ·  $y\bar{o}$  ( $<*\bar{i}\bar{o}$ ).

Cf. also Ishk.:

In the modern Sgl. system the nom. sg. is formed by prefixing a to m,  $\delta$ , u/o; gen. by prefixing i to the same consonants; acc. by adding -a to them, etc.

The connection with the Av. pronominal stems ima-, aēta- and ava- is obvious, but the origin of the differentiation between the nom. am and the gen. im, etc. cannot be traced with certainty. id can scarcely be derived from the acc. aētəm (from which we should expect \*ēd). It is possible that am(a) goes back to imā- and im to ima-, but the reason for this distribution of the forms is unknown. iw might perhaps be derived from aēibyo, aēibiš, cf. wēv. yōnen is formed on the same principle as tōnen, which in its turn has got its -n- from mən-en. With amē, awē cf. Sogd. 'wy, 'my.' As for the pl. forms cf. Yd.—Mj. § 206. In Sköld's paradigm two different stems appear to have been mixed up.

# Examples of the use of the demonstratives.

117. 1. ama: Sgl. p. 1 am mən xān, ō tō xān 'this house is mine, that house is thine'; am xān zəst, hað xān riziāk 'this house is big, (but) that house is small'; ama āðam karīb-ū, aða āðam dīr-ūi 'this man is near, (but) that man is far off'; ama āðam-əm wēnt 'I saw this man'; hama āðam (amand āðamen) minduk-ū 'these men are asleep'. p 2 am xān am āðamen-ē 'this house belongs to this man'; am(a) xān īmen-ē, am xān yōnen-ē; amē hēči nes xoyok 'he has not eaten anything'; īm-be-dak wok miēļ-əm dūðū vəð 'I had given this man

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Benveniste, Gramm. Sogd. II, p. 124 sq.

an apple'; amānd āδamən rōsk γēżan 'these men speak the truth'; am xān-da amānden-ē 'this house belongs to these people'; is. am xān mənen-ē; p. 3 wa-yim (= \*va īm) Xvdā żanen 'I shall kill his god'.

- 2. aða: Sgl. p. 1 aða āðam arī kenö" 'that man is working'; aða āðamā arī kenan; aðand āðamen 'those men'; aða yēžō; aðāndə yēžān 'they say'; az-əm īð-bē wok rōpeē dūð 'I gave him one rupee'. p 2 aða xān-da īðen-ē 'that house is his'; īð-be wok rōpē dēyen 'I give him one rupee'; aða yēžəð 'he said'; aðē-o hēci nes xorok 'he has not eaten anything'; is. að xān dīr-ūi 'that house is far off'; Sköld dan vrūk vånd 'bind that horse'.
- 3. ō, aū: Sgl. p. 1 aū arī kenōu 'he is working'; ō tō xān 'that is thy house'; awand āðamen (awande) kenan 'they are working'; az-əm yō-be wok rōpeē dūð. p. 2 ō āðam xwārōi (xwāran) 'that man eats (those men eat); ō yēžəð; ō xān-da yōnen(-dak); am xān yōnen-ē 'that (this) house is his'; awand āðam żwondok-ān 'those men are hungry'; yo (gen) żondoki šīð 'he became hungry'; yō-vē wok miēļ däyem be, wok miēļ-əm yō-vē dūðū vəð 'I shall give (I have given) him an apple'; awē hēċi nes xorok 'he has not eaten anything'; və wo ċuṭ-ān 'they are smaller than he'. Note awaī be wok rōpē dēyen 'I shall give him one rupee'. Sgl. p. 2 az-əm wa żōð 'I killed him'; p. 3 wo żanen 'ura bukušan'; tə-ðo wa gaxtog 'thou hast done it'; yō-va dāya šīð 'she became his nurse'. Sgl. is. ō xān dīr-ūi 'that house is far off'. Ishk. azi wan dēdum 'I beat him'. Sköld īn nīm čīz, ċīz nīm īnā? 'what is his (corr. 'this person's'?) name?'. ō, etc. is also used as a personal pronoun 3 sg.

An emphatic particle -dak is frequently added to demonstrative pronouns. Thus, e.g.: am-dak 'hamīn';  $a\delta ak$  (< † $a\delta$ - $\delta ak$ ) 'hamū'; im-be-dak, im-n-dak, etc. Cf. also the use of -dak after euclitic pronouns (§ 114) and in am  $x\bar{a}n$ -dag 'this very house'. Cf. Wkh. ham-dak 'hamī'.

In Ishk. I once heard a Prs. demonstrative in amīn xōn munō 'this house is mine'. Sgl. p. 2 î ādam mər 'this man died' was

probably a slip of the tongue on the part of my informant. Also Sk. has  $\bar{\imath}n$ .

Reg. dunda 'so much, thus', v. Voc. s.v. I am unable to analyze Sgl. s. pasi vənəf, pasi vədänəf 'after those things(?)  $(b\bar{a}qi\ bi\ \bar{u})$ '.

# Reflexive Pronoun.

118. The reflexive pronoun is  $x\bar{e}$  'own' < \*xwahya. V. Voc. s.v. Note: Sgl.  $g\bar{o}l$  ken  $x\bar{e}$  wazīrēn 'assemble my ministers'; wa  $x\bar{e}$  kūc 'O, my wife'.

# Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

119.  $k\bar{o}(i)$ ? 'who?' <  $kahy\bar{a}$ .—Sgl. p 2, is.  $am\ x\bar{u}n\ k\bar{o}inen-\bar{e}$ ? 'whose is this house?'  $ma\ kit\bar{a}v\ k\bar{o}-ve\ d\bar{e}$ ? 'to whom wilt thou give this book'; Sgl p. 3  $k\bar{o}i\ gaxtog$ ? 'who has done it?'.  $ku\delta nm$ ? 'which?'.—Sgl. p. 2  $ku\delta nm$   $\bar{a}\delta am-\bar{e}$ ? 'which man is it?'. Sgl. p 3  $ma\ kud\bar{o}m\ mah-\bar{o}$ ? 'in which month is it?' <  $kat\bar{u}ma$ -.

cē? (adj.), ceci? (subst.) 'what?'.—Sgl. p. 1 tu ce arī keni, p. 2 ce/ī (h)arī kē 'what art thou doing (ci mēkunī)?'; p. 2 tə cə nīm do 'what is thy name? (litt. thou what name art?)'; təməx cīe γēἐəf? 'what do you say?'; ceci (cieə) γēiὲ? 'what dost thou say?'; čīz Ishk., Sk., Gr. 'what?'.—Ishk. tə mum bo čīz γēὲī? 'what dost thou say to me?'.—Cf. Voc. s.v.

cəmənd? 'how many?'—Sgl. p. 2 cəmənd āðam östö? cəmənd tan-ān? 'how many men (persons) are there?'.—From \*cumanta- < c(u)want-? kōci 'any(body)'.—Sgl. p. 3 kōci digar Xudā 'any other God'.—Cf. Av. kas-cit.

iško 'anybody' (< \* $h\bar{i}$ iè  $k\bar{o}$ ).—Sgl. p. 3 iško nes ferind 'nobody remained ( $h\bar{e}$ ikas na mānd)'.

 $h\bar{e}\dot{c}i$  'anything' ( $<*h\bar{e}\dot{c}\cdot ci$ ). -Sgl. p. 2  $n\bar{e}r$ - $m\hat{o}$   $h\bar{e}\dot{c}i$  nes xor $\bar{o}k$  'today I have not eaten anything'.

řand 'some' (< Prs.).—Sgl. p. 2 řand rôz pasi 'some days afterwards'.

čīzī 'something' (< Prs.).—Sgl. p. 2 čīzī·m nūšοδ 'I drank something'.—V. Voc. s.v.

har 'every' (< Prs.).—Sgl. p. 2 ce har xōri-dak 'from every ass'; Sgl. is. har qism 'every kind'. Cf. Sgl. p. 2 hōr kull-śōn 'all of them'. kull 'all' (< Ar. Prs.).—Cf. § 114, and v. Voc. s.v.

Cf. also the interrogative adverbs  $c\bar{e}$ -ba 'why?',  $e\partial n\bar{a}$  'how?',  $k\bar{a}\partial i$  'when?',  $kun\bar{j}\bar{a}$  'where?', and  $kir\bar{a}$  'why?' (adapted from Prs.). I have come across no relative pronoun in Sgl.

## Verbs.

Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.

" To Be".

#### Present.

120. Sg. 1 Prs.  $-m\bar{o}$ , Ishk. -m Pl. 1  $-\bar{a}n$ 2  $-\bar{o}(\bar{o})$  2  $-\bar{a}n$ 3  $-\bar{o}(\bar{o})$ ,  $-\bar{u}(\bar{o})$ ,  $-\bar{e}$ , Ishk.  $-\bar{o}$  3  $-\bar{a}n$ .

# 121. Examples are:

Sg. 1: Sgl. p. 1, 2 az-mō nilōstog 'I am sitting'; az ma xān darān-nor 'I am in the house'; az zinda (wulyēka)-mō 'I am alive (aloue)'; Ishk. azī-m bē dōr (ferīnd) 'I am awake (tired)'; Sk. az-im ōst 'I am'. Cf. LSI, X, p. 491 -ma.

Sg. 2: Sgl. p. 2 tu ma xān darūn-dō 'thou art in the house'; to sust (\$ilax, durōγgū)-δō 'thou art lazy (naked, a liar)'; to żwondok-dō-i? 'art thou hungry?'; to ce nīm-dō?' 'what is thy name?'. With  $-r\bar{o} < -\delta\bar{o}^{-1}$ : to-ro va mak wēndo  $r\bar{o}\bar{o}$  'thou hadst seen me'; p. 1 to-vō nilosto-do (= p. 2 to-δō nilōstog) 'thou didst sit down'.

A doubtful case, probably a mere Persianism, is Sgl. p. 2 conā-i oyob 'citur āmadī'. Cf. Gr. Zeb. -ai.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 23.

<sup>23 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

Sg. 3: The final -i of - $\bar{o}/\bar{u}i$  (LSI -ai) is probably originally a slightly emphatic particle. Examples are: Sgl. p. 1  $a\delta a \ \bar{a}\delta am \ d\bar{v}r$ - $\bar{u}i$  'this man is far off'; p. 2  $v\bar{o}r \ \dot{s}\bar{o}x$ - $\bar{o}i$  'the door is closed'; Sgl. is.  $am \ x\bar{a}n \ qar\bar{v}b$ - $\bar{u}i$  'this house is near'.

The distinction between  $-\bar{o}$  and  $-\bar{u}$  (LS1-a) seems to be due to vowel harmony,  $-\bar{u}$  being used after a preceding narrow vowel. Thus: Sgl. p. 2  $x\bar{u}b$   $r\bar{o}si$   $durk-\bar{u}$  'it is a quite straight stick';  $kit\bar{u}v$   $e^{2}-ps\bar{u}r-\bar{u}$  'the book is above'; but  $m\bar{e}x$   $s\bar{o}r-\bar{o}$  'it is on the table'. There are, however, several cases of  $-\bar{o}$  being used also after i and u (e.g.  $ve\bar{k}$   $x \ni nu\bar{k}-\bar{o}$  'the water is cold'), and in one case I heard  $kal\bar{u}n-\bar{u}$  'it is big'.

The sg.  $-\delta/\bar{u}$  is used after numerals and adjectives denoting quantity, e.g.  $h\bar{o}v\delta$  zəmanāk- $\bar{v}$  'there are seven sons': fai wu $\delta u\gamma d$ - $\bar{v}$  'there are many daughters', etc.

In Ishk, I never heard any other form than -ō (e.g. wadak xōn tīn-ō 'that house is thine'). But in Sgl. a special form -ē is employed after an abs. gen. Thus, Sgl. p. 1, 2 ama (aōa) xān īmen (īōcn)-ē 'this (that) house belongs to this (that) person'; rōi xwāi mənen-ē 'I have three sisters'; kōinen-ē? 'whose is it?' mənen nest-e 'it is not mine'. Note kuðum āðum-ē? 'which man is it?'(?), which may, however, have been misheard.

The nominal construction, without any auxiliary, is frequent in the 3rd sg. Thus, Sgl. p. 1 am mon van 'this is my house'; am xan 2021 'this house is big'.

- 122. Pl. 1: Sgl. p. 2 kull-mon duy nilostuy-ūn 'we are all of us sitting'; aməx zwondok-ūn 'we are hungry'.
  - Pl. 2: Sgl. p. 2 təmux fay-ān 'you are many'; təməx sust-ān 'you are lazy'; təməx \(\frac{1}{2}\)wondok-\(\tau\)n-\(\tau\)? 'are you hungry?'.
  - Pl. 3: Sgl. p. 2 horð vrāðār-ān 'there are seven brothers'; comond tan-ān ma tomor xān? 'how many people are there in your house?'.

Sgl osto, Ishk. ust correspond to Prs. hast 'exists, is'. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 mon) we kitar o(sto) 'I possess a book'; comoul adam osto?' how many people are there?' Ishk. mono wok éver ust 'I have a certain thing'. Cf. Gr. Ishk. dst. Zb. ast, inflected Gr. Zeb. ast-im,

āst-ai, Sk. az im ōst, tu-t ōst, ost (e.g. muna ōst 'I have'), etc. ('f. Sk. as tā kūnä gap 'is there an ancient word?'. I never came across such forms.

The interpretation of Sgl. p. 2 wog, do, rōi mēi mə Mandažā-st; psād wōða ast, wok mā wōða hast i is not certain, but ast here seems to mean 'was', cf. Par. hōst 'was'.

- 123. The negative form of the verb substantive is Sgl. 1 sg. nesimo, 3rd sg. něs(t) 'nēst'. Thus, Sgl. p. 3 az po tō Xu dūi ka būl nosimo 'I am not satisfied with thy god'; p. 2 kirā nēst ōyōō? why has he not come?'. But note also, e.g., nos koō 'nu kard'; iško nes ferīnd 'nobody remained', where nes is used as a simple negation. Cf. Voc. s.v.
- 124. The derivation of some of the forms given above is uncertain, but Ishk.  $\bar{u}st$ , Sgl. \* $\bar{o}st$  probably goes back to accentuated asti, while  $-\bar{o}/\bar{u}$  represents the unstressed form, and  $\bar{o}st\bar{o}$  is a cross between the two forms. But  $-\bar{o}$  may also go back to -ati.<sup>3</sup>

In Sgl. ahmi and the enclitic pronoun 1 sg. -mai would coalesce in  $(\mathfrak{I})m$ . Therefore the auxiliary has been reinforced by adding the verbal ending  $-\tilde{o}$ . This has led to the employment of the ancient encl. pron. 2nd sg. Sk. -t, - $\delta$ , Sgl. - $d/\delta \tilde{o}$  (with secondary o) both as a verb and as an encl. pronoun.

2nd sg.  ${}^*\bar{e} < ahi$  has disappeared in Sgl., probably on account of the collision with 3 sg.  $\bar{e}$ . But cf. Gr., Ishk. ai.

While 3rd pl.  $\bar{a}n$  may be derived from \*hanti, and 1 pl.  $\bar{a}n$  has been influenced by the encl. pron., the 2 pl. in  $\bar{a}n$  is an unexpected form ( $< -a\theta ana$ ?).

125. The preterite is vəδəm, -əm vəδ, or az(-əm) vəδ 'I was'; vəδ 'he was', e.g., wok telf vəδ 'there was one child'; adim frī weð Sk. 'that would be good'. Sk. na-wuduk, transl. 'he isn't', is probably a pf. form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Texts, II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> HFL, I, Par. Gramm. §§ 175 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Gr., LSI.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Prs. dial. -ēn.

128.

## " To Become".

126. The same root  $\dot{s}$  is used both in the meaning of 'going' and of 'becoming'.

## Present (Aorist).

			Sgl.	Ishk.	Sk.			Sgl.	Sk.
Sg.	1	Prs.	àān	$\hat{s}\bar{u}m$	$s_2(wu)m$	Pl.	1	$\dot{s} \bar{u} m$	šawōn
»	2	,			<i>šəuc</i> i	*	2		šawəf
»	3		$\dot{s}uuc\bar{o}(i)$		$\hat{s}$ ə $u$ $ ilde{u}$	*	3	$\dot{s}u\bar{u}n$	

Thus, warfd vē šuvõi 'the snow melts'; ŝuān xē xān 'let them go home'; az' šān 'I become, I go'; šūān 'buran'; šām 'let us go'.

## Imperative.

Sgl. sā biavān 'go into the desert'; Sk. 2nd sg. sau, 1 pl. suån.

## Preterite.

127.				Sgl.	Ishk.	Sk.			Sgl.
	Sg.	1	Prs.	$(az-\partial m)$ $\hat{s}\bar{\imath}\delta$ $-\partial m$ , $-\partial m$ $\hat{s}\bar{\imath}\delta$	$\hat{s}udum$	sodom	Pl.	1	šĩān
	>>	2	<b>»</b>	$\dot{s}io(i)$			»	2	
	>	3	*	ŝīδ			À	3	<i>ŝīān</i>

Thus, bēdār-em šið 'I awoke'; šīðum biavān 'I went into the desert'; tə žwondok šio-ī? 'gušna šudī?' wok šēr paiðā šīð 'a lion was born'; šīð Izivā bē 'he went to Zebak'; psāt sēr šīān 'now we became satisfied'; rə.csat šīān 'they took farewell'.—šīān < \*šīð-ān.

# Perfect.

Sgl. Ishk. Sk.

Sg. 1 Prs.  $-m\bar{o}$   $\pm i\bar{o}k$ 

» 3 »  $\dot{s}i\delta \bar{o}k$ ,  $\cdot o \dot{s}yuk$   $\dot{s}\partial duk$   $\dot{s}\partial d\bar{u}k$ 

Thus, az-mo zaxmī šiōk, zax(m)-mō šīok 'I have become wounded'; kar-mō šyūk 'I have become deaf'; kōr-o šyūk 'he has become blind'; baləwān šiōōk 'jang šuda ast'. Cf. Pluperfect: šiōō veðem 'I had become'. See §§ 144, 147.

## The Present Stem.

129. In Sgl.—Ishk., as in other Modern Ir. languages, the verbal system is based upon two stems—the Present Stem and the Past Stem.

All Present Stems are inflected alike, the only exception being the Verb Substantive. A causative in -ān- has been borrowed from Prs. Thus, be-carānem 'I herd cattle'; belarzānu 'he makes it tremble'; be-lišmānu-s 'he makes him slip'. Reg. pīz-: paz-, sīw-: saw-, v. below § 130, c.

- 130. From the historical point of view we can still distinguish between Present Steins in -a-, -ya-, -aya-, -na- and -sa-. But these distinctions have no significance whatever in the verbal system of modern Sgl.—Ishk. Examples of the various ancient stems are:
  - a) Stems in -a-: Sgl. araz- 'to fly'; rānd- 'to bind'; pac- 'to boil' (intr.); xwār- 'to eat'.
  - b) Stems in -ya-: if- 'to weave' (\*ufya-); mur- 'to die' (\*mṛya-?);  $zi\delta$  'to flow' (\*zgadya-); de- 'to milk' (\*dauxšya-).
  - c) Stems in -āya-: Sgl. api-, Ishk. apay- 'to be lost' (\*apāya-); āstay- 'to send'; däy- 'to give'; deräy- 'to reap'; fərmē- 'to command'; nəmay- 'to show'; pār-ōē- 'to sell'; zənē- 'to wash'.—Of roots ending in consonants: awīr- 'to find'; pəzīn- 'to recognize'; kīr- 'to plough'; nēnd- 'to plant'; īżīm- 'to bring'; Sk. pīz- 'to cook' (intr. paz-); sīw- 'to burn' (intr. saw-).
  - d) Stems in -sa-: is- 'to come'; fərōs- 'to ask'; wərōfs- 'to stand up'; mis- 'to sleep' (?); trās- 'to fear'.
  - e) Stems in -na-: cen- 'to pick'; ken- 'to do';  $x \partial r n$  'to buy';  $y \bar{u} n$ -, etc. 'to grind'; Ishk. sin- 'to weep'; possibly also  $p \epsilon \delta \bar{u} n$  'to kindle'.
  - f) Irregular formations are pv- 'to drink', from the ancient reduplicated stem \*piba-, and  $i\delta$  'to arrive', which recalls Slav. ido 'I go' and the Av. presents in  $-d\tilde{a}$ -, but has more probably been abstracted from the 3rd sg. Av.  $\bar{a}iti$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. also Tedesco, ZII, II, p. 282.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reichelt, Av. Elementarbuch, § 219.

g) Some of the Ishk, present stems given by Sk, have been adapted to the past stems. Thus, apux- 'to hear' (pret. apuxt), for apaxx-; jis- 'to flee' (pret. jist-) for jih-; məl- 'to die' for mṛ-; sīd- 'to weep'; cf. Ishk, yūln- (pret. yūld) 'to grind' for yūṇ-. Also Zar. t'rūf- 'to steal' has got its f from the past stem, but at a very early date.

## Present.

131. ken- 'to do'; yē'aż- 'to speak'; xwār- 'to eat'; pzin- 'to know'.

Sg. 1 Prs.  2  3  Pl. 1  2  3  3  3  4  3  4  4  5  5  6  6  6  7  7  8  7  8  8  8  8  8  8  8  8  8  8  8  8  8	Sgl. p. 1 ke nen ke nī ke no" ke nom ke nom ke nəf ke nan	Sgl. p. 1 ; "!en ; "!i, yê! (?) ; "!e' to" ; "!e' tem ; "!e' tef ; "!e' tan	Sgl. p. 2 xwāri xwāri xwōrōi xwārəm xwārvf xwārvf	Sgl, is. kenen keni keno(1) kenun kenəf
Sg. 1 Prs.  2    3    Pl. 1    2    3    3    3    3    3    3	Sgl. s. kenem zīðū	Ishk. kenum k≠nī kənū kenon kenū (?)	Sk. yażn 1 'yażī yażu yażan 'yażan 'yażəv yażan	Gr. (Zeb.) -i/em -ē -ī, -ui -en -ev -en

Gauthiot's Ishk. paradigm <sup>2</sup> (ava rom, a var, a vard, ava ran, ava row, ava ran) differs from that of other sources. But on the whole the Ishk. terminations closely resemble those of W. Wakhan (-om, -i, -t, -an, -ov, -an).

132. 1st Sg. and Pl.—It is characteristic of the extreme variability of some of the Pamir dialects spoken by the scanty population of a few scattered villages, that in the hamlet of Porogh the dis-

<sup>1</sup> And prīnam, prīnī, etc.—Reg. wunm am, wune, wunu, etc., v. Voc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> MSL, 20, p. 14.

tribution of -n and -m in the 1st Sg. and Pl. should be the opposite of that found in the village of Zebak below, and probably also in Sanglech proper (at the head of the valley), the intervening village of Iskutul presenting -n in both cases.

The 1st Sg. in -n probably originally belongs to the subjunctive, while the 1st Pl. has got its -n from the enclitic pronoun Apparently Common Sgl.—Ishk. at a not too remote period possessed both an indicative 1st Sg. in -m and a subjunctive in -n, possibly also a present 1st Pl. in -m and a preterite in -n. But now these forms have everywhere been levelled out.

Ishk. -um may be derived from -ami. while Sgl. p. -en (more rarely -ən) would seem to go back to \*-ayani.\* If this is the case we must assume that -en was transferred secondarily to zenēyen (zenēn) 'I wash', däyen 'I give', etc.

2nd Sg.—Sgl.  $-\bar{\imath}$  (Gr. Zeb.  $-\bar{e}$ ) < -ahi, or -ayahi. If  $-\bar{\imath}$  is derived from -ayahi, the irregular forms Sgl. p. 2  $k\bar{e}$ ,  $k\bar{e}$ , ken 'thou dost'; apanis 'thou losest (gum  $m\bar{e}\langle in\bar{\imath}\rangle$ '; cicə  $\gamma\bar{e}'\dot{z}$ ? 'what dost thou say?' are derived from -ahi, cf. also Gauthiot's avar 'thou bringest'. But I only heard such forms used in questions, and the loss of the ending is most probably a recent and local phenomenon.

3rd Sg.—Regarding the distribution of  $-\bar{u}$  and  $-\bar{o}$  and the particle -i, cf. above § 121.

From -ati we should expect \*- $\delta\delta$ , but the final consonant has been dropped in the termination, cf. the 3rd Pl. - $\delta n$ . It is possible that a last trace of the fricative remains in the form - $\delta^n$  (< \*- $\delta n$ ?) which was heard occasionally. But - $\delta^n$  may equally well be a recent diphthongization of - $\delta$ .

Twice I heard Sgl. p. 3  $isy\bar{u}\delta$  'he shall, may come', which may be the older form. Gauthiot's avard is probably a Wkh form, since the syncope in the 3rd Sg. appears to be foreign to Sgl.—Ishk.

Gr. (Zb.) -ī, -ai probably goes back to -ayati.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. the corresponding forms in Oss., Bal, Kashan diall., etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pace Tedeseo, ZII, 2, p. 284 sq.

2nd Pl — Sgl.—Ishk.  $\partial f$ ,  $\partial v$  corresponds to the ferms found in Yd.—Mj. and W. Wakhi. The derivation from the enclitic pronoun  $wah^2$  is phonetically improbable, and irreconcilable with its employment in the Pres., but not in the Preterite. I would prefer to derive these terminations in v/f from Av. imper. and opt. medium  $-a\delta w \partial m$ . Phonetically such a development appears to be possible as well in Sgl. as in Wkh. and Yd.—Mj., and the need for a distinctive ending for the 2nd pl. would explain the perseverance of the middle form.  $-\bar{a}n$  of the Pret. and Auxiliary would then have to be derived from  $-a\partial v$  and, cf. the survival of -athana in Dardic, Kafiri, etc.

3rd PI.—Ancient -anti (and -antai, -anta?) resulted in \*-ant, from which  $-\bar{a}n$  with the special phonetic reduction which is so frequent in grammatical terminations.

- 133. Grierson gives Zb. az-im deh as an equivalent of az dehem 'I beat', but I have never come across this analytical form in Sgl. It has, however, an exact parallel in Par. ân-em dhē.<sup>4</sup>
- 134. The Sgl.—Ishk. 'Present' is used both as a real present and as a prospective agrist. Acc. to Gr.<sup>5</sup> the particle *bi* is added in Zb. to emphasize the future sense, or also, in one instance, to express the definite present.

In the material at my disposal the definite present force of be (bo, ba) appears in several cases. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 be nasô' 'mēgīrad', xāndem bu-s' 'mē-xāndem'; sakem bē-s' 'mēšakam'; wēn be zīdū 'blood is flowing'; Sgl. p. 3 kasəf ke mən dəsman bə kunjay-ō 'look where my enemy is'; Ishk. fai bu bōru 'bisyār mēlārad'; Sk. īm-bå be-fāru 'he wants'.

A future or subjunctive sense is probable in Sgl. p. 1 trāsen ki fərnisen be 'I fear that I may forget it'; p. 2 trāsen be apiō(s) 'I fear that it may be lost'; nēr be šān āri kenūk 'to-day I shall go and work'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. now also-according to Henning-Khwarizmian -βi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gr.Ir.Ph., I, 2, p. 324

Reg. Par. -ēr, -ōr, cf. HFL, I, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> IIFL, I, p. 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> LSI, X, p. 494 sq.

In a number of cases I am unable to decide the exact meaning of be. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 psād ba xēsta xwārī? no xwārom be 'art thou eating (shallt thou eat) bread? I am not eating (shall not eat)'; yō-vē wok miēļ däyem-be 'I (shall) give him an apple'; am āðam murō be, or be murō 'this man is dyiug (going to die)'.

135. Very frequently, but not in all cases, a Prs. definite present was rendered by a form with the enclitic be. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 apaxsom. däyem, γυεοπ, sixsom be 'mēsnawam', etc.; Sgl. p. 3 īžimom, vrēļum, sām, wunīżom bē; Sgl. s. dēem, kulom, sām, no xuārom be, etc. Cf. also Sgl. p. 2 boh be kenem 'I kiss'; p. 3 awezān be kenen 'I hang up'; pār be δēn 'I sell'.

In some causatives in  $-\bar{a}n$ -,  $-\bar{d}n$ -, borrowed from Prs., be is regularly prefixed.<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv. becarān-, bədnvōn-, belarzān-, belismān-, v. above § 129.

A form bəš, buš is also frequently used, not only with transitive verbs, although -s is probably borrowed from the Prs. enclitic. Thus, Sgl. p. 1 az ni šām bəš, p. 2 īfən, xūrum bəš, Sgl. is. yarten, nasem bəš; azə īm bē wok rūpāyē däyem bəš 'I (shall?) give him a rupee'.

In a few cases I heard be, bu used with the preterite. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 sāar bu xō'an 'we rose in the morning'; ...də rōpē noō, ba ər kuō 'he took two rupees and let them go'; dīr watan ba kīō 'he went to a distant country'; guzar-em be kīxtəm 'I passed over'; pārūzd wok čīzī to bē be spārdorē 'he entrusted a thing to thee yesterday'. I am unable to determine the meaning of be in these sentences. At any rate it does not correspond to that of Psht. bu, which forms the Habitual Past.

Reg. the use of the particle da, v. Voc. s.v.

# Imperative.

136. Imper. 2nd Sg. is identical with the present base. Thus, Sgl. p. 2, 3, Ishk. is, Sgl. p. 1, is., s. is 'come'; Sgl. p.  $d\bar{e}(i)$  'give'; p. 1, 2  $d\bar{e}$  'beat'; Ishk.  $i\bar{z}\bar{z}m$ , Sgl. p.  $i\bar{z}\bar{i}m$  'bring'; Ishk.  $n\bar{i}d$  'sit <sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj.

down'; Sgl. p. 2, 3 ke(n) 'do'; Sgl. p. 2  $\dot{z}an$  'kill';  $z \ni ne$ , Ishk. zenai 'wash'; p. 2  $\dot{z}a$  ( $\dot{z}o$ ) 'go', etc.

Imper. 2nd Pl. is identical in form with Present 2rd Pl. Thus, Sgl. p. 3 dehef 'beat'; nīđef 'sit down'; kenef 'do'; kasef 'see'; ye'žēf 'tell'.

Note Sgl. p. 2 hōr-kull-son de suān xē xān 'let all of them go home (hama-isān buran xōna-i xud)', where de is used to form an Imper. 3rd Prs., just as the corresponding Psht. enclitic dē, dī.

## The Past Stem.

137. From a historical point of view the Past Stems of Sgl.—Ishk. can be divided into the following groups.

A. I. Ir. \*-ata-:  $\tilde{z}\tilde{o}\tilde{o}$  'killed' ( $\tilde{z}an$ -);  $o\gamma o\delta$  'came' (is-);  $no\delta$  'took' (nas-). The derivation of  $\tilde{v}\gamma\tilde{o}\delta$  'brought' ( $\tilde{t}\tilde{z}\tilde{t}m$ -) is uncertain.<sup>2</sup>

In some cases preterites in  $-a/\partial \delta$  may go back to ancient Ir. forms in unstressed -ata, -ita, but the majority of such preterites are no doubt recent formations. Thus,  $xa\dot{s}\partial \delta$  'pulled';  $manda\delta$  'rubbed'; Zar.  $l\bar{s}\ddot{s}\ddot{u}d$  'licked';  $k\bar{t}r\ddot{o}d$  'ploughed', etc.

II. Ir. \*- $\bar{a}ta$ -:  $d\bar{u}\delta$  'gave'  $(d\ddot{a}y$ -); par- $d\bar{u}\delta$  'sold';  $\bar{a}stu\delta$  'sent'  $(\bar{a}stay$ -);  $f \ni rm\bar{u}\delta$  'ordered' (prob. lw.);  $z \ni n\bar{u}\delta$  'washed'  $(z \ni n\bar{e}$ -);  $w\bar{u}d$  'took away' (wus-).

III. Ir. \*-uta-: ŝiδ, ŝud 'went, became' (ŝ-); υθδ 'was'; cf. Zar. pūduk 'rotten'.

IV. Ir. \*-ita-: Sgl. s.  $pi\delta$  'drank'  $(p \circ r$ -);  $x \circ ri\delta$  'bought'  $(x \circ r n$ -);  $\dot{r}i\delta$  'picked' (iin-, Iw.?);  $\dot{s}i\delta$  'wept'  $(\dot{s}i\delta$ -).  $po\delta it$  'lighted'  $(p \circ \delta in$ -);  $x \bar{u}i\delta$  'threshed' (xuy-), and  $x \circ ri\delta$  'scratched'  $(x \bar{u}r$ -) may be secondary formations. Cf. also  $d(eh)\bar{e}\delta$  'beat' (deh-);  $d\circ r\bar{u}\delta$  'reaped'  $(der\ddot{u}y$ -);  $ap\bar{e}\delta$  'lost' (api-);  $n\circ mayd$  Sk. 'showed'  $(n\circ may$ -).

138. B I. Ir. \*-rta-: " $st\bar{o}l$  'swept' (astar-);  $w\bar{o}l$  'found' ( $\bar{a}w\bar{i}r$ -);  $m\bar{o}l$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ishk, forms are given only when they are morphologically different from the Sgl. ones.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sk. has a secondary pret. Ižəmd.

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Psht. Plai, etc., Yd.-Mj. lat < \*dārita-.

'died' (mur-);  $\&k\bar{u}$ !- 'sought' ( $\&k\bar{a}$ r-); xwol 'ate' ( $xw\bar{a}$ r-); kul, kud 'did' 1 (ken-).

Secondary formations from the present base are:  $sp\bar{u}r\delta$  'entrusted';  $tor\delta$  'pedicavit';  $d\bar{e}rd$  Sk. 'had';  $y\bar{u}r\delta$  'ground'  $(y\bar{u}n$ -, etc.), and, of more recent origin, kurt (Zar.  $k\bar{v}r\bar{v}d$ ) 'ploughed' ( $k\bar{v}r$ -). A secondary d has been added to the ancient preterite in Ishk.  $s^utuld$  'swept'; auvuld (Sk.  $av\bar{u}ld$ ,  $av\bar{u}d$ ) 'found';  $y\bar{u}ld$  'ground'; Sk.  $m\bar{v}ld$  'died' (from which a new pres. stem.  $m\bar{v}l$ - has been formed).

The present stems of Gr. Zb. kel 'consumed' and the preterite of nuwar- 'to draw water' are unknown. Sk. zdūd 'swept' (zdār-) and avūd 'found' are suspect of Shgh. influence.

- II a) Ir. \*-asta-:  $v\bar{o}st$  'bound' ( $v\bar{a}nd$ -);  $nil\bar{o}st^3$  'sat down' ( $ni\bar{o}$ -); zust 'ran' ( $z\bar{i}\bar{o}$ -). jist 'fled' is a Prs. lw.4—Also  $\dot{c}ar\bar{a}st$  'grazed' ( $\dot{c}ar\bar{a}n$ -), and  $b\partial lax\dot{c}\bar{a}st$  'made to slip' (\* $b\partial lax\dot{c}\bar{a}n$ -?') are lw.s, and the preterites may have their origin in some local Prs. dialect. Cf, however,  $beli\dot{s}m\bar{a}nd$ .—Aec. to Sk. the preterite of  $x\bar{o}nd$  'to laugh' is  $x\bar{u}nd$ .
  - b) Ir. \*-ista-: No example is known.
- c) Ir. \*-rsta-: fərγəst 'wandered' (fərγərt-); γοst 'walked about', both of which are probably early lw.s.

Sk, gives a number of Past Stems in tt from roots in -d/t. Thus,  $w\bar{e}tt$  'put' ( $w\bar{e}d$ -); att 'fell' (at-); dett 'entered' ( $d\bar{e}d$ -);  $n\bar{t}tt$  'sat down' ( $n\bar{t}d$ -);  $\tilde{s}\bar{t}tt$  'wept' ( $\tilde{s}\bar{t}d$ -).<sup>5</sup> Cf. the corresponding Wkh. forms.

- III a) Ir. \*-asta-: kot 'saw' (kas-);  $f^{\flat}r\bar{o}t$  'asked' ( $f^{\flat}r\bar{o}s$ -); and 'flew' (araz-); wāt, wat 'fell' (waz-); xôt 'rose' (xāz-). With i from the Pres. Stem: apanit 'lost' (apanis-);  $f^{\flat}rnit$  'forgot' ( $f^{\flat}rnis$ -).
- b) Ir. \*-išta-, -ušta-: let 'licked' (lēs-); v³rēt 'broke' (vrēļ-); kut 'slaughtered' (kul-).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 13, 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But wuļāk 'flour' from the original past stem.

<sup>\*</sup> Sk. only in 'rēmuz nolūst. elsewhere nītt-.

<sup>\*</sup> Sk. jas-: jast.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ishk. šīn-: šīd. but Sgl. quite irregularly, čiδ: šīδ.

Secondary formations from the present stem are: <code>juzd</code> 'ran'; <code>pēld</code> 'wrapped up'; Sk. <code>arazd</code> 'flew'; <code>forast</code> 'asked'; <code>kəld</code> 'slaughtered'; Ishk. <code>velēld</code> 'broke'; Zar. <code>līsüd</code> 'licked' (Ishk. <code>līšt</code> from Prs.); <code>tūld</code> 'shaved'.

Cf. also xaèo, Sk. xaèt 'pulled'; nūèo (Gr. neèt) 'threw, put'; nwièt 'wrote'; Sk. noèt (Gr. nuèt, nuèet) 'went out' (nēz-); wunīžd. wonièt 'went round' (woniy-); yeèd 'said'.

Note Gr. Zb yēd, tūd < rēžd, tūld.

IV a) Ir. \* afta-: xavd 'descended' (xav-); 1 \$k\bar{o}vd 'was cold', which may be a secondary formation.

- b) Ir. \*-ifta-:  $y\bar{e}v\delta$ , ivd 'span'.  $-n\bar{i}v\delta$  'brought';  $p\partial v\delta$  'blew'  $(p\partial b$ -);  $p\partial v\delta$  'drank'  $(p\partial v$ -); Gr.  $q\bar{i}vd$  'called' are all secondary forms.
  - e) Ir. \*-rfta- (-rbda-): andərrð 'sewed'.

Roots in f, p, b have secondary preterites: ift 'wove'; Sk. tərəft 'stole'; Gr. kift 'pierced'; Sk. talapt 'wanted'; žēbt 'beat'.

Note Sgl.  $t\partial \delta$ , Ishk.  $s\partial d$  'burnt' ( $t\partial v$ -, sav-) with the same irregular development (\* $\partial ata$ - < \*tafta-) as is found in Sar.  $\partial \ddot{u}d$ , Wkh.  $\partial ett$  ( $\partial au$ -).

- V a) Ir. \*-axta-: Gr. toyd 'walked'; atoyd, axtod 'entered' (atiy-).
- b) Iv. \*-u.rta-:  $d\partial \gamma \delta$  'milked'  $(d\bar{e}\dot{s}$ -);  $p\partial na\gamma \delta$  'dressed'  $(p\partial nec$ -). The derivation of  $zu\gamma\delta$  'seized' (zenz-) is uncertain.

c) Ir. \*-axwa-: pwx 'cooked' (pac-), Ishk. with secondary -t: puxt. Sk. distinguishes between piz-: puxt 'to boil' and paz-: puzd 'to cook'.

VI. Ir. \*-ixna- is possibly preserved in Gr. frin 'he remained' (< \*fra-rixna-?), regularized into Sgl. and Sk. fərind. The old present is fəris- (cf. Voc. s.v.), but Sk fərin- has been remade from

<sup>1</sup> Prob. adapted to the Past Stem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. also Sk. pələftuk '(sun)rise'.

<sup>\*</sup> Sk. apux- has been adapted to the Past Stem.

the preterite. mis- (Sk. min-): mind 'to sleep' has been formed on the pattern of foris-.

VII. Roots in -n and -m usually form their Past Stems by adding -d. Thus, wind 'saw'; pəzind 'knew'; vrönd 'scolded'; dəvind 'winnowed'; könd 'dug'; belismind 'made to slip'; Sk. pəbend 'kindled'; Zb. kind 'wished'; Sk izəmd 'brought'; Gr. sånd 'sneared'. For exceptions v. A, I.

- 139. The above list will serve to establish that, although a number of ancient forms have been retained, in spite of their being irregular in the modern language, a nivellation has been carried through in all dialects of Sgl.—Ishk. (thus, wēnd, yūrð, yuzd, etc.), or at least in some of them. Sgl. has on the whole preserved more irregular forms than Ishk, and within this latter dialect the variety described by Sk. is especially inclined to regularize, not only the Past, but also the Present Stems. Note, e.g., the Preterites īżəmd, pəðend, məld, forast, arazd, kəld, nəst, pazd, nītt, and the Presents apux-, fərīn-, jis-, məl-, mīn-.
- 140. From the point of view of the modern Sgl.—Ishk. dialects the formation of the Past Stem may be briefly described in the following way.

The most common way of forming the Past Stem consists in adding  $d/\delta$ , or, after surds and plosives, t to the Present Stem. These Stems in  $r\delta$ ,  $v\delta/d$ ,  $\bar{t}\delta$ , zd,  $\bar{z}d$ , ld, nd, md, st,  $\bar{s}t$ , ft, xt, pt, kt, tt, bt, number, however, less than half of the actually occurring forms. In some cases the addition of  $\delta$  is accompanied by a change in the root-vowel. in others the  $\delta$  is preceded by a short vowel  $\partial_t a$ .

About a fourth of the verbs available form Past Stems which are irregular from the point of view of the modern Sgl.—Ishk. phonological and morphological system, but which may nevertheless be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. A, H, IV.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. L.

arranged into groups. Thus,  $-\delta$  (-n-); -l (-r-); -st (-nl-,  $-\delta$ -, -n-, -h-); -t (-z-, -s-, -l-); -xt (-xs-, -c-, -z-).

Less than a fourth of the verbs have wholly irregular or suppletive Past Stems. Thus, e.g.  $y\bar{u}n$ :  $y\bar{u}ld$ ;  $p\partial v$ :  $p\bar{i}\partial$ ;  $d\bar{e}\dot{s}$ :  $d\partial\gamma d$ ; zenz:  $zu\gamma d$ ; pac: pux;  $f^{\circ}ris$ :  $f^{\circ}rin(d)$ ; atiy:  $at\bar{o}\gamma d$ ,  $axt\partial\delta$ ; wus:  $w\bar{u}\delta$ ;  $n\bar{e}nd$ :  $n\bar{e}\delta$ ;  $x\bar{o}nd$ :  $x\bar{o}nd$ ;  $t\partial v$ :  $t\partial\delta$ ;  $t\bar{e}m$ :  $t\partial\delta$ ;  $t\partial m$ :  $t\partial\delta$ ;  $t\partial$ 

## Preterite.

141. Ογοδοπ 'I came'; xwōrom 'I ate'; frōtom 'I asked'; żōδ 'killed'; wēndom 'I saw'; dūδom 'I gave'; az-om pzind 'I knew'.

			Sgl. p. 2	Sgl. p. 2	Sgl. s.	
Q <sub>2</sub>	1	Prs.	∫ογοδ-∂m	xrvōy-əm		
ωg.	1	T 12.	-эт ογοδ	az-əm xıvor	$frot$ - $\partial m$	
*	2	<b>»</b>	-1 0700	(tə-vō) xwōrī	frōt-i	
>	3	<b>»</b>	ογοδ	xwōr	₹0 <b>0</b>	
Pl.	1	*	oyoð-ān	xwōṛ-ลัก		
>>	2	>>	ογο <b>δ-</b> ἄn	œwōr-ān		
•	3	>	ογο <b>δ</b> -สัท	xwōṛ-ān		
			Sgl. p. 1	Sgl. s.	Sk.	
Q <sub>or</sub>	1	Dua	Sgl. p. 1 ∫wēnd-əm	Sgl. s. $dar{u}\delta$ -ə $m$	Sk.	
Sg.	1	Prs.		-		
	1 2	Prs.	(wēnd-əm	$d\bar{u}\delta$ - $\delta m$		
			{wēnd-əm {(az)-əm wēnd	$d\bar{u}\delta$ - $\delta m$	az-um pzind	
»	2	»	{wēnd-əm {(az)-əm wēnd	dūδ-əm az-əm dūδ	az-um pzind tə·δ —	
»	2	» »	(wēnd-əm ((az)-əm wēnd tə-vō wēnd	dนิช-อm az-อm dนิชิ dนิชิ	az-um pzind tə-8 — aw —	

142. In Sg. 1 - $\partial m$ , Ishk., Zb. -im the transitive \*-mai and the intrans. \*ahmi have coalesced. Sg. 2 -i, which originally belongs to the intrans., is used also with trans. verbs in Sgl., alone or combined with the trans. - $\partial \hat{o}$ . Ishk. has the old trans. suffix - $\partial$ , Gr. -at <-i V. § 124.

\*tai, in both groups of verbs, thus Gr. Ishk. wudat, but Gr. Zb. wodî 'thou wast'. Likewise Sgl. has 2nd Pl. -ān, while Ishk., and also Zb., have -əw, -av. 1st Pl. -ān. Zb. -en is based upon the enclitic, trans. form, but 3rd Pl. -ān is an originally intrans. form. Besides the usual form in -ān (orođan 'they brought';  $r\bar{e}z\bar{d}\bar{d}n$  'they said';  $s\bar{a}st\bar{d}n$  'they pulled'; aportan 'they heard'; xoten 'they rose'; kuān 'we, they did'), we find -īn in dūdīn (kitāv dūdīn mum-bē 'dādan ba mā';  $r\bar{q}p\bar{e}$ . . . dūdīn,  $\bar{o}rodan$ ) and itīn 'we arrived'.

It will be seen that the difference of inflexion of trans, and intrans, preterites has for the most part been obliterated.

143. There is great freedom in the use of the various possible constructions in the Preterite.

The most common ones in Sgl are the types -3m kuổ and az-əm kuổ. Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 1 va tumurəf-əm wēnt 'I saw you'; bēdār-əm xīð; fər-əm yəkt 'I wandered about'; p. 2 āri-m kuổ 'I worked'; Caulēs-əm ōyoð 'I came from Sanglech'; cənā-i oyoð 'citur āmadı'; Sgl. is. va tō yap-an apəxt 'they understood thy word'; -əm sīxt 'I passed'; Ishk. -um sīd 'I wept'; putf-um puxt 'I boiled the meat'.

Sgl. p. 1, 3 az-əm ari kul 'I worked'; az-əm went 'I saw'; az-əm yezəd 'I said'; p. 3 az-əm va to lavz pezind 'I understood thy word'. Perhaps also Sgl. p. 1 to-u (for -vo) ra mak went 'thou sawest me'.

Also the pleonastic types  $-\partial m$   $ku\delta - \partial m$  and  $uz - \partial m$   $ku\delta - \partial m$  are in use, but are less frequent.

Thus: Sgl. p. 2 guzār-əm be sīxt-əm 'I crossed the ford'; zamīn-əm kond-əm 'I dug in the field'; puδf-um pux-əm 'I cooked meat'. It is possible that also aðam-an... xuōr-an 'the men ate' is of this type. Sgl. p. 1 uz-əm frot-əm 'I asked'; az-əm rēk pörð-əm 'I drank water'; az-əm sīð(-əm) 'I went'.

A type \*az kuð(-əm) does not seem to exist, az-əm being the regular form of the pronoun as the subject of a Preterite. But note, e.g., təmə.c xēsta xuorān-ī? 'have you eaten bread?'. In Ishk, the most frequent type is azi uulo yəzd 'I ran in front'; azi xē dust zenūd 'I washed my hand'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. fərindün', p. 374, note 2 ' <sup>2</sup> But cf. § 100.

## Perfect.

- 144. The Perfect Stem is formed by adding Sgl. -δk, -uk,¹ Zb. -ἄk, Ishk. -uk to the Past Stem, and thus corresponds to the Pf. of most other Ir. dialects. In the Pl. we find -ak.² In some cases the final -k (-g) has been dropped.³ Thus, nilosto-mō 'I have sat down'; ōγοδο-mō 'I have come', etc.
- 145. In Ishk, the perf. is constructed in the same manner as the past tense. Thus, azi fak wīnduk 'I have seen thee'; azī cə mīnduk xə tuk 'I have risen from sleep'; azi ari kuluk 'I have worked'; azi madak minduk-um 'I have been asleep here'; nīduk-um 'I have sat down (= I am sitting)'; madak-um ustūk 'I have risen here (= I am standing)'; sədūk 'suda ast'; apēduk 'gum šuda ast'; Sk. 'az-im, tə-ō, au, mə'x-ān, 'təməx-əv, a'wānd-ān 'γažduk 'I, etc., have said'; misuk mag naduk 'sleep has seized me (= I will sleep)'; sədūk 'he has gone', etc.
- 146. In Sgl. the present forms of the verb substantive are used in inflecting the perfect.
  - Sg. 1: Sgl. p. 1, 2 az-mō (mo mōð) nilōstok, p. 3 nilosto-mō 'I am sitting (here)', p. 3 ōγοδο-mō, p. 2 (hari)-mo ōγοδοk 'I have come (to work)'; p. 2 astōo-mo, is. psā-mō astōk '(now) I have risen'; p. 3 nēr-mō hēri nes xorōk 'I haven't eaten anything to-day'; nyēr-mō xōdm winduk 'I have seen a dream to-night'; la-ku'ļō-mō-i 'I have left behind'; šīdu-mo 'I have wept'.
  - Sg. 2: Sgl. p. 1 tə-δō nilōstoy, tə-vō nilōsto-do (< \*tə-δō nilōstok-δō); p. 2 tə-δō xōdm wīnduk; tə nēr-dō hēċi nes xorok; p. 1 tə-δō . . . gaxtoy 'thou hast done'.
  - Sg. 3: Sgl. p. 2 adē-o hēči nes rorok, nēr hēči am-ō nes rorok 'to-day he (this man) has not eaten anything'; rōfuk-o nodok 'he has

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  We find -uk after  $\check{\imath}$  and e in the preceding syllable. Thus, minduk, winduk, kenuk, but note  $\check{siok}.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 100.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. § 14.

<sup>\*</sup> But once xodm-əm winduk

got a cough (silfa giriftast)'; daryā-o yəx-o kuōk 'the river has frozen'; apēdok-o 'it has been lost'; sak-o nilōstok 'dew has fallen'; p. 1 am ādam minduk-ūi 'this man has fallen asleep'. But without the verb substantive: p. 2 aucē hēci nes xorok; hari kenuk oyodok 'he has come to work'; arazōk 'he has flewn'; p. 3 šīdōk 'he has gone'. Note p. 2 kirā nēst ō'yōd 'why has he not come?'.

Pl. 1: Sgl. p. 2 kull-mon-dag nilostag-an 'we have sat down all of us'.

Pl. 2: Ishk. tumux mak wēnduk, yā ne? 'have you seen me, or not?'.

## Pluperfect.

- 147. The Pluperfect is formed by adding the preterite of the verb substantive to the perfect stem, with loss of its final -k. Examples are:
  - Sg. 1: Sgl. p. 1 az-əm śīdō vedem 'I had gone'; p. 2 (az-əm) arī-m kuō vəd, parūzd arī-m kuō vəd 'I had worked (yesterday)'; az-əm wok vəz (va tfak) wēndo vəd 'I had seen a goat (thee)'; wok miɛ̄ļ-əm yō-vē dūdū-ved(-əm) 'I had given him an apple'. Note az pāruzd oyodō vəd 'I had come yesterday'.
  - Sg. 2: Sgl. p. 2 to-və āri kuō vð-ī? 'hadst thou done the work?'; to-vo va mak wēndo vəð? 'hadst thou seen me?'.
  - Sg. 3: Sgl. p. 2 parūzīl wok čūzī to-bē be spārdō ve 'yesterday he had entrusted something to thee'; p. 3 nilosto vəb 'he had sat down (i.e. was sitting)'.
  - Pl. 1: Sgl. p. 2  $am\partial x$  (h) $\bar{a}r\bar{i}$  ku $\bar{a}$   $v\partial \delta$  'we had done the work';  $am\partial x$   $p\bar{a}ruzd$   $oyod\bar{a}$   $v\partial \delta$  'we had come yesterday'.
    - Pl. 2: Sgl. p. 2 təməx āri kuā-vo-i? təməx käbi oyobā vəb?

# Compound Verbs.

- 148. Like other Ir. dialects Sgl.—Ishk. employs a great number of compound verbs.
  - V. Voc. s.vv. yalbēl ken-, kai ken-, kō ken-, la ken-, puf ken-, pōk 24 Kulturforsknirg.

ken-, šõše ken-, šət kən-, təš kən-, etc. Cf. also isāb dē- 'to calculate';  $p\bar{a}tik$  dē- 'to wink' (and v. Voc. s.v. deh-), and  $\gamma alt$ -əm šī $\delta$  'I rolled, fell'.

## Interrogative Particle.

149. The interrogative particle is  $-\bar{\imath}$ , which it is, of course, possible to derive from an ancient optative 3 sg. But it must be borne in mind that particles similarly employed (-a, -ə, -e) are found in all neighbouring Ir. and IA. languages, and besides in Burushaski.

Examples are: to-və āri kuō vð-ī? təməx āri kuā vð-ī? 'hadst thou (had you) worked?' təməx xwōrān-ī 'did you eat?' tə žwondok-dō-ī? təməx zwondok-ān-ī? 'art thou (are you) hungry?' 'az t³fak kasen-ī (t²fak-ī kasen)? 'do I see thee?'

# Nominal Forms of the Verb.

## Participles.

150. No present participle has been noted in Sgl., but Sk. gives fai p²zīnuk(ö)s 'he who knows much'. żwondok 'hungry' probably goes back to an ancient pres. ptc.

Regarding the perfect. ptc. cf. 145.

# Infinitive.

151. The infinitive is formed by adding -ōk, -ūk to the present stem.¹ Examples of the use of the infinitive are: Sgl. p. 2 sā(n) naḍ kenuk ¹I go to play (mērim bāzī mēkim)'; hari kenuk ογοδοκ 'he has come to work'; nēr be sān āri kenūk 'to-day I am going to work'; pasi vənəf dəryōk isu, xōrmō xūyūk, pasi va dəvīnuk, xōdāri yūnuk (= yūniš) 'after that comes the reaping, (and) the threshing, then the winnowing (and) the grinding in the water-mill'; arī kenūk kō-kenen 'I can work'; pāruzd-im šouāri kenūk nəst-əm kō-kuð 'yesterday¹ Ct. Grierson, § 82.

I could not travel'; andərzōk-em kuδ 'I have sewn(?)'. Cf. Sk. dēyuk 'to beat'; škarruk 'to seek'; kənuk 'to do'; səwuk 'to become, to go'; fərnītuk 'to forget' (but perf. ptc. fərnītuk), etc. 1

The Sgl.—Ishk. infinitive corresponds to that of Wkh. in  $-\bar{a}k$ , -g (vand- $\bar{a}k$  'to bind', win-g 'to see'), of Bal. (kan-ag 'to do', band-ag 'to bind'), and partially to that of Yaghn. (winak 'to see', but kar-ak 'to do' from the root). In Yd.<sup>2</sup> and in most cases in Par.<sup>3</sup> the infinitive in \*-aka- is based on the past stem, while in Orm.,<sup>4</sup> and apparently in Talish, both the present and the past stems are used.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 99, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. IIFL, I, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> IIFL, I, p. 358.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Benveniste (Les infinitifs avestiques, p. 111) who does not distinguish clearly between formations based upon the present stem and those based upon the preterite.—I do not believe with B. that the Shgh., etc., infinitives in -tao can be derived from \*-taka-. "cirao" (corâw, etc.) 'lamp' is an ancient lw. with substitution of w for  $\gamma$ , and no instance of intervocalic -k- > -w- is known from the Shgh-group. Note Shgh. -j < -aka- in past participles (e.g.  $su\delta j$  'gone, become'). There is no reason why -tao should not go back to -tawai.

# TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Sgl. p. 2.

T.

Wok Jadam da zōt  $v \partial \delta$ . Čvt zõ'tī  $x\bar{e}$ tā-vē One man-to two sons were. Small(er) zon-by his-own father-to va māl tax'sīm ke, mən a'sē məm-bē dē. vēžao: said: O father, (acc.) property divided make, my share me-to give. māl tax sim kvô. Cand rộz pa sĩ diga Father-by his-own property dividing made. Some days after however 'māl gôr  $kv\delta (=k\partial)$ , dir wa'tan ba  $\dot{s}i\delta$ . Ma'w $\dot{s}\delta$  $x\tilde{e}$ his-own property collected he made, far country to he-went. There  $m\bar{a}l$ 'āpanit, 110 žondoki šīð. he-went, his-own property he-lost, for-him hunger became.

### II.

1. Yak sāl ˈfauž oˈγοδ Gazkeˈstān bē. 2. Maxluˈkān guˈδōm xaštān ce ˈūšə, cə ˈyūzə, cə ˈyowə, ˈrēγn³. 3. Pəs ˈdēδam Gazke stān. 4. ¡Psāt

#### II.

<sup>1.</sup> One year an army 1 came to Gazikistan. 2. They robbed the storehouse(s) of the people for grass, fire-wood, grain and ghee. 3. Then we(?) enter(ed) Gazikistan. 4. Then the army (was) in Iskitul.

<sup>1</sup> A troop of Afghan soldiers.

mə Ski tūl fauž 5. Cə wōδ Gazke stān be, cə wōδ šīδ Mande žān bē. 6. Wog, dō, rōi mēi mə Manda žā st. 7. Cə wōδ wənīšt, ο γοδ Gazke stān be. 8. Psād wōδa ast, marduma xarš xāštan. 9. Wōδa xwōṛ, wōδak ο γōδ ast. 10. Wok mā wōδa hast. 11. Bād cə wōδ xōt, šīδ Izi vū bē.

### III.

1. Tīra mā k-šīð cə ˈkū yūzə ˈxašəm. 2. Dē(ðe)m vənə šu wō. 3. Pasi vənəf ˈwarfə də hō. 4. Wətukə gāxān. 5. Kə bārə šu wō, nauˈrōze ke nān, pasi nau rōzə wuˈδil xa šān. 6. Pasi šə gārə ke nān. 7. Pasi vənəf ˈkiriš ke nān, tēγm dān, vī-di ōk ke nān. 8. Pasi vədänəf vēki di ān, dəvə šō vōk šu ān. 9. Kə šō wōk xalāšīān,² vərvəs sōr ˈxašō. 10. Pasi vənəf dərˈyōk isu, xōrɨmō xūˈyūk, pasiva də vīnuk, xō ðāri ˈyūnuk,³ dāš am bār.

#### III.

1. When autumn came, we fetch fire-wood from the hills. 2. We enter (?), it becomes full (?). 3. After that (?) the snow falls. 4. (Then) they prepare weddings. 5. When spring comes, they celebrate the Nauroz, after the Nauroz they spread the dung. 6. Then they plaster (the walls). 7. After that they plough, sow, and make the first watering (of the fields). 8. After that they irrigate, and they weed. 9. When they have finished the weeding, the barley raises its head. 10. After that comes the reaping, the threshing (on) the threshing-ground, then the winnowing, the grinding in the watermill, (and) putting (?) (the flour) in the store-room.

<sup>5.</sup> From there it went to G., and from there to Munjan. 6. It stayed one, two, three days in Munjan. 7. From there it returned, and came to G. 8. Then it stayed there, they took custom-duties (from) people. 9. It (the army) ate there, and came there. 10. It (remained) there for one month. 11. Afterwards it rose from there and went to Zebak.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 122.

² For xalās šīān.

<sup>3</sup> Var. yūniš.

## Grammophone Text.

1. . . . ce 'kū yūzə 'xašān, ce xē mic ' xašam. 2. Dēδəm vənə kuδ. və'nok ši'o(k). 3. Pasi vənəf 'warf' de'hōī. 4. Wə'tukə šuwoi. 5. Bārə šu'woi, nau'rōzə ke'nān, pasi nau'rōze wuδilə xašān. 6. Pasi vənəf šə'gār ke'nān. 7. Pasə və nəf kīrīn, pasi vənəf vī dīān. 8. Pasə vənəf vē šāxān (?), tēγmə dēān.

### IV.

1. Šām Faizō bōd, nə mēk īžimum. 2. Ōγōðum mə bandar, xaržgirən nəs ˈla-kuān: 3. Miž be pūl dē, bā šo! 4. Ce har xōridak də rōpē nōð, ba ər kuð. 5. ˈΓulama ˈAkum dəvā nes ˈlā-kuð kə: "tə pūl de, bā šā!". 6. Rō(i) rōpē ākum be dūðīn. 7. Ingē rəxsat šī ān, ō γοδαπ Kōe stān. 8. Ō γοδαπ p'e nuk, ke warf dēð, nəs kō-kwān, fə rindi ² fər šōu mə pə nuk. 9. ˈSāar ba xōtan, vūr kuān. 10. Ογοδαη, mə Kāfī ren i tīn. 11. Cə wōð i tīn bā zār. 12. ˈBas, xaˈlās.

#### IV.

1. We go to Faizabad, we bring <sup>3</sup> salt (there). 2. I brought it to the custom-house, the custom-officials did not let me through. 3. (They said:) 'Give us money, and go on.' 4. They took two rupees from (: for) each donkey, and released (us). 5. (But) Ghulam Hakim <sup>4</sup> afterwards <sup>5</sup> did not let us go, (saying): 'Give (me) money, and then go.' 6. We gave the governor three rupees. 7. Then we were permitted to leave, and we came to Chitral. 8. We came to the (Dorah) Pass while it was snowing, we could not (get on), we stayed the night on the Pass. 9. At dawn we rose, (and) loaded (our beasts). 10. We came, and arrived among the Kafirs. 6 11. From there we arrived at the Bazar (of Chitral). 12. Enough, it is finished.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The meaning of mic is unknown to me.

<sup>2</sup> For \*forindin?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Prs. äwurdum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Afghan official.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Or. 'even then'?

<sup>6</sup> Who live just below the Dorah Pass at the top of the Lutkuh Valley.

## Sgl. p. 3.

### $\mathbf{V}$ .

1. Wok bāzār gān vəð. 2. Όγοδ, xe baškač goļ axted mo kišti, ne lōst. 3. Na hāng oγοδ, wa kišti ča pa kəð. 4. Wok telf vəð zema nōk. 5. Ογοδ mo taxta-pāre-rū, mo jangal čapa šið. 6. Wok šēr pai dā šīð, 'yō-vɛ dāya šīð. 7. Telf po wāda hīt. 8. Ογοδ mə 'sār. 9. Mo šār čel dar wāza vəð. 10. Ογο, mo wəðok pād šā šīð. 11. Ke pād šā šīð γε'žeð ke: 'Bē γäir-i mak 'kōci digar xə'dā nə 'γε'žef'. 12. Rō zānī 'šīð ke mo 'xoðm wēnd, ke wok āhūī pai ðā 'šīð. 13. 'Āhūīn wok šāx da vəð. 14. (Pādšā ba wazīra guft:) 'Vo mak cə men 'taxru ca pa koð. 15. 'Gōļ ken xē wa'zīren. 16. 'Ma mən 'xoðm dak 'gab dehef.' 17. Γēždan ke: 'Tə bāi 'dušman pai dā šu'ðō.' 18. Γείžeð ke: 'Xə'dā 'az må.' 19. Ον'zū' 'tākat nə kəð. 20. Γείžeð ke: 'Kasef ke 'mən dəšman bə kunja'y-ō.'

### V.

1. There was a shopkeeper. 2. He came, with his children he entered a boat, and sat down. 3. A sea-monster came and upset that 1 boat. 4. (One of the children) was a babe, a boy. 5. He came on a boatplank, and was thrown (ashore) in the forest. 6. A lioness appeared and became his nurse. 7. The child arrived at (the time of) marriage. 8. He came to a town. 9. In the town there were forty gates. 10. He came, and became king there. 11. When he became a king, he said: 'Don't call anybody God but me.' 12. One day it happened that he saw in a dream that a stag appeared. 13. The stag had one horn. 14. The king said to his vizier: 2 'It pushed me off from my throne. 3 15. Assemble my ministers. 16. You shall explain about my dream.' 17. They (came and) said: 'An enemy has been born for thee (?).' 18. He said: 'God is my (ally?).' 19. But his heart had no strength. 4 20. He said: 'Look, where my enemy is.'

<sup>1</sup> Or va kišti 'the boat'?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This sentence was spoken in Prs. <sup>3</sup> Prs. məra az taxt-i mā čapa kard.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Prs. dil-iš tågat na kard.

21. Γείž(d)an ke: 'Ma pəšt-i pe'dār-o.' 22. 'Kasef ke ma kuðəm ma'h-ō.' 23. Γείždān ke: 'dahiami mâ,¹ cə pəšt-i pə'ðar 'dahi mā is'yūð ma rām i 'måðar.' 24. Γείžeð ke: ''Kasef.' 25. 'Pādšā fər mūð ke—čel darwāze vəð—: 'Čel haf'sar mə dar'wāze nīðef.' 26. 'Farmūð pādšā ke: ''Jalsa kenef.' 27. 'Wok dar'wāzē Ōzar nı losto vəð. 28. 'Kot ke 'kuči o'γοδ. 29. Pə'sā γείžeð ke: 'Wa 'xē 'kūč, is men 'jē.' 30. Pə'sā cə 'pəšt-i pe'dar o'γοδ mə 'rām-i 'mādar. 31. Pə sād 'šīð 'rām-i 'mādar bē. 32. 'Γείžda ke: 'Dar'wāze 'her kenef.' 33. Pə sād wu žinjak zə manōk oγοδ me dērī. 34. Rō zī 'šīð ke zəma nōk tawa līd šīð. 35. Wok 'γār pai dā šīð. M-oγοδak wok tawa līt šīð. 36. Zəma'nōk 'žəšt šīð. 37. Xē 'tāte 'γēžeð ke: 'Xə'dā ma as'mān-o.' 38. 'Pādšā šīð na'māz bē, na'māz-i īð-i Rama zān. 39. 'Ōzar zōt ōγοδ, bəd'xāna 'ōγοδ, šīð. 40. De hēð, bə'tā fə'rēd kuð pə 't'ovor. 41. 'Bād 'pādšā oγοδ, 'γēžeð ke: 'Mən vo 'zi kōi 'gaxtok.' 42. 'Γεždan ke: ''Ōzar zōt-ō gaxtōk.' 43. Va zə manok 'oγodan. 44.

<sup>21.</sup> They said: 'He is in his father's loins.' 22. (The king said:) 'Look, in which month he is.' 23. They said: 'In the tenth month; from his father's loins in the tenth month he comes into his mother's womb(?).' 24. He said: 'Look out.' 25. The king ordered—there were forty gates -: 'Forty officers shall sit at the gates.' 26. The king ordered that they should assemble. 27. Azar was sitting at one of the gates. 28. He saw his wife come along. 29. Then he said: 'O my wife, come to me.' 30. Then (the future enemy of the king) came from his father's loins into his mother's womb. 31. Then he went into his mother's womb. 32. They (?) said: 'Open the gate.' 33. Then the boy came into the woman's belly. 34. A day came when the boy was born. 35. A cave appeared. He came (?),2 one (child) was born. 36. The child grew big. 37. He said to his father: 'God is in heaven.' 38. The king went to prayer, the prayer of the Ramazan festival. 39. Azar's son came, he came to the idol-temple, and went (in). 40. He struck the idols and broke them with an axe. 41. Then the king came and said: 'Who has done thus to me?' 3 42. They said: 'Azar's son has done it.' 43. They brought the boy. 44. The king said: 'O,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> First: dahi mâ.—The formation is not clear.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I cannot analyse moγοδαk which was translated āmad.—Or faulty for mōδαk here?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Prs. aminora (= hamīnhā-rā) kī kārī kardast.

Pādšā yēižed ke: 'E Ozar zot, ta-do ma zi ceva gaxtog?' 45. Γε̄zeδ ke: 'Balə wān ši δōk.' 146. Γε̄zeδ ke: 'Az pə tō Xu dāi ka būl nəsi-mō. 47. I bröhim γεžeδ ke: 'Mən laškar mə mōδ-o.' 48. Nam rūδ γēžeδ ke: 'Mən fauj mə mōδ-o. Tō Xə dā mə kun jay-o?' 49. Θ γε̃žeδ ke: 'Mən Xə'dā da as mān-ō.' 50. Pə sāδ γεžeδ ke: 'Cena gāxem? 51. Šām, va-yim Xu dā žanem.' Wa zîren 'yêzdan ke: 'Ka'fas aha'nîn gax. 53. Cə für koryos 'nas, taˈhāma ˈdēi.' 54. Rōˈzānī šīδ, ογοδ xe wa zīren gər, ˈaxteδ mə ka fas. 55. Va koryos vost cə ka fas biš. 56. Va tā hām ē šox kəb mə ka fas sör. 57. Šīb pa as mān ka fas. 58. Šīb pə 'nəsm-i as mān, 59. Ša māl pai da šīð. 60. Ka fas mə as mān ka rār šīð. 61. Wok fasl asto-veð, 62. Ka fas ra wān šīð. 63. Šīð pa as mān. 64. Wok bādī pai bā šīb. 65. Kalfas ralwān šīb. 66. Pa as mān ke šīδ, ka fas rauzan ya lā kəδ. 67. Fə rašte 'ογοδ, 'tar as mān 'šəxt. 68. Pādšā xašəb xe tīr-i dast, awā būb. 69. Fərašta tīr-i dast

son of Azar, why have you done thus to me?' 45. He said: 'A fight has begun (between us).' 2 46. (The king) said: 'I do not recognize your God.' 3 47. Ibrahim (the son of Azar) said: 'My troop is here.' 48. Nimrod (the king) said: 'My army is here. Where is your God?' 49. He said: 'My God is in heaven.' 50. Then (the king) said: 'What shall we do? 51. Let us go and kill the God of this (man).' The ministers said: 'Make an iron cage. 53. Catch four vultures, and feed them.' 54. One day (the king) went, came with his ministers, and entered the cage. 55. He tied the vultures under the cage. The food he placed at the top of the cage. 57. The cage rose towards the heavens. 58. It went towards the middle of the heavens. A wind rose. 60. The cage stopped in the heavens. 61. It stood still for a moment. 62. (Then) the cage went on, 63. It went towards the heavens. 64. A wind rose. 65. But the cage went on. 66. When it went into the heavens, (the king) opened the window of the cage. 67. An angel came, and passed through the heavens. 68. The king pulled out his hand-arrow, and threw it into the air. 69. The angel

Repeated: Tō-δū zi cē-ba 'gaxtog' Yēžeδ ke: Balu'wā šīδōk.
 Prs. čirā-mtari kardī? čirā hamī kārī kardi-ast(!)? jang šuda ast.
 Prs. ba xudâ-ī- tō kabūl na dâram.

<sup>4</sup> Javelin?

'nōð, a'wā 'ðūð.¹ 70. Ma 'mōi γār ba tīr-i dast de hēð, a'wā 'ðūð, de hēð. 71. 'Tīr-i dast 'oγoð, ma 'pādšā bar de hēð. 72. Va koryos teske 'vōst ma 'kafas 'sōr. 73. Va tāhame 'sōx kað ca-'viš. 74. 'Oγoð ce 'āsmān 'xav(d) me 'viš. 75. 'Va I brōhim 'γēžef ke isyūð.' 76. I brōhim 'oγoð, 'pādšā 'fē. 77. Pādšā 'γēžeð ke: 'Ibrōhim, va tō Xa'dā-im 'žōð.' 78. 'Tēžeð ke: 'Mə nī zi Xu'dāi nəst, kə 'wo 'žanan.' 79. Ibrō'hīm 'ro-'p-xē Xa'dā kað, ca ās'mān 'paše 'xavd. 80. Nam'rūd af-ma'hā fauji 'vəð. 81. 'Paša wok 'nesi la-koi. 82. 'Pādšā 'tākē fə rīnd. 83. Iško nes fə rīnd, 'tākɛ da fə rīnd. 84. Dun'da veð.

seized the javelin, and hurled it through the air. 70. The javelin struck the throat of a fish, he (?) hurled it through the air, it struck (the king?). 71. The javelin came towards the king, it struck his breast. 72. He tied the vultures at the top of the cage. 73. The food he fastened below. 74. He came from the heavens and descended. 75. (The king said:) 'Tell Ibrahim to come.' 76. Ibrahim came to the king. 77. The king said: 'Ibrahim, I have killed your God.' 78. He answered: 'I have no such God which they can kill.' 79. Ibrahim turned towards his God, (and) from heaven mosquitoes came down. 80. Nimrod was in the field for seven months. 81. The mosquitoes did not leave one (of his soldiers). 82. The king alone remained. 83. Nobody remained, he remained alone. 84. Thus it happened.

Sk. VI.

(Quatrain from the village Rän.)

Jāna, jāna, tēṣbā tā mak na-kasī?

My soul, my soul, why thou mee not seest?

ar xētlāi sim (or tum?) -satī tu-wan xāira kaisī.

In every way??? thou him well seest.

xal'qān-i-ji hān comak tubā bad-yāi jān,

The people of the world for my sake about thee ill speak,
zin'hār bā zin'hār tu w'āv gap-na-nasī.

Beware, again beware, thou their word don't take (: hear).

<sup>1</sup> Note δ- in sandhi.

### VOCABULARY

#### Voivels.

```
Cf. ō, wa.
i Sgl. izafat. - Prs.
i Sgl. p. 2 this. — i āδam mər this man
   died. - V. § 117.
-ĭ Sgl. p. 2, 3 enclitic pron. 3 sg.?? —
   wužinjak zemanok oyod me der-ī p. 3
   a child entered into the woman's
   womb; ovzū-i (or ovzūi) tākat nəs kəδ
   p. 3 'dil-iš tākat na kard'; wēn-i
   šuwōi p. 2 he bleeds. - V. § 114.
-i interrogative particle. - V. § 149.
o Sgl. p. 2 O. — ō tāt.
-\bar{o}(i) he is. — Cf. § 121.
\bar{\sigma} Sgl. p. 1, 2, a\bar{u} p. 1 that (ille). — Cf.
   § 115, sq. (Add: Sk. gen. pl. viäw
   (Texts, VI).
abilā Sk. stupid. — Ar.-Prs.
abr Zb., Sk., ābr Ishk. cloud. — Prs.
ab'r\bar{u} Zb., av'r\bar{u} Ishk. eyebrow. — Prs.
äb¹šår Sk. waterfall. — Prs.
a\delta(a) that (iste). — Cf. § 115, sq.
i\delta-: (h)it Sgl. p. 2, 3 to arrive. — wok
   jā īδen 'yak jā mērasam'; šīδəm
   ītəm 'raftam, rasīdam'; cə wöd i tīn
   b\tilde{a}'z\bar{a}r p. 2 from there they arrived
   at the bazar; pa wāda hīt p. 3 'ba
   wāda rasīd'; īdā-wī Gr. (Zb.) falls
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e Sgl. p. 3 O. - e Ozar zōt! - Prs.

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(to me) = arrives. Cf. Orosh. ya\delta-
   yat(t) indid: indidd to enter); Wkh.
   \tilde{y}at-(?). — 3 sg. \tilde{z}\delta < Av. \tilde{a}it\iota
   generalized as a present stem? Cf.
   § 130, sq. V. dēδ.
tδ Sgl. p. 3 Id, festival. — namāz-i tδ-
   i-Ramazān. — Ar.-Prs.
a'dab Sk. politeness. - Ar.-Prs.
adak Sgl. p. 1. V. amdak.
ābam Sgl. p. 1, 2, o'dam Sk. man. -
    Ar.-Prs.
if: ift Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., Zar. to weave. -
    ifəm bəš Sgl. p. 2. -<*\bar{u}f-< ufya
    (v. AirWb., 1346), cf. Yd. wāf-.
if\dot{c} Sgl. p. 2, is., if\dot{c} Gr. spindle. — Cf. if-
afma'hā Sgl. p. 3 a period of seven months.

    Nam¹rūδ a° fauji veδ. — Prs.

"ofa rīn (ofa rīn) Sk. bravo. - Prs.
\tilde{a}f \notin \tilde{u}n Sgl. is., p. 3, s., af \notin un p. 1, 2,
    šolfūn Ishk., šoo Sk., šuo Gr. comb.
    - xe sor af šū kenen p. 2, 3. - Uf.
    Yd. šfīn.
af ta Sk. week. - Prs.
åf'tāb bar'åmadan Sk. east; å nišastan
    west. - Prs.
aftā ve Sgl. p. 2 water-bucket. -- Prs.
u^{\dagger}\gamma\bar{u}i Sgl. is., s., p. 1, \bar{\sigma}^{\circ} p. 3, u^{\dagger}\gamma\bar{u} p. 2,
    you Ishk., yū Sk., Gr. cow. - va u'yū
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dēšən Sgl. p. 2 I milk the cow. — Sgl.  $< *hu-g\bar{a}wya-(?)$ , Ishk.  $< g\bar{a}u\check{s}^{?}$ V. § 92. oyoδ, v. is-. āhūi Sgl. p. 3 stag. — wok ā° paiδā šīδ a stag appeared; āhūīn wok šāx da υθδ the stag had a horn. — Prs. å han Ishk. iron. — Prs. āha nīn Sgl. p. 3 made of iron. — ka fas  $\bar{a}^{\circ}$ . - Prs. ijgai Gr. cheese of sheep-milk. - The existence of this word is denied by Sk. a qa/åb Sk. eagle. — Ar.-Prs. ākik Sgl. is., s., ā kīk p. 1, 2, ōkīk Sk., "Wkh.", wok (??) Ishk. egg. - < \*āwyakā-. Cf. Khow. lw. āyukun. ākum Sgl. p. 2 governor. — Ar. Prs. o'kovô Sgl. is., p. 1, kůvd Sk., kovd Gr., Zar. boots. — \*ā-kaf-ta-, cf. Prs. kafš \*kaf·ša·, Arm. kapem I bind? al- Sgl. is., p. 2 to be standing; āl-: āld-Sk. to wait. - 'alem 'iståda-em, bestim'; tu alī. — Av. ərəbwa-? Cf. Wkh, āl-, Sar, hāl- to stay, stand. albatt Sk. perhaps. — Prs.  $al^{\dagger}k\bar{\epsilon}$  Sgl. p. 2 net, snare. — Ar. Prs. halga a loop. allo no Sk. but. ala laš kən- Sk. to mix. — Turki aralaš. 'ålam Sk. world. — Prs. alma'sti Sk. demon. - Cf. Lentz, Pamir Dial., s. 153 n.; Turki alwasti. ala še Sgl. is., p. 2 'alašε p. 3, a'låša Zb., ° ša Sk., alax šā Ishk., a lāša Gr. jaw. — Prs. (alaušå Badakhshi, Sk.). Cf. Wogul lw. ūlēš (Jacobssohn,

Arier u. Ugrofinnen, p. 218).

V. wolox.

å lax, ålax Sk., alax Gr. (Zb.) hill. —

āluzd Sgl. is. the day before yesterday (?),

āluzd Gr., ō ləzd Sk. to-morrow. — \*ā-uša-azni, Av. asni. Cf. Shgh. afaž day after to-morrow, Bal. pöšī. V. pāruzd. āļuzdēv Sgl. is. three days ago. - Ohl. of the preceding word? am(a), obl.  $\bar{\imath}m$  this. — V. § 115 sqq. a'mē Sgl. p. 1 mother's sister. — Kab. Prs. 'ama father's s. -əm encl. pron. 1 sg. - V. § 114. ambol Gr. a place covered with stones, like a moraine. — Cf. Yd. d'būya. am bay Sgl. is. co-wife. - Prs.  $am^{\dagger}b\bar{a}r$  Sgl. p. 1, 2 corn-bin. —  $d\bar{a}$ -š  $a^{\circ}$ (they) put it into the corn-bin. - Prs. 'ambar Sgl. p. 1, am'bûr Sk. pincers. — Prs. amdak this very. - Cf. § 117.  $a^{\dagger}m\bar{e}\delta$  Sgl. p. 2,  $u^{\dagger}m\bar{e}d$  Sk. hope. — Prs. amēð vār Sgl. p. 2 pregnant; umed wår Sk. hopeful. — janj amēs vār-v. amak Sgl. p. 1, 2 father's brother, p. 2 also cousin. — Bad. Prs. amuk. a'mīn Ishk. this. - V. § 117. ammo Sk. but. - Ar.-Prs. am'mām Sk. bath, — Ar. Prs. im sol Sk. this year. — Prs. a'māsyē Sgl. is., ham'sāya p. 1 neighbour. - Prs. a max, mux, etc. we. V. § 110.  $\bar{\partial} n$  Sk. yes =  $bal\bar{e}$ . — Prs.  $h\bar{a}n$ . in Sk. this. V. § 117. an'dərv-: an'dərvδ- Sgl. p. 2, an'dərv-: an'derz (?) p. 3, enderv- s., anderv-Zar., darav-: daravd Sk. to sew; andervun Gr. awl. — andərvəm boš; andərzəm; ändərzök-em kuð I have sewn. - Cf. Wkh. derev-, Par. andarf-, Orm. undərəw-. ainek Sgl. p. 1, åina Sk. looking glass. - Prs.

insåf Sk. justice. — Ar.-Prs. insåfdår Sk. just. - Ar. Prs. ingē Sgl. p. 2 now, then (ālī); inga Gr. then. — io raxsat šiān then they were dismissed. — Prs. in-gāh. an gūr Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., Ishk., Sk., ol Sgl. is. grape. - Prs. an'gušt Sk., 'išt Zb. coal. - Prs. angušta rī Zb. finger-ring. — Prs. in git Sgl. p. 1, 2, 3, s., oit Ishk, ingit Sk., Zar., 'inquit "Wkh." finger. -Cf. Yd. oguščo; Khow. (lw.) angūð finger hole in scissors (Lor.). ingi tok Sgl. p. 1 finger ring, ouk Gr. finger-nail. — Cf. angušta rī. a pi-: a pēs Sgl. p. 2, 3, apay-: a pēd Ishk., apay. Sk., : apēd Gr. to be lost. trāsen be apiō(-š) I fear it will be lost; apēδok o p. 2 it has been lost; mone wok čizi apēδ p. 2, 3; apayu; a pēduk Ishk., 'gum šuda'. - Av. apa-i-. apčūn Sgl. p. 3 winnowing fork. - = Wkh.; cf, Yd. čua no? a panis -: a panit p. 2 to lose, apnit Gr. lost. — az wok čīzi a panisem I lose a thing; a'panis 'qum mēkini'; xē māl apanit he lost his own property. - Av. apa-nasya- (intr.), Shgh. benes-. a'paxš. Sgl. is., apəxš. p. 3, s.: a'pəxt is., s., p. 3, a paxs-: a puxt p. 1, apux-: apuxt Sk. to hear. - apaxšem bē p. 3; va to gap-am apoxt is. I heard thy word; apaxsen, a puxtem p. 1. — < \*apa-uxš/s-, cf. Yd. yuxs-.

 $\ddot{a}^{\dagger}r\bar{\imath}$  Sgl. is.,  $(h)\ddot{a}r\bar{\imath}$  p. 2, s., ari p. 1, Ishk.,

Zar., arri Sk. work. - ari kenem

Sgl. s., azi tə madak ari kenon Ishk.

I and thou are working here. - Cf.

Yd. hory.

arča Zb. juniper. - Prs.

a rok Sgl. p. 3 eructation. — Cf. Yd. araroy. arqa Sk. back. — Turki.  $a^{\dagger}r\bar{a}q$  Sgl. is., °aq p. 1, 3, Ishk., Sk. perspiration. -- Ar.-Prs. or mozd Sgl., or Gr. (Zb.), "Wkh.". remuz Ishk., Gr., oz Zb., ouzd Sk. sun. - Cf. Saka uyrmaysdā, Rhwarizmi rēmažd < Anc. Prs. Auramazdāh. — \* $\bar{e}rmozd$  (v. § 88) >  $r\bar{e}m^{\circ}$ , or, with assimilation, > ormozd? å rinj Zb., Ishk. elbow. - Prs. ar'rē Sgl. p. 1 a saw. — Prs. a'rūs Sgl. p. 2. ō'ris Sk. bride. - Ar.-Prs. ar'sol Sk. yearly. - Prs. ar vēšum Sgl. p. 2; brēšum Ishk., Sk., Gr., abr° Zar. silk. - Prs. (arv° early lw.). araz-: a'răt Sgl. p. 2, s. to fly, run, jump; 'araz-: 'arazd Sk. to jump. - psāt arazo p. 2 it flies now; arazok perf.; a'rāt, šīð p. 2 'parrīd, raft'; arāz me vyēk, arbāzi ken p. 2 jump into the water and swim (ba-pair da au); vēk ārazou p. 3 the water flows. — < \*ā-raz-, scarcely (with a- < ha-< fra. \( fra. raz. \) cf. Shgh. re-waz. etc. a'så Sk. staff. - Ar.-Prs.  $a^{\dagger}s\bar{e}$  Sgl. p. 2 share. —  $m \ni n$   $a^{\circ}$   $m \ni m$   $b\bar{e}$   $d\bar{e}$ give me my share. — Ar.-Prs. hissā. is- Sgl. p., Sk., Gr., Zar., is- Sgl. s., Ishk : orod Sgl. p., s., Torad Ishk., Sk., Zar., ā° Gr. to come. — Pres. 1st sg isen Sgl. p., isum Ishk., Sk.; imper. is Sgl. p.; režef ke isyūs p. 3 tell him to come (biāyad); ama ādam kudī  $\bar{o}_{\gamma}\bar{o}\delta$  p. 2 when did this man come? ō;adum Ishk., 'ō° Sk. I came; təməx

kaði õzoðān p. 2 when did you come?

σνοδοk p. 2, σγαduk Sk. he has come; az (aməx) pāruzd oyodo(-dā) vəd I (we) had come yesterday. — \*aisa: ā-gata-, cf. Sogd. "ys-: "rt, see Tedesco, ZII, 2, 34 sq.

i sāb Sgl. p. 2 calculation. —  $i^{\circ}$  be kenen. — Ar.·Prs.

u sid Gr. baking-pan. Cf. Yd. sū i. u'suk, v. wu'suk.

askar Sk. army. - Ar. Prs.

a'sāl Sgl. is., cal Sk. honey. — Ar.

a'sāļ Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 this year. — Cf. Yd.-Mj. asāl.

ās mān Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Gr., as mån Sk. sky, heaven. — Xəldā ma ăslmāno p. 3. - Prs.

 $a^{\dagger}s\bar{a}n$  Sgl, p. 2 easy. — Prs.

usir. v. wu'ter.

i srox Zar, hole of the ear. - Prs. surāx.  $\bar{a}stia$  Sgl. p. 2,  $\bar{a}(i)sta$  Sk. slowly. —  $\bar{a}^{\circ}$ ā° is p. 2 come slowly: tə γaž āstā Sk. speak slowly. - Prs.

ast. Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, ust. Ishk. to stand (up). - psā-mō astōk Sgl. is. now I have risen; astom p. 2 'bēstom'; astoomo, asto ved p. 3; ustum Ishk. I rise; madak·um ustuk I am standing here. - Av. us-stā-, cf. Bal. ustat (Zar.); but Mj. wuškyoi.

osto Sgl. p. 2, ust Ishk., ost Sk., ast Gr., is., ast was (??). — psād woda ast then he was there; woodak oyod ast he had come there; wok mā wöδa hast he was (stayed) there for one month; ma Mandažā-st he was in Munjan;  $m \ni n \in (n)$  wo kitāv  $\vec{o}(sto)$  p. 2 I have a book; azi/um ost I am, tu-t ost; was; ostuk been Sk. - Cf. Shgh. yast, Yd. ast-et. See § 122.  $us^{\dagger}t\tilde{a}\delta$  Sgl. p. 2 blacksmith,  $\tilde{a}d$  Sk.  $\tilde{a}^{\dagger}\tilde{s}\tilde{\imath}k$  Sgl. p. 1,  $\tilde{a}\tilde{s}ik$  p. 3,  $\tilde{a}\tilde{s}^{i}k$  Sk.,  $\tilde{o}\tilde{s}ik$ 

artisan. — Pre., cf. Madaglashti ustā(d) iron-smith.

os tök Sgl. p. 1, 3, wastuk Ishk., Gr., Zar. rib, bone; wåstuk Sk., ostū "Wkh." bone. — Cf. Yd. yaste.

ista'kān Sk. glass. — Russ.

astamăy zək Sgl. p. 2, is., °zek p. 1 the arm above the elbow. - Cf. Wkh. mayzī, °zek.

as tar : as tol- Sgl. p. 1, si tar -: sutuld Ishk., sotar: sotul. Zar. to sweep. as taren Sgl. p. 1, si taram Ishk. --Cf. Yd.  $is t \bar{o} r$ .  $- < *(\bar{a} \cdot) s t \bar{a} r$ . not \*us-tar-.

usto rūk Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 osto ruk s., wastuk (??) Ishk., struk Sk., Gr., stiruk "Wkh.", sitāra Gr. (Zb.) (< Prs.\, star. — Cf. Yd. stārė.

āstay-: āstub- Sgl, is., astē- p. 3, astay-. 'astūd. Ishk., Sk., asti.: astūd Gr. (Zb.) to send (a person). — wok tom ba astēen Sgl. p. 3 'yak tāra rawan mēkenim'. — Cf. Wkh. s'tiy-. EVP. s.v. āstawul, Horn s.v. firistādan.

iško Sgl. p. 3 anyone, hēč kas. — iško nes ferind nobody was left behind. — Prs.  $h\bar{e}c + ko$ .

uškaz Sk. key, ouz Gr. lock. — Cf. Sar. ačyu, etc. < Turki?

ošipon Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, išpon p. 1, ešpon s., šu pun Zb , špen Sk., šepon Gr. (Zb.), oun Zar. iron. - Cf. Yd. rispen. -Reg. š v. § 61. V. å hän.

 $u\check{s}^{\dagger}t\check{\imath}n$  Sgl. p. 2 haystack (?),  $k\tilde{a}l\mathring{a}n$  (= kāhdān?), 'kāh mēzana'. — Cf. Yd. uš'čeno, Wkh. wušdon.

(h)  $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$   $\partial s$ p. 1, štok Gr., Sk., əxcâk "Wkh."; štåkak Sk, Gr. girl. - Demin, of *§∂C*, q.v.

Zar., 'ōxik' "Wkh." tear (Gr. also "a spring", denied by Sk.). — Cf. Yd. yašk.

 $a\S^{\dagger}t\bar{a}\delta$  Sgl. is., p. 2 - $\S t$ - p. 3 eighty. — Prs.

at: att- Sk. to fall. — atum, at, attum, atuk.

·et encl. pron. 2 sg. - V. § 114.

åta'šek Sgl. is., åtu'šak Sk., ātišuk Gr. lightning. — Prs.

 $av^{\dagger}b\bar{a}z\bar{t}$  Sgl. is.,  $aub^{\circ}$  p. 2 swimming. —  $au^{\circ}$  kenen p. 2,  $av^{\dagger}$  · 8 kenun is. we swim. — Prs. — (Cf. s.v. araz.).

δυδ Sgl. is., p. 1, (h)δυδ p. 2, 3, δυδ
Grammoph., δυd Zb., Ishk., uvd Gr.,
Sk., (w)ũvd Zar. seven. — Cf. Yd. avdo.
δυδοδόδ (δυσο) Sgl. s., p. 1, 2, is., δυδοδοδ

p. 3, Grammoph., habdāu Zh. (fr. Prs.) seventeen.

ōv'zui Sgl. is., °zū p. 1, 2, °zūe p. 3, s., av'zūk Ishk., (h'av'zuk Sk., Gr., āuzak, āuzen Gr. (Zb.) heart. — ov zūi tākat nəs kəð p. 3 'dil-iš tākat na kard'. — Cf. Wkh. pzov. āuzen, if correct, reminds of Sogd. p'zn.

av'zāl Sgl. p. 2 headstall. av'zāl. — Prs. afsār, cf. Abdū ausōl, (Zhuk.), Taj. afzōl (Semenov). Cf. also Prs. afzār. a'wī Sk. and; a'zī-tə a° I and thou. [Does awī mean 'both'?].

 $a^{\dagger}w\tilde{e}$  obl.,  $a^{\dagger}w\tilde{a}nd$  pl. of  $\tilde{o}$  that. See § 115.

a'wāle Sgl. p. 3 throwing. — a° dēm be I throw. — Prs. hawāla kardan to transmit, brandish, strike.

āwul-, v. āwīr.

ai wån Sk. animal. — Ar.-Prs.

āwīr: wŏļ Sgl. p. 1, 2, vŏļ p. 3, āwul: āwuld Ishk., avīr: avūd (avūld) Sk., avīr: avul Gr., awēr: awāl Gr., (Zb.) to find. obtain. — āwīren Sgl. p. 1; čīzī-m wōl p. 2; vōlən p. 3 'yåftam'; āwulum Ishk. 'mēyåbam', āwuld' 'yåftam'. — Cf. Sogd. βyr-, Sar. varē-: vūg, Or. verai-: (avūg), Shgh. : vūd, Yazgh. vīr-: vig', etc. — Contaminated in Sgl. with \*ā-vīr- to bring (cf. Yd.—Mj. āvər-, Sogd. "βyr', cf. Skr. bhar- to obtain. But why w²āwiṣp Sgl. is., wəṣp "Wkh." ploughshaft. — Cf. Yd. ā'wusp.

awe zān Sgl. p. 3 hanging. — a° bə kenen. — Prs.

ixō. v. yəxōai.

ax maq Sk. stupid. - Ar.-Prs.

āxor Sgl. is., āxurće p. 2 manger; āxarčâ Sk. barn. — Prs.

öxer Sk. end. — Ar.-Prs.

axse Sgl. p. 3, aq/x'sa Sk. sneezing. —  $a^{\circ} d\bar{e}\delta m$ . — Prs.

ax'ta Sk. bull. — Also Shgh., etc.; cf. Prs. āxta castrated. axtxā'nä.

: axtəd Sgl. p. 3, atoyd Gr. he entered; atiy. atuyd Zar. to enter. — axtəd mə ka'fas, mə kišti he entered the cage, the boat. — Cf. Sogd. tys.: tyt, V. Yd.—Mj. luyay.

axtxā<sup>1</sup>nā Sk. stable. — Prs. V. Yd. axtaxâna.

a'yå Sk. shame. — Ar. Prs.

(h'ayas Sk. cold (noun).

az Sgl. p. 1, Gr., az(3) Sgl. p. 2, azi Ishk.
'I'. — aze-i təfak xēsta xwārem p. 2
I and thou eat bread; azi tə madak
ari kenon Ishk. — V. Gramm. § 110.
i'zå Sk. Ar. Prs.

a¹zōr Sk., azār Gr. (Zeb.) 1000. — Prs. ĭžīm-: öγöδ Sgl. p. 1, 2, 3, s., ižum-: åγad Ishk., īžəm-: ¹īžəmd- Sk., ižum- Gr. to bring (a thing). — ižimen, azəm öγοδ p. 1; ižīm imper. 2 sg., ižimum p. 2, īžimum bē, öγοδο-mō, va zə¹manok 'voðan p. 3 'āwurdand'; wuš ižəm 'kāh biār', ižumum, wōk čīz åyadum Ishk.; 'īžəməm, 'īžum!' 'īžəmdəm Sk. — Cf. Yazgh. ajam- to send (acc. to Gauthiot, JA, 1916, 255 < ājāmaya-), Sogd. "yt to bring (Reichelt, Sogd. Texts II 73); cf. also Wkh. wūzemto bring Mir. Manich. II, 54 z'm- 'schicken, führen' (but note the z), and possibly Sak. ājum- to lead, bring.

 $\boldsymbol{B}$ ba, ba, Gr. (Zb.) bi a particle denoting the future, etc. - V. Gramm. § 135. bā v. bāz. be Sgl. s., etc., bo Ishk., ba, be to, for (postpos.). — V. § 106. boi Sk. rich. - Turki. būi Sgl. p. 2 smell, Sk. good smell. būi dehōi p. 2 'būi mēzanad': būi kən-Sk. to smell. - Prs. bī'bī Sgl. p. 1, Sk., Gr. grandmother, father's sister. - Prs. bobo Sgl. p. 1, Gr., båb Sgl. s., bū'bū Sk., bāva Sgl. (paternal grandfather.) --Afgh. Prs. bâbâ, etc. babr Sk. lion. - Prs. bə'či Sk. paternal uncle. — Cf. Wkh. bəč. V. amək, vuc. bčåk Sk. he-goat. — Cf. Notes on Shgh. bučák. bēčo ra Sk. poor. — Prs. bad Sk. bad. - Prs.  $b\bar{a}d$  Sgl. p. 2, 3 Sk. after(wards). —  $b\bar{a}d$ pādšā ovos: bād ca wos xot afterwards he rose from there. - Prs. bāa dab Sk. polite. — Ar.-Prs. bēa dab Sk. impolite. Ar.-Prs.  $b\bar{a}d(\bar{i})$  Sgl. p. 3,  $b\bar{a}d$  Ishk. wind. — wok

bādī vaidā šəb = šamāl vaidā šib. - Prs. bui doa Sk. bachelor. — az-um bo I am a bo. baldan Sk. body. - Ar.-Prs. bēdār Sgl. p. 2, 3, bē'dor Ishk, awake. b°-em šīð ce misūk p. 2 I awoke from sleep; bēdār šān p. 3; azī-m bē dor Ishk. - Prs. bədəwön-: bədə'wönd- Sk. to gallop. — Prs. bəd xåna Sgl. p. 3 temple (in tale). — Prs. bēδ Sgl. is., p. 3, s., bēd Zar. willow. — Prs. V. wēd. ba ba Sgl. p. 2 dividing, baxš (?). — wo kī wo'kī za'mīn kull šon bo kenen they all divide the fields among themselves, one to each.  $-<*bay\deltaak?$ bā δām Sgl. p. 2 almond. - Prs. befår Sk. to please. - Impersonal construction: mumba na buforu I don't like it; īmbā bēfaru az məz yažm he wants me to speak. - Cf. Prs. fārīdan. bē gu nā Sk. innocent. — Prs. bu gāy-um: bugāid-um, bugāyuk Sk. to copulate. — Prs. båγ Sk. garden. — Prs. bo'yē Sk. male cousin. bē'raib Sk. innocent. — Ar. Prs. bayal Ishk., bayal viš Zar. armpit. -Prs. Cf. kaš viš. bêyäir Sgl. p. 3 except (in tale). — b° i mak kōci digar Xədā nə yäizef don't call anybody else God except me. -Ar. Prs. bo'ras (ba°) Sgl p. 2 bellowing, bleating; bay- Zar. to bellow. — čār'vā, vəz b° ke'nōi. — Cf. Yd. bayaz, Shgh.

way-. Reg. -as v. Parachi Voc. s.v.

bâ nas bleating.

b = yz ken- Sk. to hate. Ar.-Prs. b = ayz. boh Sgl. p. 2, bah Gr. (Zb.) a kiss. boh be kenen. - Cf. Yd. boh-. bo jā Sk. father's sister's husbaud. -Cf. Mj. bája. bok Sgl. s., box p. 3 vomiting. — box-om deδ. — Cf. Turki (Hjuler) bok, box dist?  $b\bar{a}q_{\lambda}^{\dagger}$ ,  $b^{\dagger}\bar{a}q_{\lambda}^{\dagger}$  Sk. wise. — Ar.-Prs. ba kəl Zb. calf. — V. baken dī. baken'dī Sgl. is. male calf, 1-2 years old; p. 2, 3 female(?) calf, one year old. — Yd. bakın da. ba kor Sk. uecessary. — 'mumba b' I necd. - Prs. baquwwat Sk. strong. — Ar. Prs. bale Sk., Gr. (Zb.) yes. - Prs. bāl Sgl. is., p. 1, Sk. wing. - Prs. bēl Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk., Sk. spade. — Prs.  $b\bar{a}l_{\gamma}\bar{e}$  Sgl. p. 2,  $b\dot{a}qi$   $l\dot{a}$  Sk. beans,  $b\dot{a}kul\dot{a}$ (Faba sativa, or Vicia faba, cf. Vavilov, Agric. Afgh. 334\. bal jām Sgl. p. 3 mucus from the mouth. Ar.-Prs. balə  $k\bar{\epsilon}$  Sgl. p. 1,  $b\bar{a}le^{l}q\bar{a}$  Sk. hammer. — Prs., cf. Yd. bal ko. br'land Sgl. p. 2, 3, bi'lan p. 1, bland Sk. high. — Prs. bellaur Sgl. is. rock-crystal. - Prs. V. kūtī. belar zan- Sgl. p. 2 to make tremble. mum·bē belar zānu; belarzānu-š. -Prs. Cf. § 129. bailis Sgl. is., beilis p. 2 span from thumb to forefinger, be līs Zar. id., to little finger. - Afgh. Prs. bilist. V. caran $gašt, p\bar{e}x, wu^{\dagger}\delta\bar{\imath}t, wa j\bar{\imath}b.$ belis mān : belis mānd Sgl. p. 2, 3 to make to slip. — belišmānu-š 'mēlišmāna-iš'; mum bē belišmānu it makes me slip.

- Prs. \*lišmāndan, cf. lišn, laš(i)n

slippery.

25 - Kulturforskning.

be lar: be lar oδ-Sgl. s., p. 2, bo lar: bolard ... Ishk., Sk. to read, Sk. also to siug. ki tāv be laven; ki tāv-əm be lavəδ p. 2; bə'lav Ishk. 'buxān'. — Cf. Shgh. lūv-, etc.; Prs. labīdan to brag.  $bal \ni w\bar{a}(n)$  p. 3 fighting. —  $bal \ni w\bar{a}n$ , baluwā šīdok 'jang šuda ast'. — Prs. balıcā disturbance. bələxč-, v. laxč-. bē mār Sgl. p. 2, bē mår Sk. ill, unwell. - Prs. bēmå'rī Sk. illness. ba'na Sk. body (read ta'na?). band Sgl. p. 1 1) shoe string; 2) dyke. band-r-dest Sgl. is., p. 1, Zb., band-i-dost p. 3, odust Sk. wrist. — Prs. (with partial adaptation to the dialect). bāndsk Sgl. p. 1 elbow; bandsk Sk. finger-nail (corr.: ojoint?). - \*Prs. band-1-pā Sgl. p. 1, 3, ankle joint. — Prs. bandar Sgl. p. 2 custom bouse, paira. -Prs. harbour. bon(g) Sgl. p. 2, 3 crowing. —  $xu^{\dagger}r\bar{u}s$  $bon(g\delta)$   $k\delta n\bar{v}(i)$  the cock crows. Prs. bar Sgl. p. 2, 3 breast; Gr. (Zb.) embrace. mə pādšā bar dehēδ (the javeliu) hit the king in the breast. - Prs. ba'ār Sgl. is., p 1, 2, bo'ār Zb., ba'hår Ishk., b(d)år Sk. spring. —  $k \partial b \ddot{a} r \partial$ šuuro p. 2 when spring came. -- Prs. bör Sgl p. 1 grey; būr Sk. greyish white. - Prs. (Bal. goray grey, Kurd. guer (Soane) brown, geur, etc. brown, grey (J. J.) would seem to point to original w-, not to \*barua- (Barthol. Miran. Mund. VI, 5)). bor- Ishk. to rain. — fai bu borū it rains much. - Prs. V. nav-. barf Zb. suow. - Prs. - V. warf.

barg Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb., Sk., Gr. a leaf. — Prs.

barq Sk. lightning. — Prs.

burk Sk. narrow, thin. - Prs.

bāˈrān Sgl. s, bā rān Ishk., Sk. rain. — Prs. — V. noˈvōk.

b<sup>3</sup> renj Sgl. is., <sup>3</sup> inj p. 2, 3, Ishk., Sk.,
brinš p. 1 rice. — be rinj ke nän p. 2
they cock rice. — Prs.

birini Sk. brass. Prs.

brēšum, v. ar vešum.

b<sup>o</sup>rāt Sgl. p. 1. 3, brūt Zb., bu'rūt Ishk., bu'rūt Sk. moustache. — Pis.

b<sup>3</sup> reē Sgl. is., °ee p. 1. s., Zb., °īē p. 3., °ūj Ishk., bruj Sk., b³rež "Wkh.' birch. — Cī. Or. berāj. etc. from IA. Cf. Yd. ze viroo, etc.

bas Sgl. p. 2 enough; bas is um 'bas oyadum') Sk. to be able. — Prs.

bist, v. wišt.

bīstə yak Sk. 21. - Prs.

bāšo Sgl. p. 2. — In: miž be pūl dē, bāšo give me money, and then go away ('bā bura' = ba'd burau',; to pūl dē, bāša ('bād bora'). — Prob. from ba'd + šo.

bā'sē Sgl. is., p. 1, bå ša Ishk. sparrowhawk. — Prs.

boš verbal partiele. — V. Gramm. § 135.
biš Sgl. p. 3 under. — co kafas biš `az
tā i kafas'. — Cf. s.v. vālviš.

baš kač Sgl. p. 3 children, baškāč in tale'.
Prs. Cf. bača-kačaho family (Zar., Oč. razg. yaz. samarkandsk. ebreev, no. 530).

bə'sān- Sgl. p. 2. bi'sōn- Ishk, to make to sit down. — az bə tfak bəsā n v;n Sgl. is.; təfak bəsānen p. 2; azi fak madak bi sōnum Ishk. — Prs.

be ist Sk. heaven. - Prs.

bat Sgl. p. 2 sweets given at a feast. -

Cf. Or. bat a kind of porridge, ritual food. — Hind. bhāt?

bot Sgl. p. 3 idol. — botā forēd kuδ potoror he crushed the idols with his axe. — Prs.

bai tal Sgl, is., p. 1, alča p. 3 mare. — Prs. V. můdi yần,

bē ţāk Sgl. p 2 sheep skin coat, posteen bia vān Sgl. p. 2 outside, — šā bo berān mēran': šībum b raftam berān'. — Prs.

bewa Sgl. is., p. 1, be wa Sk. widow. — Prs.

bå war Sk. hopeful. - Prs.

ba'wil Sk. a miser. - Prs.

baxš Sgl. p. 2, 3 dividing, division, portion.
baxš ĉi kenen I divide, distribute,
cō fūr za mīn-ō, cō fūr zōt-ō mon-ēn,

va cə fūr baxš kenen p. 2. — Prs.

baz Sgl. p. 1 falcon. -- Prs.

lār Sgl. p. 2 then. - Pra

bā zē Sk. play. -- Prs.

bā tā Zb. the arm above the elbow; lā:i Sk., Gr. elbow. — Pis. V. astamāy'zik.

boz Zb. goat. - Prs. V vor.

bā zār Sgl. p. 2 bazar. — ce wāð ilīn bāzār from there they arrived at the bazar. — Prs.

bāzār'gān Sgl. p. 3, Gr. (Zb.) merchant. — Prs.

### $\boldsymbol{C}$

of what? Cf. § 119.

Sgl. s., p. 1, 2. Ishk., ca Gr. from. — ce mēz viš p. 2 (from, under the table; cārvā cə vəz τοšt-ō a cow is bigger than a goat; Cang leš om σγοδ := co S°) p. 2 I come from Sanglech; azī cə minduk xə tuk Ishk. (cə misūk) p. 2

I rose from sleep.  $-<\Lambda v$ . haća, Cf. Yd. že. V. § 107.

cē-ba Sgl. p. 2 why? — tə-bō zi cē-ba gaxtog why did you do thus? cirântari kardī?): tə-bō ma zi cē-va gaxtog 'civā hamī kūrī kardī?'. — Prs. — Cf. čuva — cība 'why' in the dial. of the Samarkand Jews.

ecci, cica what? - V. § 119.

'eācui Sgl. is., 'cācū p. 1, cā cūi s. a kind of hawk or falcon, čārya.

c<sup>9</sup> fūr Sgl p., s., is., Zb., Sk., Zar., c<sup>\*</sup> fūr Gr. (also c̄<sup>\*</sup> fū̄/ Sgl. is., but c̄̄ r Ishk. four. — c<sup>9</sup> fūr zōt-ō mən-ēn I have four sons. — Cf. Yd. c̄ s̄ r.

cām Sgl. p. 1, 2, 3, s., cām is., com Zb, cōm Jshk., Zar., cām Sk., Gr. eye. — Cf. Yd. čam, "Wkh." cōm.

ca mök Sgl. p. 3 winking. — Cf. cām. cə'mənd Sgl. p. 2, cumand Gr. how many. — c° āðam östö s c° tan-ān ma təməx sān how many people are there in your house? — Cf. § 119.

eām·mərdi kig Sgl. p. 1 the iris of the eye — Cf. "Wkh." mərdik pupil of the eye, Gr. murdik a small ring, Yd. s.v. mədraye.

eə'nā Sgl. p. 2, 3 how. — eə nā-i oṛoð |
p. 2 'citur āmadi'; ce'nā 'ma hari ken \*
how do you do this work? cena gāxen |
p. 3 how shall we do?

cə-pšūr Sgl. p. 2 above. — ki tāv cə pšūr-ū. — V. cə, pšūr.

carx, v. čarx.

Č

cūb Ishk. wood, firewood. — Pts. V. i durk.

ca'brū Ishk. fat. — Prs. V. wōst. ci'cī Sgl. is, p., cu'cī Ishk., cu cī Sk., cīċi Gr. female breast; ċu ċī "Wkh." udder. — Prs. ċuċū.

čū čik Sk. chicken. - Prs.

é' dan Sk., čudan Gr. cooking-pot. — Cf. Oss. cuainag kettle, Russ. čugun cast-iron kettle, v. BSOS, VIII. 665. čug'man Sgl. p. 1 cloak. — Turki.

cuk- Sgl. p. 2. Zar. to beat; cɔk- cɔkt- Sk. to thresh, to knock in (a nail. — cukō-š·mēcakad-iš' Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Wkh. cuk- to beat, pound. Yazgh. cūk- to beat, Bad. Prs. cuhīdan to hammer.

cu kār Sgl, is, a kind of dye made from resin.

čaq wy Sk. deep. — Turk. čukuv (cf. P.ar. čukuvi a well).

čal Sk. soaking wet.

čεl, S<sub>S</sub>l. is., č**z**l p. 2, s., čel p. 3 forty. — Prs.

ci lē Sgl. p. 1 the coldest part of winter.
— Prs. cila forty days of winter during which the weather is most severe, cf. Psht. cila, Bal. chilar, Kurd. cilān, etc.

cāl Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 penis. — Cf. Yd. cula.
ce lik Ishk., cīl lä Sk., ciliak Gr. (Zh.)
finger-ring. — Hi. challá, Psht. cala
ear-ring?

ci'lim Sgl. p. 2, Sk. water-pipe. — 'cilim 'xašum Sk. I smoke. — Prs.

col Zir. multicoloured. — Cf. Mj. s.v. kaš. color mol Sgl. p. 1, 3 basket for carrying on the back. — Cf. Shgh. cemād, Or. camāg, Sar. "tsamúgh" < \*camyta.

čen-: čiδ- Sgl. p. 2, 3 to pick. — čenen, ciðum. — Prs.?

čand Sgl. p. 2, Gr. some. — ċand röz pasī. — Prs.

· či<sup>l</sup>nār Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, če<sup>l</sup>når Gr. oriental · plane. — Prs. čin gāl Sgl. p. 2 claw. — Prs.

čan'gīļing Sgl. is., cangi ļing p. 1, čangering p. 3 hamstring. — Prs. \*čany-i ling.

cap Sgl. is., p. 2, Sk. left (hand); čab-ling Sk. the left foot. — Prs.

capa Sgl. p. 3 overturning. — va kištī č° kiδ overturned the boat; mo jangal č² šīδ was thrown ashore in a forest.
Cf. Prs. capīdan, Psht. capa kamul to turn over.

ča'pān Sk. cotton cloak. — Turk.

co pān Sgl. p. 2, cu° 3, co° Gr. shepheid.

- Prs. Cf. Mj. čw pán.

c'pōst Sk. backwards, behind. — Assim. from \*epōšt? Cf. Yd. cpāć.

 $\dot{c}a^{\dagger}r\bar{a}$  ken. Sgl. p. 3 to graze. — Prs.  $\dot{c}\bar{o}r$ , v.  $c^{2}f\bar{u}r$ .

, čū ro, v. čār vā.

'čārda Sgl. is., p. 2, s., o'da p. 3, čārdε Gramuophone, čārdāu Zb. fourteen. — Prs.

carfande gī Sgl. p. 3 sprinkling. — va vēk co kenen. — \*Prs.?

či'rāγ Sgl. p. l, Gr., či'rōγ Ishk., Zar., či'rāγ Sk. candle, light. — Prs.

ciray dan Sk. lantern.

furya'zek Sgl. p. 1, čerya'z³k p. 3 a spank.
 Cf. Mj., Khow. c³'rox, Or. cera'xak.
 \*cirax-zek, cf. Prs. demin. suff.
 -za³

 $\dot{c}\bar{a}r'm\bar{a}_{\gamma}s$  Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s.,  $\dot{c}\hat{a}r'ma_{\gamma}z$  Sk. walnut(-tree). — Prs.

ca'rān-: ca'rāst p. 2, Gr. to graze, to herd cattle. — Prs. carāndan.

rå rån Sk. animal.

čā rangešt Sgl. p. 1, čāran gušt s. span,
 from thumb to fore finger. — \*Prs.
 V. bə lis, pēx.

cār'vā Sgl. p. cārā Zb., co'rō Sk., cāra Gr., cārpa Gr. (Zb.) horned cattle. flocks. — č° cə vəz žəšt-ō p. 2. — Prs. čārwā quadruped.

čarx Sgl. is., p. 2, čārx p. 1, carx p. 3, Ishk. spinning wheel. — Genuine, but with č- from Prs.?

ċār.vaiz Sk. galloping. — Prs. \*čahār-.vēz?

ios Sgl. p. 3 a fart. — ios de 'guzīdan'. — Prs. čus, Kändulát tis.

és bā Sk., čiz-ba Gr. (Zb.) why? — Cf. Prs. čīz.

¿iš'mē Sgl. p. 1, ¿›š m. p. 3, ¿‹w›šma Sk., ċašma'vēk Ishk, a spring. — Prs.

čášt Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 noon. — Prs.

číš Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, číš Zar. urine. — Cf. Prs. šāš?

čut Ishk, kid, čūd Zar, he-goat. — Cf. Wershikwar čūt?

¿vf Sgl. is., čvf p. 1, 2, čut Ishk., čuf Gr.
(Zb.) small. — diga'rī co wo čuf an 'digar az ū maida astin'; čvf zōt-ī p. 2 thou art a small child; 'cof konum Sk. I break to pieces, I tear in two. — Acc. to Gr. from IA. Cf. Burush. Jut. V. rizyāk.

cov Sgl p. 2, covāk p. 3 little, small.

cu wê! Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, s., cūīēļ p. 1, cu wēn Zb., cwēnd Sk., cuwēnd Zar., cwēnd Gr. apricot. — Cf. Wkh. cu wān, cuwīn. Rhyming with, and prob. influenced by, mēl, mēnd apple. Cf. Yd. 'cīre??

cax max Sgl. is., cak max p. 2, cax max-sang p. 3 flint(-lock). — Prs. — Turk. cit Ishk., Sk., Gr. what? — tə mum bo cīz yēśī? Ishk. what dost thou say to me? in nīm cīz? cīz nīm īn å Sk. what is his name? ciz tōt nist

iōγad Sk. why didst thou not come? c̄īz-bā ke Sk. since. — Prs.; cf. Wkh., Shgh., Gr. (Zb.) c̄z.

cīzī Sgl. is., p. 2 a thing, something. —
cīzī-m nūšəδ I drank something;
wok cīzi be nūšen; məne wok cīzī
a pēδ p. 2 I lost a thing yak cīzī;
har qism-i cīziā-i xūb all sorts of
good things. — Prs.

### D

da, de Sgl. p. 2. 3 a particle denoting existence. — āhūin wok šāx da vəδ p. 3 the stag had one horn; tākε da fəˈrīnd p. 3 he remained alone. Cf. HFL, I, Par. Gramm. p. 76; Benveniste Gramm. Sogd. II, §§ 82, 133, etc. — Cf. dak.

-dō, ·δō thou art. — V. § 121.

dou Sgl. is., dou p. 2, dou p. 3, dou p. 1, dou s., dou Ishk., dū Zb., dou Sk., dau, dō Gr., du Zar. two. — do zōt; do rō pē; wog dō rōi mēi some two or three days Sgl.; dow yaž Sk. repeat. — From \*duwāu? Cf. Or. dau, etc.

de cāk Sgl. p. 1, dec Sk., Gr., δêc Zar.
goatskin used for swimming. sanōč.
Cf. Wkh. δåck, Yd. laxčio.

dēd Sk., in dēd šəιcəm I box. fight. — Cf. Shgh. δēd war, or, more probably, Sgl. deh- (v. below).

dėδ· Sgl. p. 2. dēd·: dett- Sk. to enter, go in. — dē(δ)m I enterel. — Cf. Shgh. δēδ·, Or. indīδ·, Sar. diδ·: deid, Yd. tī· < \*ati-i·, with ·δ from 3 sg. (v. s.v. īδ·)? Cf. Sogd. tys· (Benv. Gramm. Sogd. II, 61), Yaghn. tīs· tīst, Yazgh. dīs·: daγd, and Yd. tī· dīδ Sgl., Zb., dūd Ishk., dīd Sk., dūd Zar., dīt Gr. smoke. — Cf. Yd. lūi (Ishk. from Prs.). dīδūs Sgl. p., °us s., 'dūdus is.; 'duocdāu

Zb., dwazda Ishk. twelve. — di < \*du < duwa-?

dig dän Sgl. is., p. 1, Gr., dig dön Ishk., dihdön Zar, fireplace, hearth; dik dån Sk. kettle i. — Prs.

diça Sgl. p. 2 now, then. — čand rōz pusī diga xē māl gō! kuô. — Prs.

digar Sgl. p. 3 other. - Prs.

dig i rī Sgl. p. 2 still, more. — d` cəwo čuţ-ān you are still smaller than he.

dal., v. dos.

dehe. dēδ Sgl. p. p. 3 also dehēδ. dē-;
dēδ s., dē-; dēd Ishk., Sk., deh·. dēd
Gr. Zh., dē-; ded- Zar. to beat. —
tfak de hēn, tu a'mak dē; azəm a-tfak
dēδ p. 1; dehōi 'mēzanad'; warf² d²hō
snow falls; vēki diān they irrigate.
tē;m dān they sow; dānd² dehēn I
bite; axše dēδəm I yawned; dehēδ
'zad'; gab dehef' speak (gap bezanī)
p. 3; dēδəm Gazkəstān p. 2 we reached
("struck"? G. (zadim); dēum; azi
wan dēdum; mak dēd 'mara zad'
Ishk.; dēm. imper. dē, dēdum, dēduk,
dēyuk; az fak dēm I beat thee Sk.
— Cf. Yd. dah-, Shgh. de-, etc.

dāku'ša Sk. felt pad placed under the saddle. — Sk. compares Gr. dakoša stirrup.

dak Sgl. p. 2, 3 emphatic particle. — xwārən-dak I eat; xwōro-dak he eats; nēr-əm kuð v-āri ðak; nēr-əm kūkō va hāri-ðak to-day I did (have done) the work imrūz hamū kāra kardam); ma mən xoðm-dak gab dehef explain my dream; īm-bā-dak wok miē! dūðū vcðom I had given him an apple; ce har xōri-dak 'az har xar'; kull-šōn-dak they all; am xān-dag kull mōnin-dag-ē. Cf. SS 114, 117.

· dəqə dəq Sk, trotting. — Cf. Shgh. doqdoq, and Prs. luk luk raftan. dugo lāč Sk. gallop. — Cf. Prs. qulāč prancing of a horse, dēkā nī Sk. field. — Prs. 'dela Sgl. is. weasel. — Prs. däi le Sgl. p. 2 porridge made of barley (said to be a Farsi word). — Cf. Prs. dīla rye? V. pa'šār. doldo rok Sgl. is., doydo rok p.1,3, dondo rok s. thunder. - Onomatopoetic word, cf. Psht. dün lakār, Par. bumbu rū, etc. dā'līz Sgl. is., p. 2 veranda. dam Gr. (Zb.) back (of an animal). --Cf. Sligh. dam upper part of the back, Or. dăm spine, etc., Par. damāi behind. Shgh. d- points to borrowing. dəmb Sgl. p. 1, dəmb p. 3, dumb Zb., Ishk., dmb Sk., dum Zar. tail. - Genuine, or from Prs. dum(b). Cf. Yd.  $l \ni m$ . dəmb. Sgl. p. 3 to card wool. - pāme dəmben. — Cf. Yd. lib. domod Ishk. son-in-law, domod Sk. bridegroom,  $d\tilde{u}$  mod sister's husband, son-in-law, — Prs. V. zə mūδ. dam fāžek Sgl. p. 2, s., °ažik p. 3 vawn. - d° xašem I yawn. - Prs. dam breath  $+ f\bar{a}z$  yawning; cf. Par.  $f\hat{a}za$ . di måy Zb. nostrils. — Ar. Prs. V. fasakppa cē. dāman Sgl. p. 1, 2 hem of a garment. — Prs.  $d\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}$  Sgl. is.,  $d\tilde{a}^{h}$   $n\tilde{a}$  Sk. a horse's bit. - Prs. V. lažām. då nå Sk. wise. — Prs.

 $d\bar{\imath}n$  Ishk. day (?). — Doubtful word,

dānd Sgl. is., dānd p. 3, dān p. 1, dānt s.,

don(t) Zb., Ishk., dånd Sk., dånd(ak)

Gr. tooth. — nasəm be pə dand Sgl.

unknown from other sources.

din Sk. religion. - Ar.-Prs.

p. 2 I bite it;  $na^is\delta k$  pa  $d\bar{a}n^i$  is.; danda dehen p. 3; dont kenem Ishk. I bite — Cf. Yd. lad. dunda Sgl. p. 3 so much, amika (= hamīn  $qadr^{\lambda}$ . —  $dun\delta a$   $vc\delta$  thus it happened. - Cf. Gr. Zb.\ zo-dund, Sar. dund < \*tā-vant-? dınık Sgl. p. 2 grain. — dunik xoro 'dāna mēxura'. — ('f. Prs. dāna. de'nula Sgl. p. 1 hoopoe, huthut,  $d\tilde{a}n \cdot p \partial f$  Sgl. p. 2 gums. don'yā Sk. world. — Ar.-Pis. da'rē Sgl. is., dä'rē p. 1, dar ra Sk. valley. - Prs. But Gr. dir 'ravine' may be genuine. darā Sk. gunpowder. — Prs. der Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, s., Ishk., Sk., Gr., dier p. 3. 'Wkh." dēra belly. — wužinjak zəmanok oyod mē dērī the woman became pregnant. — Prob. < \*udarya-(v. KZ, 61, 32, ef. Yaghn. dara.  $d\bar{e}r$ :  $d\bar{e}rd$  Sk. to have. —  $d\bar{i}r\partial m$ . — Av. dāraya-, Par. dēr-, ef. Yd. lār. dir Sgl. p. distant, far - dir watan ba šīb, aba ābam dīr-ūi, ama ābam  $ka^{\dagger}r\tilde{\imath}b\cdot\tilde{u}$  p. 1 that man is far away, this man is near. - Cf. Yd. lūro. dur, dr ("with Swedish u") Sk. penis.  $d\bar{u}r$  Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk. sickle. — Cf. "Wkh." dar, Yd. s.v. Pruyus. dard, dar(d) Sk. pain. - mono dardkunu it hurts me. - Prs. dar'gāv Sgl. p. 1, dar'gō Zb. small valley; dar gåb Sk. brook. — Prs.  $d^{u}r\bar{u}_{\gamma}$  Sk. a lie. — Prs. durōγ'gū Sgl. p. 2, durūγ'gū Sk. a liar. tə d° δῦ Sgl. p. 2. — Prs. durk Sgl. p. 1, 2, dork Zb., Ishk., Sk. stick, wood. - va durk to võr mäida kenen p. 2 I cut the wood into pieces with an axe; xũb rost durk-ũ it is

a quite straight stick. — \*dāruka-, or \*daruka- ,v. § 79°, ef. Shgh. δōry, Psht. largai.

d' ram Sgl. p. 1, Zb. pinetree.

darūn Sgl. p. 2, Gr. inside. — to ma xān d' do thou art in the house. — Prs.

dər nāk Sgl. is, arrow (?), p. 2 bow-string.
— Cf. Orm. drūng (v. Suppl. Notes s.v.) bow. Yd. drūn is borr. from Khow. — V. zē, xas tīrek.

dərvət Sgl. p. 2 straight. — Prs. dərət Sgl. p. 2, is, rough. — Prs. drāw., v. deray.

dar'wāza Sgl. p. 3 door, gate. — čel  $d^{\circ}$   $v \circ \delta$ ;  $m \circ d^{\circ}$   $n \bar{\imath} \delta c f$  sit down at the gate. — Prs.

daraxt Sgl. is., draxt p. 1, da'raxt Sk. a tree, — Prs.

de ray-, de rē·: də rāδ Sgl. p. 2, 3, de ray-Ishk., drāw:: drāwd Sk. to reap. deräyen, derāδəm p. 2. γundum derayem Ishk. — Poss. from Prs. Cf. Yd. lərē.

dar yāi Sgl. is., s., dar yā(o) p. river, dir yā Sk. Amu Darya. — daryāo yox o kuōk p. 2 the river has frozen (yax kardast). — Prs.

 $d\partial r^i y \bar{v} k$  Sgl. p. 2 reaping, harvest. —  $d^{\circ}$   $is \bar{u}$ . — V. deray.

da råz Sk. long. - Prs.

dos Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, s.,  $d\bar{o}s$  p. I. Gr.  $\langle Zb. \rangle$ ,  $d\bar{q}u$  Zb., dah Sk., Gr. ten. — Cf. Yd. los  $\langle d\bar{u}u, dah < Prs. \rangle$ .

'd∂sad Sk. 200. — Prs.

 $d\bar{\sigma}^{\dagger}s\bar{\imath}n$  Sgl. is., p. 2 wild oats. — Sk  $\tau\bar{\sigma}\bar{\imath}-\delta\sigma v^{\dagger}suk$ . Cf. Yd.  $les\sigma$ .

dost Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, dust Ishk., du ost Sk. arm below the elbow, hand. — xē dost ze'nēyen p. 1 I wash my bands. — Cf. Yd. last.

dēst Sgl. p. 2, dust Sk. a friend. — dūst dērum Sk. I love. — Prs.

das tak Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk, a rafter, ceilingboard. — Prs., Bad.; cf. Par., Orm. des tak.

dėš-: dəγδ Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., dēš-: dēšt Zar. to milk. — va uyū dēšəm, va uyū·m dəγδəm p. 2. — \*dauxšya-: \*duxta-, cf. EVP, s.v. luašəl. — Yd. v. s.v. lūi, Wkh., Sgl., etc. go back to \*dauċ-.

ds Sgl. p. 2 late. —  $ds\tilde{s}$  o' $\gamma o\delta$ . — Cf. Wkh.  $\delta o\tilde{s}$  Sh.).

duś man Sgl. p. 3, Sk. enemy. — to bdi
 d° paidā šuō thou hart got an enemy.
 — Prs.

dast Sgl. is., p. 2 open, relatively flat ground at the foot of the hills. — Prs.

dəvā, °və Sgl. p. 2 after that, pas-i amū.
— də vā nes lā-kuð 'bāz ū na månd';
dəvə šōvōk (q.v.) šūān.

də vin-. də vind Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., du vin Zar.
 to winnow. — də vinuk p. 2 winnowing.
 — Cf. Yd. ləbān-.

 $d\bar{e}^{\dagger}v\bar{\phi}m\bar{e}$  Sk. mad =  $l\bar{e}w$ . — Prs.

de wāl Sgl. is., p. 1, aāl Ishk., dē'wāl Sk. wall. — Prs

də cišt Sgl. p. 3 twenty-two.

dxctan'dār Sgl. p. 1 husband's sister ...

-Prob a mistake, cf. Prs. duxtarandar step-daughter.

'dāya Sgl. p. 3, dō'ya Sk. nurse. — Prs. day: dūδ Sgl. p. 1, 2, s., day-, dūd Ishk., Gr., dey-: dūd Sk. to give. — Pres. I sg. däyen: tu mum bē wok rūpeē dē p 1 give me a rupea; dayem be: īm be wok rūpē dēyen (1 pl.); dīān (3 pl.): dūδən, azəm dūδ; dūδīn; dūδū reδəm (plup.) p. 2, azī tu bo dayum, dūdum Ishk.; 'deyum, dei,

'dūdum, 'dūduk, 'deyuk Sk. — \*daya-(cf. Tedesco, MO, 1921, p. 224); but cf. Yd.—Mj. dāl-.

dəzd Sgl. p 2, Sk. thief. — Prs. — Gr. dužd, if correct, might be a genuine form.

 $d\bar{u}^{\dagger}zax$  Sk. hell. — Prs.

### $\overline{F}$

fai Sgl. p. 2, Ishk., Gr. (Zb.), Sk. much, many, very, still more. — fai νο2-οπ wēnd I saw many goats; fai wuδuγδ-ο there are many daughters; tomux fay ān p. 2; fai muluk many men; fai ferīnd very tired; fai bu bōrū 'bisyār mēbārad' Ishk., fai lip Sk. very much. — \*fra-aya-, cf. Benveniste, Gramm. Sogd. II, p. 162: fy'tr, etc.?

fi Sgl. p. 1, 3, fai Ishk., Zar., fei Gr. shovel, wooden spade. — "Wkh." fi; cf. Yd. fia.

foc Sgl. p., s., Gr. (Zb.), fooc Sgl. is., foc Zb., foc Sk. mouth. — Cf. Yd. fosko.
fauji Sgl. p. 3 soldier. — Ar.-Prs. V. fauž.
fak Ishk. thee. V. tu. — Gr. fak
1) self, 2) your honour is due to some misunderstanding of fak 'thee'. Cf. § 111.

fi'ūk Sgl. is., p., s. shoulder-blade. — Cf. Yd.—Mj. fūa, Shgh. fyak, etc.

fekr Sk, thought. — fikr kən consider. — Ar.-Prs.

fū'lād Sgl. is., p. 2, °åδ Sk. steel. — Prs. filla Gr. beestings milk, Sk. buttermilk.
 — Prs. fal(l)a.

falax'mān Gr. sling. — Prs. palaxm(ān). får-, v. befåru.

frī Sk., Gr., ferī Gr. (Zb.) good, dear. Sk. bravo. — Sk. frī dīr- (kas-) to

love; fak  $fr\bar{\imath}$   $d\bar{\imath}r\bar{\imath}m$  I like thee;  $f^{\imath}r\bar{\imath}tar$  better; a  $d-\bar{\imath}m$   $fr\bar{\imath}$   $w\bar{\imath}\delta$  that would be good. — Cf. Av. frya-, Sak. brria-.

far be Sk. fat (noun). - Prs.

föred Sgl. p. 3 broken. — böta fö kuð pð toror he broke the idols with an axe, šikast. — Cf. Wkh. fril to crumble? V. vrēļ.

fər'yərt : fər'yəst Sgl. s. to wander about
— fəryərtəm 'mê-gardam', fər-əm yəst
I wandered about. — Adapted fr.
Prs. V. yort-.

fər mē-: fər mūð Sgl. p. 2, 3, s. to order, command. — pādšā fərmūð p 3. — Prs.?

frān Gr. shelf, plank. — Wkh. rūn, Sar. rūn < \*frāna-, ef. Lett. plāns floor, Lit. plónas thin, etc.?

fəˈris-: fə rīnd Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., fəˈrīn:
fəˈrīnd Sk. to remain, be left behind;
frin Gr. he remained. — fərisəm
'mēmānam'; fərīndəm 'māndam';
fəˈrindi fərˈsōu mə pəˈnuk thou didst
spend the night on the pass p. 2;
pādšā tākɛ (q.v.) fərīnd p. 3. — <
\*fra-rièya-: \*fra-rixna-, cf. Wkh.
wariō-: waregn, Sar. ris-: reid, Or.
ras-: rīd.

fərīnd Ishk., frin'duk Gr. tired, Sk. lagging behind. — From fə'ris-, cf., semantically, Wkh. vərəžk tired, Prs. mānda, Sindhi virto, Yd. wuzā-, etc. fərnīs-: fərnīt Sgl. is., p. 2, Ishk.; fərnīt-: fərnītt Sk. to forget. — fər'nisen: fərnītm p. 2; fərnītum, na fərnīti Ishk.; az-um 'fərnīt I forget, az-im fərnītt(əm) I forgot, 'fərnīt, fərnīttuk, 'fərnītuk Sk. — < \*fra-nasya-, cf. Shgh. renēs-, Yazgh. anis-: anuxt (\*ā-, or \*fra-?).

foros: forot Sgl. is., fras-: frot p. 1.  $f^{\mathfrak{d}}ras$ . p. 2, 3, s., Isbk.  $f^{\mathfrak{d}}r\breve{\mathfrak{d}}t$  Sgl. p. 3, s., feret Ishk., foras: forast Sk., frut Gr., ferāt Gr. (Zb.) to ask. - az'  $f^{\mathfrak{d}} r \bar{\mathfrak{d}} s \mathfrak{d} n$ , (tu)  $f^{\mathfrak{d}} r \bar{\mathfrak{d}} s \bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ ,  $f^{\mathfrak{d}} r \bar{\mathfrak{d}} t \mathfrak{d} m$  is.: azfrāsen, tu frā sī, az əm frōtəm. tu fröli p. 1; forasen p. 2. forasom: fərötəm p. 3, s; fərasum, fərētum Ishk.;  $fo^{\dagger}rasum, f(o)ras, forastum, forastuk$ Sk. - A new Pres. base bas been made from the Past Stem \*frašta-(Sak. brrasta., etc.), and from fras, in its turn, forast (incidentally resembling Old Prs. -frasta-). Most dialects have retained Pres. \*prsa., but, have renewed the Past Base. Cf. Yd. prs.

fər šou Sgl. is., fər p. 2, for p. 3, s., fcršun Gr. (Zb), foršuk MFB, fər xa "Wkh." night. — < \*fra-xšapa-. — V. šab.

fə'räšte, -°a Sgl. p. 3 angel. — Prs. farx·i-'sur Sgl. p. 1, 2 top of the bead. — Ar. Prs. (also in Par.). — V. tâ·i-sar.

fər'yaγ Sgl. p. 1 yoke. — Cf. Yd. frāiγο yoke-rope, RgV. prauga- yoke. V. yəγ. fər'yəm Sgl. p. 2, °εm p. 3 female kid, one year old. — Cf. "Wkh." fərγəmē, Yd. frayingo, etc.

 $fu|s \in k$  Sgl. is.,  $f \ni s \ni k$  p. 1,  $f(\ni)s \ni k$  p. 2, 3,  $f \ni s \ni k$  s.,  $f \colon s \ni e$  "Wkb." nose. — Cf. Yd.  $f \ni s k o$ . — V. nic,  $m \ni s$ .

 $f^{[j]}s\bar{s}k$ - $p\rho a^{[j}\epsilon\bar{e}$  Sgl. p. 1 nostrils. — V.  $di^{[m}a_{\gamma}$ .

fasl Sgl. p. 3 moment, Sk. season. — wok fasl asto veδ 'yak dam (= fasl) iståd'. — \*Ar.-Prs.

fāx tē Sgl. p. 1, 2 ringdove. — Prs. făuž Sgl. p. 2, fauj p. 3 army. — Ar.-Prs. — V. fauji. G

 $gi\ \tilde{a}$  Sgl. p. 1 grass. — Prs.

 $g\bar{u}$  kən- Sk, to grow (intr.). Cf. Wkh.  $g\bar{e}$  car-.

gu đỡm Sgl. p. 1, 2 store-house, ambār. —
maxlu kān g° xaštān p. 2. — Ind.

gogərd Sgl. is., p. 2, oʻzrd p. 3 sulphur. — Prs.

guh Sgl. is., p. 3, gū p. 1, Isbk., Zar. human excrements. — But čārrāl goh Sgl. is., goh p. 3, go p. 1 cowdung. — Prs. (double borrowing?). gel Sgl. is., gol p. 1, 2, Zb., gul Ishk., gul(uk) Sk., gulok Gr. flower. — ispē gol p. 2. — Prs.

gil Sgl. p. 1, gil s. clay. — Prs. — V.  $l\bar{o}i$ .

göla Ishk., gåla Sk., Gr. (Zb.) bread. — a'z·im nēr gå'la 'nɪst xūl Sk. to-day I have not eaten bread. — Cf. Shgb. garða wheaten bread. — V. xēste.

gul Ishk., göla Sk. kidney, Gr. liver. — Prs. göla a ball. — V. wolk.

gulbād(\*) Sk. whirlwind, gulbāduk Gr. cloud. — \*Prs.?

gala'gāu Sgl. p. 1 herd of cows. — Prs. gi lām Ishk. rug (? or coat?) Prs.

gilam bāf Sgl. is. weaver, gilimböfak p. 1, gəlīm bāfək Sk. spider. — Prs. Cf. Shgh. gilimbāf, Wkh. gilimböf spider. qī lās Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 cherry. — Prs.

gul'xår Sk. briar. - \*Prs.

gỡl Sgl. p. 2, 3 collected, assembled, together with, gul Sk. with, gūl Gr. assembled, -gal Gr. (Zb.) together with. — xẽ māl gōl kuð p. 2 he collected his goods; gōl ken xē waˈzīren assemble thy ministers; xe baškač gol kat-i baškač; xe waˈzīren gər p. 3 together with bis ministers; tō yōl

ison p. 2 'hamrā-i tā meāyam'; mon gul Sk. with the. — Prob. anc. Iw. from Pr., \*gart but ef. Barth, Mir. Mund. VI, 60'

go! Sgl. p. 1, 2, gul Ishk, dumb, gūl Sk. deaf. — gō! mō šyuk p. 2 I have become dumb. — Prs. gōl s¹upid?
 gâm Sk. pace, walk. — Prs. gan¹du Sgl. p. 2 bad. — g° āðam·ū. —

 $gan^4da$  Sgl. p. 2 bad. —  $g^{\circ}$  āða $m\cdot\bar{u}$ . — Prs.

gin'jišk Ishk, sp.:rrow. — Prs.

-gnik Sk. resembling, like. — urutesakgnik, xñg-gnik maļūk a fox-like, piglike mau. — Cf. Prs. gāna?

gap Sgl. is., p. 3, Sk., Gr. word, conversation. — ma mɨn xoöm dak gab dehef p. 3 you must say a word about my dream. — Prs.

 $g^{\mathfrak{p}}$   $r\bar{\mathfrak{e}}$  Sgl. p. 3 knot. — Prs.

gar'dak Zb., gurduk Ishk., gardan Sk. neck. — Borr. and adapted from Pis. gardan.

garm Zb., Ishk., Sk., warm, hot (Sk. also 'heat'). — Prs. — V. yōrm.
qušt Sk. meat. — Prs. V. pudf.

găx-: gāxəð Sgl. p. 2, 3, gāx-: gaxt Gr. (Zb.) to make, prepare. — wok čīzī gāxen; wəlukə gāxān they prepare a feast p. 2: gax imper. 2 sg., cena gāxen 'cīkār mēkunim?' 'Ōzar 'zōt-ō 'gaxtōk' 'O's son has done it' Sgl. p. 3. — Cf. Wkh. gox-, yāx-.

gaz Sgl. p. 2 ell. — Pis.

gāz Zb., gazek Sgl. p. 1 tamarisk — Prs. Cf. uōz.

gāzdəmb Sgl. is., gaz<sup>2</sup> p. 3, s., gāzdəm p. 1, gaž dům Sk., gož dum Ishk. scorpion. — Prs. gaždum (and gazdum, Horn. Np. Et. 885?).

gu zăr Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., Gr. ford. —  $g^{\circ} \partial m$ be šixtəm I crossed the ford. — Prs. Γ

you, v. u yūi.

yob-naduk Gr. green slime on standing water. — Cf. Or. γōb mud, slime, Wershikwar γōp, and naduk from nus.

yu bãr Sgl. p. 1, yo p. 2, yu bõr Zb. duststorm. — Prs.

pudāra Gr. water-vessel. — Prs. yadāra, Shgh. pedōra.

rok Ishk, frog (large). — Prs.

 $\gamma \bar{c}l$  Ishk. lung (??). -- (Prob. Prs. šuš misheard as  $g\bar{u}\tilde{s}$ .)

γal'bēl Sgl. is., p., Ishk, Sk. sieve; γ° kən-Sk. to strain, sift. — va γŏndəm γ° kenen p. 3. — Prs.

γσ'lāk Sgl. is., γulak p. 2, Zar., γū° Sk., Gr. pellet-bow. — Cf. Yd.—Mj. γūlak. V. γσ'ļāk.

valla Ishk. grain. - Prs.

o lām Sgl. p. 2 slave. - Ar. Prs.

ralt Sgl. p. 3 falling. — γall-em ε̄ιδ I fell. — Ar. Prs.

jāl'viš Sgl. is. Adam's apple. — Cf. γā! and kaṣ-viš, bayal-viš. V. biš.

γā! Sgl. is., p, s., γōl Zb, Ishk., γå! Sk.,
γål Gr. throat. — ma mōi γā! ba
tir-i dast dehēδ Sgl. p. 3 he hit his
throat with an arrow. — Cf. Or. γārδ,
Psht. γāra.

 $\gamma \delta l$  Sgl. p. 1, s.,  $\gamma o l$  is, p. 3, Sk.,  $\gamma \delta l$  Ishk., Gr.,  $\gamma o l$  Sk,  $w \delta l(l)$  Zb.,  $\gamma \tilde{u} l$  Zar., "Wkh"  $\gamma a l$  ear. — Cf. Yd.  $\gamma \tilde{u}$ , and Prs. dial.  $\gamma \delta l$ .

γō! Sgl. p. 2 together with. — V. gō!.
γð!āk Sgl. is., p. 1 plough-handle. — From
γô! ear, cf. Prs. gōša handle of a
vessel, P-ht. γκαζ(a) horn of a bow, etc.
γam Sk. sorrow. — Ar. Prs.

1a'mī Sgl. is., p. 1 tired. — Ar. Prs.

yam'gin Sk. sorrow(ful). -- Ar.-Prs. gondəm Sgl. is , p. 3. s., am p. 1. gondum Zb., Ishk., yu° Sk., Gr., Zar. wheat. — Cf. Yd. yādəm.  $ye \ nok$  Sgl. is.,  $ye \ nok$  p. 1, epk p. 2, 3, °ūk s., 'uk Ishk., Zb., Sk., Gr. hair. "Wkh." vēno goat's hair. — Cf. Yd. yunia. main Sk. (uncertain reading) stallion.  $y\bar{a}r$  Sgl. p. 2, 3, Gr.,  $y\bar{o}r$  p. 1 cave. — Ar. Prs. pārī Sgl. is., p. 2 a kind of tree, siyāčūb. yör Sgl, is., yor p. 2 penis — Cf. Wkh. yūr, Sar., Or. yur (scrotum), Prs. yur having large testicles. ya'rīb Sgl. p. 2 poor. — Ar.-Prs.  $\gamma \partial r' \partial \tilde{a} v$  Sgl. p. 2,  $g^{\circ}$  p. 3 whirlpeol. — Prs. (Sgl. p.2 with phonetic adaptation). Cf. Khow, vernānu, yo'rōk Sgl. is., p 3, 'og p. 1, yō'ruk "Wkh." neck. — Cf. Wkh. yarāy, Sar. žarej collar, Psht. yarai throat, Av. garah. yu rūk Sgl. is , p. 2, cik Gr., prik Zar. lucerne, reške. — Cf. Yd. 1ryo'yo. yr-kužuk Sk. bull. — V. yōr, ku žūk. yōrm Sgl. is., p. warm, hot. — nēr yōrm-ō. - Av. garəma, etc; Sar. zurm (but not in other Pamir diall.). yər'nī Sk. money. — Ar.-Prs grānī " yart- Sgl. is., yort-: yost p. 2 to walk about; yešt Gr. (Zb.) he returned; yurs: yušt Zar, to go out. - yartam bəš Sgl. is.; porten 'mēgardam', yoštəm 'gaštam' p. 2. — Adapted from early N. Prs. \*gart- (gardidan). V. fər-yərt-.  $\gamma \bar{o}v$  Sgl. p. 2 corn-bin,  $kand\bar{u}$ . — Cf. Or. žūv 'ambār', Sar. žēv, Wkh. Yūv, yōv, Phl. gößän. — Cf. Yd. yuve? yuz-: yuzd Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., yəz-: yəzd Ishk., Sk.,  $\gamma \bar{u}z$ :  $\gamma \bar{u}zd$  Gr. (Zb) to run. yuzən, yuzəm be, yuzdəm Sgl. p. 2;

azi yəzum, azi mulo yəzil Ishk. I ran formerly. — Cf. Yd. yāz...

ηċž: γēž³δ Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, ; γēžd s., Ishk., yeiž-: γεižeδ p. 3, γaž-: γažd Sk., : γĕd Gr. (Zb.),  $: \tau e \tilde{z} d$  Gr. to say, speak. — Pres. azə yēžən, tu yēžī, aba yēlžo, a'maxə ye zəm, a'bandə ye zan pret. az-əm vēžəð p. 1; az va tfak vēžen I say to thee, to va mak cite yez? what dost thou say to me?  $am\partial x^{\partial}$ nēsk pēžem p. 3 we speak the truth, təməx ci-e yezəf? p. 3; xe ta-ve yezəb p. 3 he said to his father; pres. 2 pl.  $y\epsilon i\check{z}\epsilon f$  3 pl.  $y\epsilon i\check{z}an$ , pret. 3 sg.  $y\epsilon i\check{z}\epsilon\delta$ , 3 pl. yēždan p. 3; azi fak yēžum, tə mum bo čīz yāžī? yēždum Ishk.; pres. 1 sg yažm, 3 pl. yäijān, tə məmbå yaž 'kūna zəvək-å Sk. say (it) to me, it is an old word. - Gauthiot's derivation (JA, 1916, p. 247) is phonetically improbable.

# H hēči Sgl. p. 2 anything, hē Gr., hec Gr.

(Zb.) any. — amē hēči nes xoļok Sgl. p 2; hīć waqt Sk. never. — l'1:. haf sar Sgl. p. 3 officer (in tale). — Engl. (h'aftāð Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 seventy. — Prohar Sgl. is., p. 2 every. — ce har xoridak 'az har xar'. - Prs. hör Sgl. p. 2 every, all. — hör kull-šön 'hama išān'. — Prs.? həš Sgl. p. 2 mind. — wok čize tar həš-vi 'yak čizī ba dil i mā-st'. — Prs. huš yār Sgl. p. 2 wise. — Prs. hot Sgl. is., p. 3, hot s., hot p. 1, 2, ot Zb., Gr. Zb.), Sk., at Ishk., at Gr., ût Zar., hat Sgl. eight. - Cf. Yd. aščo. h- from Prs. hotedos Sgl. p. 1, 2, hotedos is., hotedos

Grammophone, otodos s., bos p. 3. haždāu Zb (Prs.) eighteen. hate Sgl. p. 1 loosened, released. - ho kenen, h^-em kol. V. ya lē. Cf. the following word. hət Sgl. is., p. 2, at Gr. open. — rör h)ət-ōi p. 2, ər kub p. 2 'yala kat'; dar waze her kenef! p. 3. - Cf. Wkh. ot, Sar. hat, Shgh. het. - Lw.?  $(h)a^{\dagger}w\bar{a}$  Sgl. p. 2, 3,  $a^{\dagger}w\bar{a}i$  is.,  $haw\bar{a}$  Sk. air. —  $a^{\circ}$   $na^{\dagger}v\bar{o}i$  Sgl, is. it is raining; tar hao arazō p. 2 it flies through the air;  $a^{\circ}$   $d\bar{u}d$  p. 3 he sent (it) into the air (hawå dåd). - Ar.-Prs. hāuz Sgl. is., s., āuz p. 3, hauz p. 2 lake. Ar. Prs. ha zār Sgl. p. 2 one thousand. - Prs. hažidāu, v. hotəbos.

 $\check{J}$  (cf.  $\check{Z}$ ) jā Sgl. p. 2, Gr. (Zb.), jō Sk., jå Gr. place. — wok jā iðin Sgl. p. 2 I come to a place; az 'jō kənum Sk. I hide. - Prs. jε, v. ža. ju bår, v. jo var. justa ki Sgl. is, just te p. 1 twins. — \*Prs., cf. Yd. jift. ji'gar Sgl. p. 1, 2, Zb, Ishk, Sk., ār Sgl. p. 3 liver. — Prs. jih- Sgl. p. 2, s., je- is., jeh- p. 3: jest is., s., jist p. 2; jis : jist Sk. to flee, run away. - psā be ji hīm, 'jistəm Sgl. p. 2 'gurēxtam'; jehen p. 3 I am fleeing; imper. 2 sg. je is. Cf. Gr. jistuk fast (horse . — Prs. ji hān Sk. world. - Prs. il Sgl. p. 2 bridle. - Prs. jilau.

jald Sgl. p. 2 quick. — jald is come

quickly. - Ar.-Prs.

juäl  $d\bar{o}z$  Sgl. p. 1 packing-needle. — Prs. jalsa Sgl. p. 3 gathering, meeting. -Ar.·Prs. jila'yōk Sgl. is. spider. — Prs. julāh weaver. V. gilimbofak. jån Sk. sonl. — Prs. jnūb Sk. south. — Ar. Prs.  $j\bar{a}n'd\bar{a}r$  Sgl. p. 1, 3, s.,  $j\bar{a}^a n^a$  is. ram.  $j^{\circ}$   $k \partial^{\circ} l \bar{a} n$  p. 2 they kill a ram. — Prs, cf. Or. jondor ram.  $j\tilde{a}n\tilde{j}$  Sgl. p. 2, 3, s.,  $j\bar{o}^{\circ}$  p. 1,  $\tilde{z}\tilde{o}^{\circ}$  Ishk., Sk. woman.  $- < *jani \cdot ci, v. §§ 26,$ 97. Cf Yd. žinko. jan'war Zb., Ishk, male markhor. - Prs. V. žūōk. jang Sk. war. Prs. jangal Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 forest, jungle. -Prs. *jāˈrū* Ishk, broom. — Prs. je'rāb Sgl. is, p. 1 stockings. — Prs. jəs-, v. jih-.  $jov\bar{a}r$  Sgl is , p. 3,  $ju^{\circ}$  p. 2,  $juvw\bar{a}r$  p. 1, ju'bår Sk., ju'bār Gr. irrigationchannel, watercourse. - Prs. ju'wāb Sgl. p. 2 answer. — j' dē wok čizi answer me one thing. — Ar. Prs. ju'wān Sgl. p. 2, jə wön Sk. young. — Prs. juvă e Sgl. is. she calf, three years old, juå na Sk. heifer; ju(w)ā nē Sgl. p. 2, 3 male calf one (to two) years old. - Cf. Wkh. ju ana, Mj. ju ana. juwänma; di Sk. courage. – Prs. ju wārī Sgl. p. 1 jowar. — Prs. joz Sgl. is., joz p. 1 mosquito.

### K

hi, he Sgl., Ishk. that, when, etc. — Tira mā ke šīð when autumn came; ke warf dēð, nos kō-kwān Sgl. p. 2 because snow fell we could not (cross):  $\gamma \ddot{a} i \check{z} e \delta$  ke he said that; kasef ke . . .  $b \bar{\sigma}$  kunjay- $\bar{\sigma}$  look where he may be; mani zi Xudāi nast ka wo žanen p. 3 I have not such a God that they can kill him. — Prs.?

kai ken Sgl. s. to eructate(?). — Prs. qay vomiting.

 $k\bar{o}(i)$  Sgl. who? — V. § 119.

kō ken- Sgl. p. 2 to be able. — pāruzd-im šo'wāri ke'nūk nəst-əm kō-kuð yesterday I could not come (dīna raftu būdan na tånistem); ari ke'nūk kō kenen 'kår karda metånam'; nəs kō kwān we could not (nə tånistīm); nēr-əm kō-ko (= kuð) va hāri-dāk to day I could do the work.

ka'būl Sgl. p. 3 agreeing, believing. —
'az pə tō Xu'dāi k° 'nəsimō I don't
believe in thy God. — Ar.-Prs.

qabr Sk. tomb (high style). — Ar.-Prs.  $kabar^i\gamma\epsilon$  Sgl. p. 3,  $qabr^i\gamma\bar{a}$  Sk. rih. — Turk.-Prs.

ka'būt Sgl. p. 1, Ishk., ka'vūt Sgl. p. 3.
kabut Sk. blue. — Prs.
koc: kozd Sgl. s., p. 2 to copulate. —

kocen buš 'mēgāyam'. — Cf. kačāk? qai či Sk. seissors. — Prs.

kōci Sgl. p. 3 anybody. Cf. § 119.

'kūč(i) Sgl. p. 3, k'ūč Sk. wife. — kot ke kuč-i oγod he saw that his wife had arrived; wa xē kūč O, my wife. — Cf. Prs. kōč.

ka'čāk Sgl. p. 3 embrace. — k' nasen. qadam Sk. walk, pace. — Ar.-Prs.

qa'dim Sgl. is. ancient. — mə waxt-i q°. — Ar,-Prs.

ka¹δū Sgl. p. 2, Sk. gourd. — Prs. kuδ. k'uδ Sgl. is., p., s., k'ud Zb., Ishk.,

kəδ Sk. dog. — kuδ lavvi the dog barks. — Cf. Shgh. kud, etc., (v. Turner, Nep. Dict. s.v. kutv.

kuδum Sgl. p. 2, 3, kudum Gr. which? — V. § 119. — Possibly < \*katama-(ef. Skr.). but Av. katāma-. V. § 78 h ky δος Sgl. p. 2, 3, °los p. 2, s., Grammo-phone, kə δος p. 1, ko dos is.; yōzda Ishk., ada Sk., °dāu Zb. eleven. — Cf. §§ 93, 109.

kif. Gr. to pierce. — Cf. Shgh. ¿af-, Prs. kaftan to split.

 $k\bar{\imath}f$  Sgl. is., p. 1,  $k\bar{\imath}e\bar{f}$  p. 3.  $k\bar{\imath}f\bar{a}n$  Gr.,  $k\bar{\imath}g\bar{b}n$  Zer. hump. — Cf. Yd.  $k\bar{\imath}f\bar{c}$  Sgl. p. 2, Gr.,  $k\bar{\imath}of\bar{c}$  Sk., Zar. ladle. — Prs.

kaf-i-dest Sgl. is., p. 1, °dəst p. 3, °dast Sk., kaf Ishk., kaf Gr. palm of the hand. — Prs.

kaf-i-pā Sgl. p. 3, pu-kaf Gr. sole of the foot. — Prs.

ka fas Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) cage. — Prs. kafš Sgl. p. 2. Sk. shoe, — Prs.

kuft Sk. ill (from fever). — Cf. Prs. kufta bruised?

kūh Sk., is., p. 2, kōh p. 3, kō p. 1, kū Ishk. mountain. — co kū yūzo xasom Sgl. p. 2 we bring firewood from the hills. — Prs.

kāk Sgl. p. 1, qåq Sk, kåk Gr. dry. — 'qōq kənum Sk. I dry. — Prs.

kaig k Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk., käig Sk.,  $k\tilde{a}yi\gamma$  Gr. flea. — Prs.

k'al Sgl. p. 2 bald, kal Gr. hornless. — Prs.

kal Sgl. p. 1, Ishk., Zb. skull. — Cf. Shgh., Or. kāl.

qa'lā Sk. fortress. — Prs.

kəl- Sgl. p. 2, kul : kut s , kəl : kəld Sk., kəl : kut Zar., kut Gr., ket Gr. (Zb.) to kill, slaughter. — kuləm be Sgl. s.,  $j\bar{a}n\ d\bar{a}r^{\flat}$   $k^{\flat}l\bar{a}n$  p. 2. — Cf. Prs.  $ku\bar{s}tan$ , etc.

kull Sgl. p. 1. 2 all. — kull va tfak kasem
p. 1 we all see thee; hör kul(l):sön
p. 2 'hama-išån'. Cf. §§ 114. 119.
— Prs.

ku'lē Sgl. is., p. 1, ku'lā Sk. cap. — monā khu lā 'nīst Sk. I have no cap. — Prs.

kəl'ba Ishk, plough. — Prs. kul'ċā Sk, small cake. — Prs. kəlf Sgl. p. 2, q° Sk. lock. — Prs. kəlāċ Sgl. p. 2 fathom. — Prs.

kullax Gr. hard. — Cf. Prs. kulūx a clod, Bad. Prs. kulu.c thick, stout, Psht. klak hard.

ka'lān Sgl. p. 2 big, large. — miš tāt xān wo kī-ak k°-ū the house of our father is a little bigger (yak-taš kalāntar-a).
Prs.

ka'land Sgl. p. 1 hoe, mattock. — Prs. kōla'vā Sgl. p. 2 wooden bowl. — Derived from Prs. kōlāb pond, reservoir?

kala på Sk. down. — Cf. Yd. kalāpo, Sk. Mater. p. 262.

kul vår Sk. small mussuck. — Cf. Lentz käl wör 'rucksack '(searcely fr. Prs. xar l'wär). But ef. Prs. (mod. coll.) kūlabār knapsack; Taj. kulvor mussuck.

kaule žik Ishk. tadpole. — Cf. Prs. kafčalēz(ak) id., kaflēzak. etc. ladle. ka'ļī Sgl. p. 2 key. — Prs., cf. Yd. kaliyo. kī'ēļ Sgl. is., p. l, kiēļ s, kiē'ļāk p. 3, kxl Ishk., kĕl, kil Sk., "kirh" MFB, kel Gr. knife. — Cf. Yd. 'keyo.

kām Sgl. p. 1, kōm Zar. palate. — Prs. kā māk Sgl. is., p, kamok Ishk., ka'muk ar'qa Sk., kamuk Gr., kâ mī "Wkh." back, spine. — p-tō ka'mām-mō I am

behind thee, — Cf. Prs. kam waist, < \*hamb- to hend?

kai'mōk Ishk. eream. — Turk.-Prs.

kū mak Sk. help, assistance. — k° kən help. — Turk,-Prs.

ka'mān-i Res tam Sgl. is., p. 1, ka'mān-i Rus tem Ishk., °stōm Sk. rainbow. — Prs.

kam'pīr Sk. old woman. — Prs. — Cf. - s.v. tandur.

ka'mar Sgl. p. 2, Zb. rock. — Pts. 'kamar Zb. rib(?). — Prs.  $k^{\circ}$  waist.  $ke\,mur$  Sk. pit-coal. — Turk.

kamar band Sk. belt. - Prs.

kəmay-: kəmaid Sk., kam-: kimd Gr. (Zb.) to wish. — Cf. Wkh. kəmi-. Shgh. čemb-, Orosh. čin- (with -n-from): čint, etc.; Oss. komun.

kan-: könd Sgl. p. 3, kan-: künd Sk to dig. — 'kanen Sgl. p. 3, 'kanum, kun, kündum, 'künduk, 'kanuk. Sk. — Cf. Prs. kandan.

ken- Sgl., is., p., s., Ishk.: kul Sgl. is., kul p. 1, kub p. 2, kəb p. 3, kol s., kul Ishk., kən-: kūl Sk. to make. do.—arī kenen, ari-m kul Sgl. is.; az-əm ari kul; az (h'arī kenen, az-əm hārī kub, arī-m kuū vəb 'karda būdam'; -o kuōk 'kardast' p. 1; nēr-əm kō-ko va hārī bak to-day I could do the work; to-wə āri kuō vəl i p. 2 hast thou done the work? kenem, arī-m hol s.; k'enum, azi ari k'uluk Ishk.— Cf. Yd. kən-

kīlnā Sk. hate. — ko konum I hate — Prs.

kūnā Sk. ancient. — as'tā kūna gap('hā, is there an ancient word? — Prs.

kund Sgl. is., p. 1 blunt. — Prs. kan dāk Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, kondok Zb., kåndak Gr. thorn. — Borr. from IA.?? kundē Sgl. p. 2 stem, stump of a tree.— Prs.

kun'jā Sgl. p. 2, 'jāi p. 3, 'kənjå, kə dəmjå Sk. where? — am c-kunjā-ē Sgl. p. 2 from where is he? (mə\) kunjāy-o p. 3 where is he (da kijō st.\) Amir Bek xân kə\dəmjå\) Sk. — Wkh. kunjai; cf. kuðum.

Lun dar ken- Sgl. p. 3 to tear to pieces, of. Gr. kan dar kul. -- IA, of. Pauj. kundhar ruin?

ha pāl Gr. skull. — From Khow. Cf. Charpentier. MO, 26, p. 39).

kar Sgl. p. 1, 2, Ish't, deaf, Sk. dumb, har·mō šyuh I have become dumb, — Prs.

k qăr Sk. anger. — az-im kār kənum, mun kar-xtuk I become angry my anger has risen). — Ar.Prs.

ki<sup>i</sup>rā Sgl, p. 2 why? — k<sup>o</sup> nēst σ̄<sub>γ</sub>ō̄<sub>δ</sub> why didn't he come? — Adapted from Prs. čirā.

kīr-: kurt Sgl. p. 2, : kīrod Zar. to plough.
za mīn kīren, za mīn m kurt.
\*kāraya-, cf. Yd. kār-, Sak. kerto sow, v. EVP s.v. karal, Charpentier MO, 26, pp. 101 saq.

kör Sgl. is., p., kür Ishk., Sk., Gr. blind. — kör o šyuk. — Prs.

q ka'rīb Sgl. p., is. close, near. — am .vān q°-ūi is.; aδa āδam dīr-ūi, ama āδam k'-ū p. 1. — Ar.-Prs.

krić Gr. hut on the summer-pasture. — Cf. Wkh. ktić. V. § 22. But also Prs. kurić, kuriz, etc.

kur'ēun Sgl. is, p. 1, s., "Wkh.", 'kur'
p. 3, ker' Gr. (Zb., kər'ēin Zb.,
Gauth., kr Sk., kərĕin Ishk. fowl.
— \*kyka- + ċūn (ef. § 26). V. Yd.
kirio.

kur'čūn zəmā'nī Sgl. is. chicken.

kīrāg Sgl. is., p. 1 plough. — Cf. kīr., kör gar Sgl. p. 3 dust (misunderstanding of Prs. gard?.

kark sang Ishk. handmill. — ? + sang. kur pē Sgl. p. 1, kər pā Sk. (large) bedding. kurpa ča Sk. small) bedding. — Prs. kurpa ča Sk. mosquito. — Cf. Yd. id. ka rār Sgl. p. 2 in tale) stopping, waiting. — mə asmān k² līð it stopped in the sky. — Ar.-Prs.

ka rér Ishk, yesterday, — Cf. Prs. kardā yesterday [cf. fardā], and parér day before yesterday.

kər sī Sk. chair - Ar.-Pr..

koro sī Zb. back-tooth.

ko'rost Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, hurust Ishi; Gr. kra ost Sk skin (of human beings ace, to Sgl.\(^{\)} - Cf. Yd ka r\(\)ast. Wkh, kurust.

ka råš Sk. brown beans. — Cf. Wkh. k<sup>3</sup> rēň.

kīriš Sgl. p. 2 ploughiug. - V. kīr.

ku rūt Sgl. p. 2, qu'rut Sk. dried buttermilk. — Turk.

kərvi sih Sgl. is., p. 3, eve sih p. 1, har bas Sk. lizard (karbāš). — Cf. Yd. harbəsa, etc.

kor yős Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 vulture. — Cf. Yd. karroz.

kas: kot Sgl. p. 1. 3. has hast Six, haskut Sk. to see, look. — az t<sup>9</sup>fak 'kasen; 2 sg. kasī; kull-mōn-dak va t<sup>9</sup>fak 'kasem p. 1 we all see thee: kasef look out: h'as look! 'na kasī; mum-bō hasū it seems to me?'; tar-fak ha'sāk?' Sk. — Av. kas-, cf. EVP. s.v. hatəl.

'hāsē Sgl. p. 2. l'åsa Sk. big wooden dish. — Prs

qaus Sk. late antumn. — Ar. Prs.

kus Sgl. p. 2, 3, is. vulva. - Prs. V. huš.

kis kūδ Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., "Wkh.", kəskūd Ishk., kòo Zar., kg kū Sk. roof. -Cf. Yd. iščī, Wkh. iskakut. has sal Sk. illness. - Ar.-Prs. qa'sam Sgl. p. 2 oath. — qo be xwāren I swear - Ar.-Prs. qism Sgl. is. kind, sort. — Ar. Prs. kas yok Sgl. is. leather strap in a pellet kuš, kš Sk. vnlva. — Cf. Wkh. kiš; Or. kawuj (kaw- < \*kušā?), Saka  $k(u)v\check{a}ysa < *ku\check{s}\bar{a}\cdot za\cdot (?)$ . V. kus. kəšikår Zb., Ishk. ram. — Cf. Wkh. kuškor male urial, Bad. Prs. kiškār, etc. qiš'låq Sk. village — Turk. kištī Sgl. p. 3 boat. — Prs. kaš'viš Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, kašviš Gr. armpit. - kaš prob. from Prs., cf. bayalviš, viš, Wkh. kalzban, Sogd. 'pkš 'flane' (not with Benveniste, JRAS, 1933, p. 48 lw. from IA.). ka ta 1) Ishk., Gr. (Zb.) big. - Turk., ef. Shgh., Or. kat ta. ka'ta<sup>2</sup>) Ishk. he-goat. — Cf. ka'ta<sup>1</sup>). kūtī Sgl. p. 2 rock-crystal, bulūr. - Cf. Prs. qūti a box in which precious stones are preserved??  $ka^{\dagger}t\bar{a}n\partial k$  Sgl. p. 2 linseed  $(z\partial^{\dagger}\gamma\bar{e}r)$ . — Prs. katān a grain from which oil is extracted.

katān a grain from which off is extracted.

katta-nar'xāk Sk. thnmb. — V. ka'ta.

ki'tāv Sgl. p. 2, ki'tōb Ishk. book. —

'mənə wo ki'tāv östō I have a book.

— Ar.-Prs.

kutox Sgl. p. 1 butter-milk. — Tnrk.
Prs. qātiq.

kut Sgl. p. 1, kot Sk. short. — IA, cf. Shgh. k'ut (borr. through Ishk.?).

qīv ken- Sgl. p 3, qēw-: qēwd Sk., : qīvd
Gr. (Zb.) to summon. — Cf. Wkh.

qīw, etc.

kō vīδ Sgl. is., p. 1, s., 'kovið p. 3, kovdð Ishk., 'kâwid Sk., ku² Gr., kovīd Zar., ko'wīδ "Wkh." pigeon. — Cf. Yd. kovio.

qwat'dār Sk. strong. — Ar. Prs. kyēv' žāk'g Sgl. is., p. 1, s., kēv° p. 2, 'kevžuk

Gr., oq Zar. magpie, yalbək. — Cf. Yd. kyunyo.

kāw-: kōnd Sgl. p. 2 to dig. — zamīn be k'āwən, z°-em k'ōndəm. — Cf. Sar. kauam, Shgh. Sk. kōw-. — V. kan-. kāx link Sk. calf of the leg (? Prob. shinbone). — Cf. Shgh. kâk-e-ling, etc. kāz Sgl. is., p. 1, qåz Sk. goose. — Turk. Prs.

k'åz Sk. dirty.

kā zī Sk. judge. — Ar.-Prs.

 $k\bar{v}^iz\bar{c}$  Sgl. p. 1, 2,  $k\bar{u}za$  Ishk. jar. — Prs.  $ku\ \check{z}\check{u}k$  Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s.,  $k\dot{v}\dot{z}ik$  Zb.,  $ku\ \check{j}uk$  Ishk.,  $ku\ \check{z}uk$  Sk. bull. — Cf. Yd.  $qi\ \check{a}_{?}$ 

#### L

la ken- Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, s. to leave behiud.

— la-ku'rō-mōi is. 'mānda-im'; lā-kuō 'mānd', la-kūān 'māndan' p. 2;
wok čīzī la-kenen p. 3, s., 'paša wok
nesi la-koi not one mosquito remained.

— Cf. Shgh., Or. lā(k) ken-; Wkh.
la-car-, Khow. lā-k-.

lo'i Ishk, clay. — Prs. lāy mnd, sediment.
 lab Zb., Ishk., lavē, lav (in a transferred sense) Sk. lip. — Prs.

labla bū Sgl. p 2 beetroot. — Prs.

lēf Ishk. bedding, coverlet. — Bad., etc. lēf, Ar. Prs. liḥāf.

la rat Sgl. p. 2 step, trace. — Prs.

 $l\bar{a} \ k\bar{\imath}n$  Sgl. p. 1, 2 belt.

līnjek Zb., pešur linj Sk. cheek. —
Prs., Wkb. lunj (cf. Sar. nūrj <
\*nūnj, lunj\*).</pre>

lang Sgl. p. 2 lame. — Prs.

ling Sk. leg. - Prs.

lip Sk. in fai lip very much. — Cf. Wkh. lup big?

lës-: let Sgl. p. 2, s., lës-: lišt I-hk., līs-:
līsud Zar. to lick. — lēsen, letəm
Sgl. p. 2, lēsum, -um lišt Ishk. — Prs.
laškar Sgl. p. 3 army. — mən lə məd-o my army is here. — Prs.

lav- Sgl. p. 2 to bark. — kuð lavði. — Cf. Or. lav , Sligh. lūv- to speak — V. belav-.

lavz Sgl. p. 1 word, speech. — are va to lavz petrinen I understand thy speech.
 — Ar. Prs.

lèw (muluk) Sk. idiot, madman, demon; leu, lèv Gr. stupid, mad, lèw nightmare. — a'wī lèw s³ duk Sk. he became mad. — From Mj.?

ləxê Sgl. s., bəlaxš- s., p. 3 to slide, slip.
— ləxêōu-š slides; bələxêā-st s. —
Prs. laxšīdan.

la žām Sgl. is., p. 2, ān p. 3. 'jām Sk. bit of a bridle. — Prs.

#### M

mā Sgl. is, p. 1, 2, mō Sk. month; mā Gr. moon. — woh mā wōða hast Sgl. p. 2 he stays there for a month. — Prs.

mai, v. mēl.

ma, mə Sgl. is, p. in. to, etc. — mə waxt-i qadīm is. in olden times; mə Kāfiren itīn they arrived among the Kafirs; tə ma xān darūn-dō thon art inside the house; vēk mə piālē nūšen I pour water into the cup; mən ingigit mə šə nai təð p. 2 my finger was burnt in the fire; ma mən xoðm-dak gab dehef p. 3 explain about my 26 — Kulturforskning.

dream. — Prob. an unstressed form of mēδ. Cf. § 107.

ma Sk. look here. — ma təməxbā, ma təbå, ma imbå.

mēi Sgl. is., p 1, 2, mē p. 3. mē s., mi Gr.
 (Zb) day; mai Sk, Gr. noon. — wog,
 dō, rōi mēi p. 2 a few days. — Cf.
 Yd. mix.

·mō I am. - V. § 120 f.

 $m\bar{e}i$  Sgl. is., p. cloud. — Cf. Prs.  $m\bar{e}_{i}$ , etc. V. § 31.

 $m\bar{v}$  Sgl. is., p., s.,  $m\hat{a}$   $\bar{v}$  Sk. fish. — Prs.  $m\bar{u}$   $b\bar{v}$  Sk. hither. — Cf.  $am_{\bar{v}}(a)$ .

mič. etc. us, v. amax.

mācik Sgl. is., °'cik p. 3, mōča-kōd Zar, she dog. — Cf. Yd. ma'cīo.

maida Sgl. p. 2 small, fine. — va durk tovor m° kenen. — Prs.

mai dān Sgl. p. 1, 2, mai bān p. 3 a plain; flat. — Turk. Prs.

mådi yån Zb., Ishk., Sk. mare. — Prs
mèδ Sgl. is., p., Zar., mēd Ishk., Sk. Gr.
(Zb.) waist. — Av. maiδya-, cf. Wkh.
mād, Shgh. mīδ, Yd. məlān.

mod(ak) Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, madak Ishk.. Gr. (Zb.), mā(da)k Sk. here. — az·mō mo mōd nilōstok I am sitting here; mō šo come here(?); mō nīd p. 2 sit down here; mən fauj mə mōd o p. 3 my army is here; azi madak ari k'enum Ishk. I am working here; azī māk fərīnum Sk. I am left behind here.

māð dar Sgl. p. 3 mother. — In the expression: ma rām-i māðar in his mother's womb. — Prs.

 $m \sigma_i \alpha \delta a k$  (?) Sgl. p. 3 =  $m \delta \delta \sigma_i \alpha \delta a k$ ? Cf. Texts V, 35.

mo; 'ðök Sgl. is., s., moko'd/ðok p. 1, 3, mûkdûk Sk., mukuduk Gr., "Wkh." frog.

mawrib Sk. west. — Ar.-Pr.

morz Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, marz Ishk. Zar.
marrow (Sgl. p 1, Ishk. also 'brain').
Prs. (or morz genuine?).

moyz-i sor Sgl. p. 3, sor-moyz is. brain. mu'ja Ishk., mažo Zb. eyelashes. — Prs. meh'mān Sgl. is., mē° p. 2 guest. — Prs. mak me, v. § 110 f.; cf. az.

mākək Sgl. is, hen. — Cf. Wkh. mōk, Prs. māk.yān.

mai kēnī Sk. noon. - V. mēi.

māl Sgl. p. 2 property, possessions. — Ar. Prs.

mēl Sgl is., p. 1, 3, s. Zb., Ishk., Sk. Gr. female sheep, "Wkh." female oorial. — Cf. Yd. mūo.

māl dār Sgl. p. 2 rich. — Ar.-Prs. mulûk Sk. dinner.

mə'lāim Sgl. p. 3 soft. — Ar. Prs.

mil'təq Sgl. p. 2, mə° Sk. gun. — pə m° pēūn dehen p. 2. — Turk., ef. Wkh. ma'lax Sgl. is., p., s. locust. — Prob.

a'lax Sgl. is., p., s. locust. — Pro-Prs.

māļ Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., mōļ Sk. husband. —
 mən māļ Sgl. p. 1. — Cf. Yd. mεγ.
 V. māˈlōk.

mā'ļōk Sgl. is., 'mōluk Ishk., 'muļuk Sk., målāk Gr. (Zb.) husband, man. — fai mo ari kenū Ishk. many men are working; urwēsak- (xūg-) gnik ma'ļûk Sk. a fox-like (pig-like) man. — < \*martyaka-.

mŭmbuči nãi wdū<sup>\*</sup><sub>γ</sub> Sk. female cousin. --Cf. s.v. wuδθγδ.

mai műn Sgl. p. 1 monkey. — Ar.-Prs. mīn: mīnd Sk. to sleep, v. mis. mən my, v. § 110 f.

-mon encl. pron. 1 pl., v. § 114.

mo no kən- Sk. to resemble. — Prs.

mindăk Sgl. p. 1, Ishk. sleep, asleep. am āδam minduk-ūi; hama āδam minduk-ūn p. 1; azī madak minduk-um Ishk. I am asleep here;  $azi c n^{\circ}$  x > tul: I have risen from sleep. — Perf. of mis.

min'dal Sk. chair(?). — Cf. Prs. mindal table-cloth, etc.?

man'jē Sgl. p. 1 bed. — Cf. Mj. 'mānjo, Wkh. manja. — IA.

mēļ Sgl. is., s, mžēļ p., mēn Zb., mēnd Ishk., Sk. mīnd Gr., mend Zar. apple. — wok miēļ əm yō-vē dūðū veð Sgl. p. 2 'yak sēba ūra dāda būdam'. — Cf. "Wkh." mə'nū, Wkh. mūr, Shgh. mūn, Yd. â'muno.

man'yār Sgl. p. 1, 3, mani'ār Zb., Ishk. mist, fog. — Par. man'yār mist, Shgh. steam, Taj. (Wakhio Bolo) maniyāl 'tuman' Kislyakov, Trudy Tadž. Bazy, III, p. 55.

mānḍ-Sgl.is., p. 3, s., mānḍr- p. 1 · māndaδ p. 1, s., mənd- Ishk., mənḍ- Zar. to rub, smear. — mānḍ⟨r⟩en Sgl. is., p. 1; mānḍaδəm is., məndum Ishk. — Cf. Yd. magy-, Wkh. mänḍ-, etc.

mur: moļ Sgl. p. 2, my-, moļ: moļd Sk.,
mur: mul Gr. (Zb.), mor: moļ Zar.
to die. — am ādam mu'rō be (be
mu'rō) p. 2 this man is dying; ī ādam
moṛ; šənāy-əm mo'ļōk p. 2 my(?) fire
is dead (: has gone out); moļum,
moļ! (myl), moļdum, mļuk he died
Sk. — Cf. Yd. mor.

mūr Sgl. is., p. 1 centipede. — Cf. Prs. mār snake.

mörē (-3·) Sgl. p 3, mūrē s. red ant; murē Ishk. ant. — Borr. from Prs. mörēa, ef. Shgh. mūrj; Wkh. murēa; Par. mūcō, etc. Cf.:

māricik Sgl. is., s. (black?) ant. — < \*marwi-ci-Cf. Orm.mar'cōi, Yd. morro. mur'dzk Sk., Gr. small ring. — V. cāmmərdikōq.</p>

mar'dum people. — Prs. mēry Sgl. p. 2, 3 meadow. — Cf. Yd. mīryo. mər yōk/g Sgl. is., p., s.. "Wkh." mar yōk, mr'yuk Sk., muryuk Gr sparrow. Cf. Yd. brayiko.  $m\partial r^{\dagger}\gamma\bar{a}v\bar{\imath}$  Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s,  $mur^{\dagger}\gamma\bar{a}u\bar{\imath}$  Ishk. duck. - Prs. miros Sk. inheritance. — Ar.-Prs. mis Sgl. p. 2, 3, Sk. brass. - Prs. mis. Sgl. s., : mind- p. 1, min-: mind Sk. to sleep. -- Prob. Sgl. mis-: mind (cf. faris: fariad; frinduk tired);  $m\ddot{\imath}s < *m\ddot{\imath}s < *ham-hufsa$  (cf. S.ik. hūs, Yaghn. ūfs,-but Benveniste, JRAS, 1933, p. 49  $\bar{u}fs$ - < Sogd.  $w^{3}\beta s$ -= Bal. wafsay(?), with preter. on the analogy of faris, and secondary pres. mīn-. — Cf. minduk, misūk. mis Zb. nose. — Cf. Wkh. mis. mus Gr. clothes. - For \*muc < mauča-? mūisa fēd Sk. old man. — Prs. muså fer Sk. traveller. - Ar. Prs. mi'sūk Sgl. p, ouk Sk. sleep, dream; Sgl. p. 1, Gr. pillow. —  $b\bar{e}\delta\bar{a}r$  šī $\delta$  ce misūk p. 2 he awoke from sleep; me  $mis\bar{u}(k)$ -mo p. 2 I am asleep;  $mi_isuk$ -um 'vend Sk. I dreamt; mo mag 'naduk Sk. I will sleep (: sleep has seized me). — V. mis. mau'söm Sk. season. — Ar.-Prs. māst Ishk. curds. — Prs. māst Sgl. p. 2 fat (alj.). — Prs. mast. mūš Ishk, mouse, - Prs. n vškrl Sgj. p. 2 difficult. — Ar.-Prs. mēš-i kiš kor Sgl. is. oorial. - \*Prs. maš riq Sk. east. — Ar.-Prs. m3t Sgl. is., p. 3, m3t p. 2, mvt p. 1, Zb., mot Ishk., mut "Wkh.", mut Sk., muț Gr., mot Zar. fist. — < \*mušti-, ef. Yd. mišč. Shgh., Or. mut prob. from Ishk.

må tou Zb., Ishk., 'mātåb Sk. moon. — Prs. <sup>1</sup>mēva Sk. fruit. — Prs. mux, v. amax. mēx 1) Sgl. p. 1, Ishk., Sk. nail, peg. -Prs.  $m\bar{e}x^2$ ) Sgl. p. 1, 2 table ? . — kitāv mēx sor-o 'sar-i mëz': kitav mëx sor-om nüšəδ. — Cf. mēz. max'luk Sgl. p. 2 people. — maxlu'kān gu δόm xaštān, cf. Texts II, 2. - Ar.-Prs. mux'lis Sk. honest. — Ar.-Prs. mi yān(e) Sgl. p. 2, mayo në Sk. middle; mi'yan Zb. waist. — ma mi'yane-mo I am in the middle of the house. - Prs. mēz Sgl. p. 2, Ishk, Sk. table — ce mēz viš under the table. — Prs. V. mēx 1. moz Sk? - Cf. s.v. befår-.  $mu'\check{z}ik$  Sgl. is., p. 3,  $m\partial'\check{z}ik$  p. 2,  $mu'\check{z}ik$ Ishk., Sk. green peas, mušeng. — Cf. Bad. Prs. mužuk a kind of pulse or bean; Wkh. mu'žek hail.

### N

na. nə Sgl. p. 2, 3, Ishk., Sk., Gr, nō Sk.
not. don't. — Cf. Prs. na, etc.
nai Ishk., na Gr. (Zb.) reed. — Prs.
näi—näi Sgl. p. 2, nō—nō Sk. neither—
nor. — näi xēsta, näi pəðf neither
bread nor meat.
nou Sgl. is., p. 1, s., Sk., nöu p. 2, 3, nåu
Zb., nao Ishk., naw Gr., nň Zar.
nine. — Cf. Yd. nōu.
nä'bät Sk. a plant. — Ar. Prs. nabt.
nic Ishk., Sk., Gr., nīc Gr. (Zb.) nose.
— Cf. "Wkh." nic (< Ishk.), Sogd.
nyō, Shgh. nēj, Or. nōj < \*nāh-cī
(or \*nahya-cī\* Cf. Meillet, BSL, 23,
p. 108).

nīδ: nilost Sgl. p., s., nīd-: nīd Ishk.. nīd-: nulust Gr., : nalāst Gr. (Zb.), nid: nolost Zar. to sit down; nīd-: nītt. Sk. to sit, to put ?); : nəlūst Sk. to set. — nī mōδak Sgl. is. sit down here; az-mo nilostog p. 1 I am sitting; azə niden I sit down; nidum buš, nīdef, nilosto mö p. 3; nīdəm, nilöstəm s.; nīdum, nīd! nīduk-um Ishk. I am sitting; šak-o nilöstok Sgl. p. 2 dew has falleu; 'rēmuz 'nəlüst'(uk) Sk. the sun (has) set. -- \*ni-hida-: ni-šasta-. cf. Sak. náttá < \*ni-hidati : nitasta-< \*ni-šast i-; Yd. niž-. noδ-, v. nas-.  $n\bar{\imath}\delta dk$  Sgl. p. 1, 3, s.  $\dot{\imath} d\bar{\imath}dk$  is., nudukIshk, buttermilk, düy; nuduk-wek Gr. whey; "neduk" MFB curd (corrupted by Tomaschek, BB. 7, into newak, and by Geiger, Et. Bal., s.v. nēmay, into nēwak). - Cf. Yd. niya. nāf Sgl. is., p., Gr., nāf Ishk., Sk., nōf Zar. navel. - Prs. nāyδ Zb. night. — Prob. a Wkh. word. na hang Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) sea monster, crocodile. - Prs. nēk Sk. good. — Prs. ni kā Sgl. p. 2 wedding. - Prs. magl kan Sk. to tell. - Ar.-Prs. nakma sa,bab (ki) Sk. therefore. — Cf. naksō. nau'kar Sk. servant. - Prs. nok? re Sgl. is., p. 3, °kre p. 1, nuq'ra Sk. -silver. - Ar.-Prs. nak'so Ishk. now. — Cf. nakma, Gr. nak-dås thus; nak-wa this; cf. Wkh. nik-hazi so, Sar. nak-dâs so, nak-yam

this same, Yaghn nah-it 'hamīn'.

(Junker, Drei Erz. auf Yaghn. p. 23).

and Sgl. p. 1. Zar., nul Sk. beak. -- Pro-

-sō < \*sắt, Ar.-Prs. sã'at?

nul sor Sgl. is, sole of the foot. nēmē Sgl. p. 2 half-full. - Cf. Prs. nīmapur, etc. nim Sgl. p 2, Sk., nem Gr. (Zb.) name. — tə ce nīm-dō? Daulat Bēk-ō mən nīm p. 2; īn nīm čīz? Sk. - Av. nānan-. namb Sgl is. wet. - Early lw from Pis, cf. Shgh. namb, Mj. nob.  $nn m \bar{n} \delta$  Sgl. p. 1,  $n \rho$  p. 3, namad Sk. felt. — Cf. Yd <sup>†</sup>nāmyo.  $n \sigma m \bar{e}_{Y} \delta$  Sgl. is,  $\bar{e}k$  p. 1, 2,  ${}^{\circ}e \delta k$  p. 3, ne mērd s., na mak Zb., nu moh Ishk.),  $namur_{\gamma}$ āk, namu $l_{\gamma}$   $\check{\gamma}$ āk Sk., namu $l_{\gamma}$ ak Gr. salt. - Cf. Yd. no mālyo. numul Zar, to shut one's eye. - Cf. Yd. nəmiž. nam nåk Sk. wet, moist. - Prs. nīm šab Sk. midnight. — Prs. nomay: nomayd Sk. to show. - to nəmay məmbå Amir Bek xån show me A. B.'s house. - Prs.? na māz Sgl. p. 3, °ōz Sk. prayer. — n°·i īδ-i Rama zān Sgl. p. 3. — Prs. nan Sgl. p., non Ishk., nan Sk., Gr. (Zb.) mother. — Cf. Yd. nīno. nend-: ned-Sk. to plant, - < \*nihā ne daya, cf. Wkh. nūnd: nūtt. nar Sk. irrigation channel, aryq (larger than jubår). - Ar. Prs. nahr. nēr Sgl. is., nēr p. 1, 2, Ishk., Sk., Gr., nyēr p. 2, neēr p. 1) to-day. — nēr hēći -a mo nes xorok p. 2 to-day I haven't eaten anything; nēr'šab Sk. -Cf. Wkh. ner; but Shgh., Or. nur < Av. nūrəm. nar Sk. light, brightness. - Ar.-Prs. nēr-fər šöu Sgl. p. 2, nēr šab Sk. yesternight. nark Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, nark Gr., Zar. male: Sk. male sheep. -- Cf. Yd. nar.

narm Ishk. soft. Prs.
naranjojšk Sgl. p. 3 thumb. — Prs.
nar asp Sk. stallion. — Prs.
nar voz Sgl. is., "vuz Ishk. he-goat. —

narvəz Sgl. is., °vuz Ishk. he-goat. — V. vəz.

nar xōk/g Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., nəˈxuk Ishk., narˈxāk Sk., narxa "Wkh." nail. — \*naxra-ka. ef. Yd. anaxno, Wkh. dəgər, and Notes on Shgh. s.v. nâ xūn. nau¹rōz e· Sgl. p. New-Yea: festival. —

Cf. Texts, HI, 5. — Prs. nas-: nöδ Sgl. is., p., s.; nas: nad Gr. to take, seize; nas- Sk. to hold. - nasem bəs, be nasöe 'mēgirad'; nöbəm, nasök Sgl. is., nasen, notom p 1, 3; do  $r\bar{p}p\bar{e}$ nōδ; xāfuk-o no δōk 'silfa giriftast'; nasem be po dand p. 2 I bite; co'fūr koryos nas 'bigīr'; ka'čāke nasen p. 3 I embrace: na sem, 'nodem s., 'na nasi Sk. dost thou not hear? - Not fr. Av. ni-yās- (or, better, yā-, v. Meillet. BSL. 24, 117) to keep down, hold; Sogd. ny"s- to hold, seize. But cf. Yaghn. nās-: nāt; Sak, nā- (nās-: nāta-), Psht.  $nas : n\bar{\imath}w \cdot ul$ , Orm.  $nas : n\bar{\imath}k \ (*nafta - ??)$ . nəsm Sgl. p. 3 middle. — In nəsm-i asmān.

nesme'šav Sgl. p. 2 midnight. — Ar. Prs. nest, etc., Sgl. p. 2, 3, näs, nist Sk., nast Gr. (Zb.) is not. — pāruzd-im šo'wāri ke'nūk nəst-əm kō-kuð I could not go yesterday (dīna rafta būdan na tānistem); am xān mənen nest-ē this house is not mine, nəs kō-kwān they couldn't; awē heči nes xolok Sgl. p. 2 he has not eaten anything; paša wok nesi la-koi p. 3 he does not leave a mosquito; ciz tōt 'nist |ō;ad Sk. why didst thou not come? az-im nas-pzind Sk. I did not understand this. — From nēst (Prs.?), cf. § 123.

- Ar.-Prs., cf. Färizändī, etc. næsm.

nāš:: nūšəð Sgl. p. 2, : nešt Gr. (Zb.) to throw, put. — wok čīzī be nūšen; cīzī-m nūšəð; ki tāv mēx sōr-əm nūšəð I put the book on the table. — Cf. Sīwandī nōš-: nōt andāxtan'<\*nāšš-.

haš Sgl. p. 2 tasting. – nūš konen haēċāšam'. — Prs.

ne šān Egl. p. 2 showing. — n' be dēem. — Pis.

ni šoim Sgl. is. ¬ərm p. 2, 3 the shady side of a valley. — Cf. Wkh. nišir\u`m, etc., Mj nosīy.

nāštē Sgi. p. 2 dirty. — Cf. Prs. našt spoilt, withered.

nušt, v. nez.

nāštar Sgl. is. pine tree. — Cf. Psht. najtar (< Prs. ništar a lancet??).

not Sgl. p. 2 play, game. — šā nad kenuk 'mērim, bāzī mēkim'. — IA.

nav- Sgl. is, to rain. — a'wāi na või. — Cf. "Wkh." nāv rain, Yd. nov.

nīv: nīvo Sgl. is. to bring (an animated being). — nīven 'mērasānem'; nīvo 'rasānd'; nīvoet'daryāvat (=daryāft, kat'. — Cf. Av. nay (scarcely \*niapaya-), and Yazdi nīv 'to send' with unexplained v.

no võk Sgl. is, na° p. 1, 3, nok MFB rain. — V. nav.

no'ves Sgl. p 1, "Wkh.", ne'våsa Ishk., 'navvs Gr. grandchild. — Cf. Yd. nowīsa. Ishk. from Prs.

nəviš : nəvišt Sgl. is., p. 2, ni wiš-: niwišt Sk. to write. — pəsā(d) be nevišen Sgl. p. 2. — Prs.

na wãδ Egl. is., p. ninety. — Prs.

nowsδ/dos Sgl. grammophone, is.. nouδ5s p. 1, 2, °δ5s p. 3, 'novsδos s., nuτ'däu Zb. nineteen,

nə wök Sgl. p. 2, nöu Ishk. mill-race. — Cf. Yd. nawo 7ö.

nu wõk Sgl. p. 2. nawuk Gr. new. - Cf. Yd. nowo vo. newar- Gr. (Zb.) to draw (water). - Cf. Yd. navor-. na x d Sgl. p. 2 pea. -- Prs. nax'šīn Sk. striped. — Ar.-Prs. \*naoš īn? ná usb Sk. under-bailiff. - Ar.-Prs. ni vok Sgl. is. reed. - V. nai. něz-: nost Sk., : nušt Gr., našet Gr. (Zb.) to go out, emerge. - Cf. Wkh. niuz-: niešt, Yaghn, nīž-, nīšt, possibly \*nižita- > \*ništ, with secondary present stem nez- (and Sk. secondary past base nest), cf. Yd. s.v. ni-. nuz'dāu, v. nowəδos. -- Prs. na žār Sgl. is. carpenter. — Ar.-Prs.

## $\boldsymbol{P}$

pa, pa Sgl. p. 2, 3 on, with, etc. - nasem be po dānd I bite; po miltog pčūn dehen I shoot with a gun; pa ryēvn ba pacen I cook with ghee; pa toror with an axe; po wāda hīt 'ba wāda rasīd'. - V. 107 c; ef. Yd. po pai Sgl. p. 2, 3 tendon. — Prs. pōi Sgl. p. 1, is, Gr., pai Ishk., pāi Sk. sour milk, jurvāt. -- Cf. Yd. poya. pū- Zar. to become rotten; pūduk rotten. - Cf. Yd. pio. pəb-: pəvð Sgl. p. 3 to blow. — pəbəm bəš, pəvdəm. — V. puf (pəb- second. pres. from pavδ-). pu band Sk. instep. - Ishk.-Prs., v. pūδ. pac- Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., Ishk. : pax- Sgl. p. 1, 3, pax- s., puxt Ishk, paz-: pazd Sk. to cook; piz-: puxt Sk. to boil. pa'cen, pubf-um po'xəm Sgl. p. 1; pu'xō has boiled p. 3; pa'cəm, pə'xem s.; pacum, putfum puxt Ishk.; azi pizum, azim puxt Sk. - paz- from

Prs.;  $p\bar{\imath}z$  <  $pa\check{e}aya$ , with z from Prs.; puxt either from Prs., or, more probably, from Sgl. pux, cf. Shgh pēxt. — Cf. Yd. pēća Sgl. is., p. 1 curl. - Prs.  $pe^{i}\check{c}uk$  Sgl. is., p. 1. pucuk Gr. worm. — \*p<sup>9</sup>rčuk, cf. Wkh. p<sup>9</sup>rīč?? pə cūn Sgl. p. 2. pucun Gr., pə cen Gauthiot (I-hk.) bullet. - pa miltag pcun dehen I shoot with a gun. -Gauthiot (MSL, 20, p. 70 compares Prs. paikān. Arm. patkan . but  $k > \tilde{c}$ is not probable.  $< *p\bar{u}\vartheta + c\bar{u}n$ , cf. Yd. płž? V. § 37. pəču'waxšt(?) Sgl. p. 2 at last — Incorrect for waxt? vai'dā Sgl. p 2, 3 born, appearing.  $z\bar{o}t$   $p^{\circ}$   $\tilde{s}i\delta$  p. 2, wok  $\tilde{s}er$   $p^{\circ}$   $\tilde{s}i\delta$  a lion appeared; dušman p° šuō p. 3. - Prs. ne dar Sgl. p. 3 father. - In the expression pošt-i po his father's loins. - Prs.  $p\bar{a}d^{\dagger}\xi\bar{a}$  Sgl. p. 3,  $p\hat{a}d^{\dagger}\xi\hat{a}$  Sk. king. — Prs.  $p\bar{u}\delta$  Sgl. is., p., s.  $(p\bar{u}^d\delta$  p. 1),  $p\bar{u}$  Ishk., Sk., pu Gr., pūd Gr. (Zb.), MFB., pud Zar. foot. - Cf. Yd. valo.  $p \partial \delta f$  Sgl. is., p. 3,  $p u \delta f$  p. 1, "Wkh.", podf p. 2, podf s., putf Ishk., pudf Gr. flesh, meat. - pudf-um pu xəm Sgl. p. 1. Cf.  $d\tilde{a}n \cdot p \partial f$ . - < Av. <sup>o</sup>piθwa- food (or \*pituθwa-, cf. § 59), cf. E.Oss. fid < pitu-. (Not convincingly Eilers, ZDMG, 90, p. 195 reg. Anc. Ir. \*pi0fa-(?)). pe din : pe dit Sgl. p. 2, s., po den : po dend Sk., pe'din- Gr. to light, kindle a fire. - pe'dīnen, pe'dīn! "dar bede!" p. 2, pə'δin či'råγ Sk. light a lamp. - Cf. Shgh. pedin-, Or. padin-, Yazgh. paday-; intr. Wkh. piding-, Yazgh.

padays-. Connection with Saka padajs-

to ignite, to burn (< pati + dag- v. Saka Studies, p. 163) seems probable, but the phonetic development is not clear (< \*pati-dagna-ya?\*). puf ken Sgl. p. 2. s., puf Zar. to blow. - puf ke xe dost Sgl. p. 2 blow at your hand. — Cf. Yd. puf-. V. pab-.  $p_{\theta}^{\dagger} g \bar{e}$ , v.  $s \bar{a} h a r p^{\circ}$  to-morrow morning. Prs. payāh.  $p\bar{a}_{y}^{\dagger}z\bar{e}$  Sgl. p. 2,  $p\bar{a}g^{\dagger}za$  Sk. clean. — Prs., cf. Shgh. pōyža. Khow. pagza, etc. pāk ken. Sk. to cleanse. — Prs. pa'kol Ishk., Gr. cap, paköl Gr. (Zb) a woman's mantilla. - Cf. Yd. pakoro. pālū Sk. flank, side. — Prs. piā te Sgl. p. 1, a p. 2 cup. — Prs. pul Ishk., pel Zb. bridge. - Prs. pūl Sgl. p. 2 money. - miž be pūl dē. -- Prs. pallaftuk Sk., in remuz pa rise of the sun. pa'lang Sgl. is., cang p. 1, Sk., pr'lang Sgl. p. 3, s. leopard. — Prs. pāling Gr. saddle. Denied by Sk. pe'lās Sgl. p. 1 rug. — Prs. pilta Sgl. p. 2 match of a gun. — Cf. Madagl., Turki id.—Taj. Prs. corruption of fatila. pāla wān Sk. a hunter. — Prs.  $p\bar{a}m^{-1}$ ) Sgl. is., p. 1, 3,  $p\bar{o}m$  Zb, pom Ishk, påm Sk., "Wkh.", Gr. wool. — pām $^e$ dəmben I card wool. — Cf. Yd. pam.  $p\bar{a}m^2$ ) Sgl. p. 1, Sk., Zar., Gr. wide, broad. - Bad. Prs. pām < pān. pumec-, v. panec-. pī'ān Sgl. is., p. 2 below. — tə cə-mak  $p^{\circ}$ -d\vec{\sigma} p. 2 thou art below me. — Prs. ponec-Sgl. is., poinec-p. 2, s., ponic-p. 3 . ponayδ- p. 2, pomec: pomext Ishk., pomuc- Gr. to dress. - Cf. Wkh. pūmec-, Sar. pamez-, Shgh. peniz-, etc., Sogd. ptmwč-, Av. paiti-maoč-.

pan jā Gr., Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, 2āh Gr. Zb.) fifty. - Prs. pan jå Zb. finger. — Prs. ro'nuk Sgl. is., p. 3, p? p. 1, 2 a pass. fə rindi fər sou mə pə nuk; o yobam  $pe'nuk p. 2. - *pn_i d_i \bar{u}k < *pantāka.$ cf. Oss. fandag road, etc.?  $p \partial n \bar{n} r$  Sgl. is.,  $p a^{\circ} p$ , 1. Ishk., Sk.,  $p a n \bar{e} r$ Sgl. s. cheese; pa nī ? Sgl. p. 3 a kind of sour milk  $(d\bar{u}_{\gamma})$ . — Prs. pu-nar xåk Sk. toe(?) pon Sgl. is., pons p. 1, 3, s., pons p. 2, pones Grammophone; pons Zb., ponj Ishk., pūnz Sk., Gr., punj Zar. five. ponzodos Sgl. is., odos p., s., ponzdau Zb. fifteen. poru Ishk. horsedung. — vorok po. — Cf. Yd. pāru. par δē-: par-dūδ Sgl. p. 2, 3, pare-δē-: par-dūδ s., pa'ra-day-: paradūd Sk. to sell. - par dēen Sgl. p. 2; pār be δen, par-em dūδ p. 3, pare-δeem, par-em dāb s. — Cf. Yd. plār-. prok Sk. - In: wok xorok prok xar, bād šu eat a bit, and then go (said to an arriving guest'. park Zb. ashes. - Cf. Wkh. pārg. V. Gauthiot, MSL, XX, p. 9 regarding Lith. pelenai, etc. pa'rık Sk., parak Gr. rib. - Cf. Wkh. par<sup>9</sup>k; Pis. par(r) side, skirt. pork Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb., Gr., park" Wkh." mouse; purk Sk. rat. - Cf. Yd. parg. pīrmāi Sgl. is. name of a large bird;  $pirm\bar{a}$  p. 3 a white bird resembling a vulture (kargas). par nič Sgl. p. 1, 3 threshold. — Cf. Or. paδīn(d, ° V. § 22. pa'rında Sgl. is., oenda p. 2, Ishk. bird; paran'da Sk. small bird. - p? tar ha'wā ara'zō SgI. p. 2.

parenda xān p. 2 bird's nest. — Prs.
 parr Sgl. is., p. 1, par Sk. feather. —
 Prs.

pər sāl Sgl. p. 1, 2. pər sāl Sk. last year. — Cf. Prs. pār sāl.

prēšt Sk. armlet, Gr. wrist. — Cf. Sar. parðust, Or. pär ôēst (Lentz. V. §§ 22, 32.

pə rəştem Sgl. is. pərə stin p. 2, pərəə p. 1 the day after to-morrow. — Cf. wəcərīn.

purta(w)- Ishk. to throw. — purtaum.— Prs.

par'tåwī, par'tåštuk Sk. lagging behind, tired. — Prob. < thrown away, v. purtaw.

par'variš Sgl. p. 2 protection, nurturing.

— p° kenen. — Prs.

parwine kog Sgl. is., par wēnikōg p. I moth. — Cf.:

par winck Sgl. p. 2 butterfly. — Prs. par wāna. Gr. par par anuk is an onomatopoetic transformation of this word.

pă'rūzd Sgl. is., p. 2, pō rəzd Sk., paruzd Gr. yesterday. — pa'rūzd wok čūzī tō bē be spārδōvē yesterday he entrusted something to thee; p<sup>c</sup> ari·m kwō vəδ p. 2 I had worked yesterday; p<sup>c</sup> šab Sk. yesternight. — \*pāra + azni. Cf. āluzd, Yd. žirizen.

pasī Sgl. p. 2, 3 after(wards). — čend rōz pasī; pasi nau'rōzə wubil xašām, pasi-va dəcīnuk p. 2; pasi vənəf after that(?). — Prs. pas-i?

pas Sgl. p. 2 afterwards(?). — Cf. Texts, II, 3. — Prs.

 $pus\bar{i}^{\dagger}d\ddot{a}$  Sk. rotting. —  $p^{\circ}$  šūm I rot. — Prs.

pāsk Sgl. is., p. 2, "Wkh." posk, skin, hide (of cows). — Cf. Av. pasta

= \*pausta-? Cf. Endzelin, Ann. Acad. Scient. Fenn., Ser. B., 27, p. 25).

psāt, p'o)sā(d) Sgl. is., p, psah Gr. (Zb.)
now, then. — psāt-əm sēr kəð then
I became satisfied; pəsā(d) be nəvišen
now I shall write; psād ba xēsta
xwārī? Sgl. p. 2 dost thou eat bread
now? psā-mō astōk is. I have risen
now; psā vrēļen p. 1; pəsād šīð, pəsā
opoð p. 3. — Cf. Yd. psāt.

past Sgl. p. 2, Zar. low; pāst Sk. down.
— Prs.

pəs ta Sgl. p. 2 pistachio. — Prs.pūst Sk. leather. — Prs.

ps tāk Sgl. is., pus tak Sk. bark of a tree.
-- Pis.

 $pa\ \tilde{s}\tilde{\epsilon}$  Sgl. is., p. 2, 3,  $pa\tilde{s}a$  p. 1, Ishk., Sk. a fly. — Prs.

pāš va ken-(?) Sgl. p. 3 to hide, conceal.

— Read wa? Cf. Prs. pāš scattering?
pūš Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, "Wkh.", pšī Zb,
pušuk Ishk., peš, pšik Sk., piš Gr.,
puš Gr. (Zb.), pošuk Zar. cat. — Cf.
Yd. piško, Prs. pušak, etc.

pīš·i·bar Sgl. is., pēšu bar Sk., pēšbar Gr. breast. — \*Prs.

pəsbažgī Sk. kitten. — \*puš-bača gī.

pvšk Sgl. is., pošk p. 1, pošk p. 3, pušk Zar. dung of sheep. — Prs. pušk, cf. Shgh. pažć, Yd. poškedrī.

pšai mānī Sk. regret. — Prs.

 $p\tilde{a}\tilde{s}$   $n\epsilon$  Sgl. is.,  $p\tilde{a}^{\circ}$  p. 1,  $p\tilde{a}\tilde{s}n\epsilon$  p. 3,  $pa\tilde{s}$  na Sk., Gr. heel. — Prs.

pē'šānī Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, 'nī(?) p. 3, pešā'nī Zb., Ishk., pešā'nī Sk. forchead. — Prs.

pe<sup>1</sup>šīn Sgl. is. afternoon. — Prs.

pšūr Sgl. p. 1, 2, pošūr p. 3, pu'šir Ishk., po'šir "Wkh.", pešur Gr. chcek; pšur Sk. face, pešur'linj face. — 'pēšten Sgl. p. 2 udder. —  $c = u' \gamma \tilde{u} p^{\circ}$ . — Cf. Yd. 'pīstan.

 $p \ni \delta t$  Sgl. p. 3 loins. — In: ma  $p^{\gamma} - i$   $p e' d\bar{a}r - \bar{o}$ . — Prs.

pušt-i pā Sgl. p. 3 instep, upper part of the foot. — Prs.

 $p\bar{e}^{\dagger}\tilde{s}\cdot\hat{a}^{x}\partial r$  Sk. place where the horse is bound. — \*Prs.

pa sār Sgl. is. porridge, āš.

put Gr. parched grain ground into meal.
— Cf. Yd. pušć, Wkh. post. V. tūt-pət.

putf, v. posf.

'pātik Sgl. is., p., Gr., 'pātik Sk. eyelid (p. 3 eyebrow?). — pātik dē Sgl. p. 2 wink. — Wkh. pātak, Khow. phatuk, patok, Madaglashti patik, Or. pōdē, cf. Yd. pelek.

 $po^{\dagger}t\bar{u}n$  Sgl. is , p. 1, 3, s.,  $pa^{\dagger}t\bar{t}n$  "Wkh." thigh. — Cf. Yd.  $pi\check{s}\check{c}an$ .

pi tāv Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 the sunny side of a valley. — Cf. Yd. pitou, Psht. pitāo, etc.

patək Sgl. p. 2, pä tük Sk. lentils, patək.
— Cf. Wkh. pa tek, Mj. pateko.

pòv:: pòvô Sgl. p. 2, prv:: pavd p. 3, pəv:: pīð s., pəv:: pəvd Ishk., Sk. to drink.

— 'vēk 'pòven, 'azəm 'vēk 'povôəm p. 2; vē pa vən, 'pavdəm p. 3; vē pə'vəm, vēk-əm pīð s.; vēk 'pəvum, pəvdum Ishk., Sk. — Cf. Wkh. pōv:: pītt-, Skr. píba-: pītá-.

 $p\dot{e}x$  Sgl. p. 3 span from thumb to forefinger. — Cf. Yd.  $p\bar{t}x$ .

 $px \delta k$  Sgl. is.,  $p \theta^{\circ}$  p. 2 cooked. — V. pac.  $pax^{\dagger}ta$  Sk. cotton. — Prs.

paz-, pīz-, v. pac-.

 $pi^{\dagger}az$  Sgl. is., p. 2, piyås Sk. onion. — Prs.

\*puz MFB breast. — Written yuz, (جون), but acc. to Shaw this is a mistake for puz (جوز). — Cf. Wkh. p'ūz, Yd.

pə zīn-: pə zīnd Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., Ishk., Sk., pəzin-: pəzind Zar. to understand, to learn. — azə va tō lavz pe'zīnen Sgl. p. 1, az-əm va tō lavz pe'zīnen p. 1; tī zə'vūk pə'zīnum Ishk.; pə'zīnem buš p. 3; az-īm 'nas pzind Sk. I didn't understand it; fai p'zinuk,') Sk. he who knows much. — Cf. Yd. vəzān, Wkh. pazdan-, Sar. pajân-, Sogd. ptz'n-.

 $p\tilde{\epsilon}\dot{z}$ :  $p\tilde{\epsilon}\dot{z}\delta$  Sgl. p. 3 to wrap up. —  $p\tilde{\epsilon}\dot{z}\delta$   $l\partial m$  ' $t\bar{a}u$   $d\mathring{a}dim$ '. — < " $p\delta\tilde{\epsilon}rz$ - < "patidarzaya-, cf. Mj. palarz-, Psht.  $bl\tilde{\epsilon}\dot{z}d\partial l$ , ctc.

pi žīn Sgl. p. 2 clay-pot for milk. — Cf. Wkh. pižīn udder < \*payah čayana?

#### R

 $r\tilde{a}$  Sgl. p. I, s.,  $r\tilde{a}^h$  Zb. road. — Prs.  $r\tilde{o}$  Sgl. p. 3 face. — In.  $r\tilde{o}$   $p.x\tilde{e}$   $X \ni d\tilde{a}$ 

keδ he turned (his face) to God. rū ba Xudā kat. — Prs.

rõi Sgl. is., p. 1, rõe p. 3, rõi p. 2, Ishk.,
 rõx Sgl. s., rāi/y Sk., Gr., Zar., trāi/?)
 MFB three. — rõ(i) ru/pē. — Cf. §
 109.

 $r\bar{u}$  Sgl. p. 3 on. — Prs.

 $r\bar{\epsilon}\dot{c}^{i}k$  Sk. belly,  $r\bar{\epsilon}\dot{c}^{i}k$  Gr.,  $ro\dot{c}^{i}k$  Zar. entrails.  $-<*r\bar{\epsilon}d(<*rauta\cdot)+\dot{c}^{i}k$ , cf. KZ., 6I, p. 32. - V. § 37.

rēf Sgl. is., Sk., rēfak p. 1 broom. — Cf. Yd. rufo.

rag Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Sk. vein, sinew. — Prs.

rēg Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., rēg Sk. sand. — Prs.

 $r\bar{e}\gamma^{o}n$  Sgl. is.,  $\gamma n$  p. 2, s., "Wkh."  $r\bar{e}^{a}\gamma n$  p. 1,  $r^{a}\bar{e}\gamma n$  p. 3,  $r\bar{e}\gamma^{a}n\bar{e}$  Ishk. clarified

butter; rēyn Sk. butter. — pa ryēyn ba pacen Sgl. p. 3. — Cf. Yd.  $r\bar{u}_{\gamma}^{3}n$ . rahizan Sk. robber. - Prs. ri'kāb Sgl. p. 2, odb Sk. stirrup. — Ar.-Prs. 1 rago sī e kon- Sk. to dance. — Ar.-Prs. ra'mē Sgl. p. 2 herd of goats. - Prs. rām Sgl. p. 3 womb. — 0:08 mə rām-i māδar. — Prs. rēmuz, v. or mozd. Rama zān, v. īs. ron Ishk., ran Sk. thigh. — Prs. rang Sk. colour, - Prs. rangā-i gūnagūn Sk. multicoloured. --Prs. rang zārd Sk. pale. — Prs rū pē, rō pē Sgl. p. 1, 2, rūpāye is., rupya Gr. (Zb) rupee. — az tö bē wok röpeē däyen Sgl. p. 1; awaī be wek ropē dēyen p. 2; azə īm be wok rūpä'yē däyem bəš is. — Iud. rus Sgl. p. 2, ras p. 3, is., s. thirty. — Cf. § 109. rūisa fēd Sgl. p. 2 old man. - \*Prs., ef. Wkh., Or. mūisa fed. Mj. spī rūy means 'white-muzzled' acc. to Zar. rosk Sgl. p. 2 truth. - aməxə rosk yêžəm, az  $r^{\circ}$   $\gamma \bar{e}zen$  —  $< r\bar{a}st(a)k$ , cf. Tirahi rāsko truth (< Ir.). But Yazgh. rāzg? rismon Ishk. thread, cord. - Prs. ra'san Ishk, rope. — Prs. rost Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 right (hand), straight; råst Sk. right, true. — xūb r° durk-ū Sgl. p. 2 it is a quite straight stick. Prs. råst'gū Sk. truthful. — Prs. riš Zb. beard. - Pis. roš-dov'suk Sk. wild oats. Cf. də'sin.

roušan Sk. light, bright. — Prs. rušā'nī Zb. light (noun); rū'šan Sk.

dawn; raušan Gr. daylight. - Prs.

rašt Sgl. is., s., Ishk. merning, dawn. -

r: šἴδ. — Cf. Wkh. rəšt day, Khow. rošt daylight < Prs. rūšn? rə tē Sgl. is., rīšta Sk., rēše p. 1 rootfibre. — Prs. rēša id., rišta thread, line. - Cf. Badakhshi rēša, but Madagl, rišta, Wkh. rišta, raxte < Prs.\. rušt Gr. a fur robe. - But Zar. rušt, ef. Mj. yiška. vův Sgl. is., p. 2 rhubarb. - Cf. Yd. ržv. rīv lav Sgl is., s., riv° p. 1, 'riq° p. 3. lav Gr., lāw MFB lip. — rīv- < \*rapya, (cf. Kurd. lew), the genuine Sgl. form corresponding to Prs. lab? ra wan Sgl. p. l. Gr. moving, starting. r ° šīδ. — Prs.  $r \ni x' sat$  Sgl. p. 2 leave.  $-r \ni \tilde{s}\tilde{\imath}' \bar{a}n$  they took leave. - Ar. Prs. roz Sgl. p. 2, 3, Gr., rūz Sk. day. — cand  $r\bar{o}z$  past Sgl. p. 2;  $r\bar{o}z\bar{\imath}$  (=  $r\bar{o}^{\dagger}z\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}$ ) šið ke p. 3 it happened one day that ... - Prs. rautan Sgl. p. 3 window. - Prs. riz yāk Sgl. is., p. 1 small. — am xān žəšt, hað xān rizi āk p. 1. — Pr. rēza, cf. Yd. rīza. rēf Gr. platform (for sleeping). - Cf. Yd. raža, Wkh. raž. rijuk Sgl. p. 1, 2 male kid, one year old; p. 3 he-goat. — Cf. "Wkh." re žā he-goat, Sar. rezapai goats and sheep (Khow. lešpai < \*rēžpai from Ir.?); cf. Prs. rēza the small of any animal.

#### S

so Ishk. now(?). — Iu: azī so wazum 'mēyaltam'. — Ci. nak-so now. sūi Sgl. p. 1, 3, Zb., si Sk., Gr. hare. — Cf. Yd. sī<sub>?</sub>. sub Zb. morning. — Ar.-Prs.

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sa'bab Sk. reason. — Ar.-Prs.
sa'buk Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk, light, not heavy.
    - Prs.
sābūn Sk. soap. — Ar.-Prs.
sabr Sk. patient. — Ar. Prs.
sə dik Sk. porridge, åś.
saudo gar Sk. merchant. - Prs.
s\bar{a}\delta Sgl. is., sa\delta p. 2, 3, sad Sk., Gr. (Zb.)
    hundred. — Sk. sadə yak 101, sadə-
    bīstə pani 125. — Prs.
sa fed Ishk., Sk. white. - Prs.
safē dor Ishk., Zb. poplar. — Prs
saglă vī Sgl. is , p. 3, blovī p. 1, sago vī
    Ishk. otter. — Cf. Yd. sangla'ū, Prs
    sag-i lau, sag(·i) ābī.
so'yond Sgl. is., sa'yand Zb. curl; seyund
    Gr. (Zb.) hair. -sor + \gamma \bar{u}n?
sa'yēr Sgl. p 1 orphan. — Cf Mj. sayīr,
    etc. from Prs.
'sāhar') Sgl. p. 1, sāar p. 2, sa'har, sā'rī
    Sk. morning, at dawn. -s^{\circ} be xotan
    p. 2. — Ar.-Prs.
sa'hār<sup>2</sup>) Sgl. is, sa'ār p. 1, ba-sa'ār p. 2,
    sāhar Ishk. to-morrow. — Ar.-Prs.
sa^{\dagger}k\bar{a}u Sgl. p. 2 sueezing (?). — s^{\circ}m\bar{o}
   šīok 'sakau žudam'.
skonok Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, onok s., skonuk
    Zar. puppy, cub. — Cf. Yd. c3ke1na.
sāl Sgl. is., p., s., Gr., sōl Ishk., Sk.
   year. — Prs.
sēl Sgl. p. 1 flood. — Prs.
sal'lot Sk. soldier. — Russ.
såmb-, v. saw-.
səmb Sgl. is , p. 1, sumb Ishk. hoof. —
    Prs.?
samba'ka Sgl. is. tortoise. — Prs.-Turk.
   sang-baqa, Tajiki sambaqa.
s \ni m b \ni k, s v \circ Sgl. p. 1 hole (of the ear).
   - Cf. Prs. sumb.
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son Sk. linen. - Cf. Khow. san id.,

Kabuli Prs. shirting.

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sī na Sk. breast. -- Prs.
sanduk Sgl. p. 1, oug Gr. box. — Ar.-Prs.
song Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., sung Ishk., Sk., Gr.
   stone, Ishk. mill-stone. - Early Iw.
    from Prs.
'sinni Sk. light, bright.
(c)spēð Sgl. p. 1, 3, "Wkh." white. — Cf.
    Yd. spī.
əspəl Sgl. is., s., p. 3, spəl p. 1, səpul Ishk.,
    Zar. louse. — Cf. Yd. spūo.
spar Sgl. is., p. 1 iron plough-share;
   (w)uspīr Sk., Gr. plough. - Cf. Yd.
   spore (also with ancient \cdot a \cdot).
spār-: spārδ- Sgl. p. 2, buspōr-: °rd Zar.
    to entrust. — čīzī to bē spārδo·vē
   he had entrusted something to thee.
    — Prs.
siparz Sgl. is., ourz p. 1 spleen. — Prs.
sēr Sgl. p. 2, 3 satisfied. — psāt sēr šīān
    'sēr šudim', psāt-əm sēr k>b p. 2;
   sēr am šīð p. 3. - Prs.
sir Sgl. p. 2 garlie. - Prs.
sor 1) Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., Gr. (Zb.), sur Zb.,
   Ishk., Sk., sar ("younger form" Sk.)
   head. — sur-icpåsšt Sk. back of the
   head. - Cf. Prs. sar (from which
   sar is a lw.), etc.
sor 2 Sgl. p. 2, 3 on. — kitāv mēx sor-əm
   nūš)δ p. 2 I put the book on the
   table; võst ma kafas sõr p. 3 he tied
   it at the top of the cage. — V. s\bar{o}r^{-1}.
s r b Sgl. is., s r b p. 2, s r v p. 3 lead. —
   Pis.
sard Ishk., Gr., sart Sk. cold. - Prs.
sa'rāk Sgl. is., p. 3 road. — Afgh. Prs.
   sarak < Hind. sarak.
'sārek Sgl. is., p. 1 cream. - Cf. Prs.
   sar-i šīr.
sormoyz, v. moyz-i sor.
sərx Sgl. is., p. 1, Ishk., sərx Sgl. p. 3,
   surx Sk., Gr. red. — Prs.?
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sōrox Sgl. p. 2 ear of corn. — Cf. Yd sor.
sur'xūn Sk. white. — Prs.
sōr-'xaš Sgl. p. 2 wil-l, arrogant, surkaš.
— vərvəs s²-ō the fox is wild. —
Adapted from Prs. sarkaš.
sīā'sar Sgl. p. 1 erow(?'. — \*Prs.
sust Sgl. p. 2 lazy, səst p. 1 soft. — ama
āðam fai sust-o this man is very

äδam fai sust-o this man is very lazy. — Prs. (< \*θrusta-, cf. OE frēotan to tire, etc., etc.).

\*stīn Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, stīn Sk, ustun Ishk. post, pillar. — Cf. Yd. "stung; ustun < Prs.</p>

si tar., v. astar.

sat wån-may zi Sk. brain; sutvān-mayzuk Gr. thigh. — \*Prs. Original meaning 'marrow'.

sav-, v. təv-.

səvδ Sgl. is. v³δ p. 3, səvδ p. 1, s., sovd
Zb, sovd Sk. shoulder. — mu sovd ö it is on the shoulder. — Cf. Yd. suvdo. su vār Sgl. p. 2 horseman. — Prs.

savz Sgl. p. 1. sobz Ishk., sabz Sk., Gr. green. — Prs.

sav'za Sgl. p. 1, ^zī p. 2. sab'za Ishk. grass, lawn — Prs.

saw: sawd Sk. to rub; såmb- Gr. to smear. — Cf. Prs. sāwīdan, Yd. sa., Wkh. siw, and with nasalization, (Hjuler) såmən, sâyəm to rub.

saxt Sgl. is. hard. - Prs.

såyε Sgl. is., 'sāya p 1, sā yē p. 2, sōya Zb. shade, shadow. — Prs.

siyå-čiråy Sk. native candle made from a plant with the same name. — \*Prs. sū yūk Sgl. p. 3, sū² s. spleen. — Cf. Wkh. sik < \*s(y,āwya-ka-; cf. semantically Psht tōrai, Torwali šam spleen (: the black entrail)?</p>

sezda Sgl. p. 1, 2, o'da p. 3, sīzdāu Zb. thirteen. — Prs.

Š

-§ Sgl. pron. encl. 3 sg. — V, § 114.
 — Prs.

¿: ¿ðó Sgl. p., s, šəw: ¡əd Sk., šw: ¿ud Ishk. to go, to become. — az² šān: az² ni šām bə-š mā na mērawam': az-əm šīó əm); az-əm šīóō veðem 'rafta būdem' Sgl. p. 1; šām be, šīóem s., šān, šīó, šióök p. 3; čūm, šudum, šuduk Ishk.; šo(wu)m, šədəm, 'sədūk, inf. 'səwāk Sk. — 'na-šəwū Sk. it can't be done. — Cf. Yd. šūi.

šab Ishk, Sk. Gr. night. — Prs.

šā brut Sk. monstache. — Prs. \*šāh burūt (contam. with Wkh žapar, etc.?).

šoδx Sgl. is., p. 1 goat's hair. — Possibly < \*δοξx, cf. Yd. lirs. V. § 72. δ²fūn, v. āf įūn.

iaf tal Sgl. p. 2 trefoil. — Prs.

šaf tölü Sgl. is., Ishk. peach. — Prs.

šag nam Sgl. is., šabnam Ishk, Sk. dew.
 — Cf. Prs. šabnam, Mj. šak'lam. V. šak.

 $\delta \vartheta g \bar{a} r$  Sgl. p. 2 plastering,  $\delta \bar{e} dg \bar{a} r$ . — Prs.  $\delta \vartheta \gamma \varrho !$  Sgl. is. jackal, — Prs.

św. or Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk., "Wkh." hedgehog. — Cf. Yd. ša'yur.

šak Sgl. p. 2 dew ??), Gr. hoar-frost. — Cf. Wkh. šak, šak, Sar. žok white frost, Tajiki šaq dew. — V. šag'nam šakk Sk., šak Gr. bad, wicked. — šakkwēnān to hate. — Prs. šaq' blaming, reproaching, viewing with an evil eye? — Cf. Wkh. šāk.

šak- Sgl. p. 2 to rub, crush. — šakem be-š 'mēšakam'. — Prs.

\*škūδ Sgl. is., p. 2 cattle-shed. — < \*fšukuta-, cf. Orm. škāu (but not Oss. sk'āt,? — But Shgh. x→δ, Bartangi šūδ cattle-shed < \*srāda-, cf. Prs. sarāī.</p>

šikam Zb. beliv. - Prs. škarr-: škāļ Sk. to seek. — Cf. Wkh. škūr-, Pra. ikūr chase. šikār bēd Sk willow.  $šk\bar{o}v$ :  $šk\bar{o}vd$  Sk. to be cold, to catch a cold. — Cf. Wkh.  $\delta k \bar{a} v$ . *šal* Sk. lame. — Prs ša''la Sk. spark. — Ar.-Prs.šu'la blaze. flash. šal yām Sk. p 2 turnip — Prs. šəlāk Sgl. is . šlāk p 1, šuluk Sk., šuhluk Gr. wet. damp. -< cas ušaka, cf.Skr. suga- dry and a-sugka- moist? šel mok Sgl is., p 1 resin, gum. -- Cf. Prs. šiljim gum of a tree, šalmak n. of a medicine, prob. < N.W. Prakrit 'šilimha-, cf. Turner, Nep. Dict., s.vv. liso, sep. V. Wkh. lisp. ši la.c Sgl. is., p. 2 naked, needy. — to š°-δō p. 2. — Cf. Yd. ši'le.v. šăm Sk. candle. — Ar. Prs. šām Sgl. p. 1. 2, šōm Sk., Zb. evening. Prs. šūm Sk. travel. — Cf. Av. šyaomanwork (šiyav- to go, move'? sa māl Sgl. p., s., °ål Sk. wind; šu mål Sk. north. -- nēr šo-ā; šo paidā šīd Sgl. p. 2. — Ar.-Prs. šam šer Sgl. p. 2 sword. — Prs. ·šon encl. pron. 2 pl., v. § 114 šona Zb. shoulder-blade. -- Prs. šə nōwa rē kən- Sk to bathe. — Prs. šonzdāu, v. xuāļbos. šaupa rek Ishk. bat. — Prs. šār Sgl p. 2, 3, Sk. town. — Prs. šēr Sgl. p. 3 tiger, Iion. — Prs. šarm Sgl. is., p. 2, Sk. shame. — Prs. šārm Sgl. is , p. 1, 3, s., Wkh.'', šurn Zar. horsedang. - < \*sanm- < \*sanm-, Av. šāman-? šūr mūk bēδ Sk., šūrmok Gr. a kind of willow.

šarmin da Sk. ashamed. — šo na, šawī fie. shame. — Prs. šī'rīn Sgl. is., p. 1. 3, Ishk. sweet. — Prs. šurang-zārd Sk. brewu. — V. šūi. šarša<sup>†</sup>rē Sgl. is., p. 1, 3. 2 rā Zb. waterfall. Prs. šər wā Sgl. p. 1. 3r bō Sk. soup. — Prs. šást Sgl. is, p. 3, šāšt p. 2 sixty. --Pis. šast-in'git Sgl. p. 2 thumb. — Prs. Sgl. šiša Ishk, looking glass. — Prs. šo ie kon- Sk. to make water. - Pis. šāt Sgl. p. 1, 3 honey. - Ar. Prs. šot Sgl. is., p. 1, šīt p. 2, šīt p. 3, šet s., šot Ishk., šut Sk., šit Gr. dusi, soil, earth. - pə šət nīd Ishk, sit down on the ground; šət kən. Sk. to bury; šrt-ån van kol Sk. they [have] buried him. - Cf. Wkh. šot, žet, Shgh. sit. šā tān Sgl. p. 1, 3, °tu Gr. ladder. — Prs. čūtū, Pad. šūtūn, etc. < Turki. Pšton Sgl. is., p. 1, oan p. 3, šton s., šutun Gr., sij Sk. needle; Ishk. šiton thorn. — < \*sĕən < \*sučani, ef. Psht. stən</p> < \*s(u)con, et. Yd. šinjo. — sij\*suči-. - Cf. Wkh. sic. šaitān Sk. Satan. — Ar. Prs. štonok Sgl. is , p. 1, 2, uste p. 3, šutu nūk Zb., štu nuk Sk., Gr., 5to Zar. newboin kid, naušudagī. -- Cf. Par. išten(ūk) < \*fstănya-ka-. Pštər Sgl. is , p. 2, s., oər p. 3, štur Sk., Gr., ustur Gr. Zb.), setur Zar. camel. — Prs. or genuine? Cf. Yd. iški võ. šutur Gr. ealf. — Cf. Wkh. štür. sot i poof Sgl p. 3, opūd p. 1 calf of the leg. — Cf. Shgh. pura-i-gōšt (< Prz.) id. Psht. šat-garai ankle < \*srašta-? šār, šārāk Sgl. p. 2 weeding. — az-əm šār(āk) āri kenuk I have weeded amī kār az darūn-i zamīn mēkana (!)): šovok šuān, kə š<sup>3</sup> xalā, š) šiān.

ša'võl Sk., ša'wālak Gr. trousers. — Prs. šo'vel Ishk., šõ $^\circ$  Sk., Gr. road. — < \*šyaw-, cf. Phl.Ps. šwb'n (šovān) roads? Bnt suffix?

řav'zåd Sk. bug. — Cf. Shgh. (Sk.) šavzöd, Wkh. xəuzit, cf. Prs. šab-gaz 'bug'. šāw: šāwod Zar. to chew. — \*gžaw? šuwīn Gr., šuen Gr., Zb. cradle. — < \*xšaubanya-?

šāx¹) Sgl. is., p. twig; šōx Ishk., Sk. šōxċa Zb., °ċuk Sk., Gr. branch. — Prs. šāxċa), Bartangi xax¹ċak.

šāx²) Sgl. p. 3, Zb., Ishk., šāx Sk. horn.
 — āhūin wok šāx da vəð p. 3 the stag had one horn.

šox Sgl. is., p., šûx Zar. hard, locked. — vor šox-õi Sgl. p. 2; ma tāham ē šox kəb mə kafās sor p. 3 he fastened the food at the top of the cage. — Cf. Wkh. šok, šux, Yd. šax.

šəxs: šəxt Sgl. is., p. 3, s., šīxs-: šīxt p. 2 to cross, to pass over; šuxt Gr. (time) passed. — šəxtān 'guzāšt(an)' is.; īsen, šīxsən be p. 3 'mēāyam, mēgzāram'; guzar-em te šīxtəm, mə vēk-əm šīxt p. 2; tar asmān šəxt p. 3. — Cf. Wkh. šöxs. Khow. lw. šaxċ-, šaxs. < \*saxš-, from sak- to pass (the time).</li>

šå xåb Sk. brook, rivulet. — Pra.

šaxa-yer Sgl. p. 3 hill. — Cf. Prs. šax mountain.

šəulžī Sgl. is., p. 2, šovljī p. 1, šəuljī p. 3, s., šuljī Zb. hip. — Cf. Wkh. šaulžī, šūjīš, Shgh. sēvje, (sēujā Sk.), Or. sāwljē. Prob a Taj. word, \*suvjī < \*suftjī?

šūž Sgl. p. 1, s. eagle, hukāb, šuž p. 3 black eagle, siasor. — Cf. Yd. šīž.

Š

šou Sgl. is., p. 1, s., šou p. 3 horn. — \*srăw-, ef. Wkh. šou, Yd. šú.

şūi Sgl. p. 1, 3, šū Ishk. black, pupil of the eye; šu Sk., Gr., žūi "Wkh." black. — Cf. Wkh. šūu, Khow. (lw.) šā. — < Av. syāva-, but note š.
</p>

fəc Sgl. is., p. 2, şəc p. 3, suc Gr. female.

— Acc. to Hjuler Wkh. səc is used as a fem. suffix. — Cf. Yd. şāyo.

ind Gr. heard. — Prob. \*Sud, cf. Shgh.

[ið Sgl. is., \$\delta\delta\text{ p. 2, 3, s. : \$\delta\text{ fit. is., p. 2, 3, } \$\delta\text{ fin-: \$\delta\text{ d} \text{ Ishk., \$\delta\delta\text{ fit. Sk., : \$\delta\text{ id} \text{ Zar. to weep. \$-\delta\text{ fiden, \$\delta\delta\text{ fiden, } \$\delta\delta\text{ fidum, } \$\delta\delta\delta\text{ fidum, } \$\delta\delta\text{ fidum, } \$\delta\delta\delta\text{ fidum, } \$\delta\delta\text{ fidum, } \$\delta\delta\delta\text{ fidum, } \$\delta\delta\delta\text{ fidum, } \$\delta\delta\delta\delta\text{ fidum, } \$\delta

yen Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb. podex; p. 2 anus;
Ishk. hip; kšin Gr. podex; šing Sk.
hip. — mo šen kenen-et p. 2 'mā turu
mēgāyam-et'. — Cf. Yd šino, Shgh.
şūn.

§ ðnā ī Sgl. is, p 1 light, fire; šɔ'nā ī p. 2, 3, rəšnā ī s., rəš'nī Zb, Ishk. fire. r'śnē, yšnē Sk. fire. šð'nāī do hō it lightened; va sənāi žan p. 2 blow out the fire; mən in git mə šɔ'nāī təð p. 2. — Cf. Wkh. rəx'nī(g), Khow. (lw.) roxnī, Kab. Prs. rušnaī. — Cf. rušā'nī.

šəš Sgl. is., p. 3, s., šuš p. 1, 2, šuš Zb., Sk. lung. — Prs.

šavī Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, ša vēi Sk. shirt; šavī Gr. woman's shirt. Prs. šabī.

T

tēu Sgl. is., p. 1, s husband's brother.
Oss. teu, cf. Mj. s.v. yūi.
tu, tə Sgl., tə Ishk. thou. — V. § 110.

tūi Sk. wedding. — Prs.

tablar'za Sk., Gr. fever. — Prs.

tåbi'stån Sk. summer. — Prs.

təlbət Sgl. is. down of birds. — Cf. Mj. tubut.

taf Sgl. p. 1, Sk. steam: Zar. foam. — Prs.

təf Sgl. p. 2, 3, tòf Sk., tuf Zar. saliva.— Prs.

toyd Gr. he went, walked. — < \*taxta-, ef. Shgh. tūūd.

 $t\bar{a} \stackrel{*}{\gamma} \bar{v}$  Sk. mother's brother. — Kabuli Prs.  $ta_{\gamma}\bar{a}$   $\bar{\imath}$ , Bad.  $ta_{\gamma}a$ .

tiēy(ə)m Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, 'tēyum Ishk., tēym "Wkh.", Gr. grain, seed. — tēym d(e)ān p. 2 they sow. — Cf. Yd. tuyum. ta·hām Sgl. p. 3 food. — ta'hāma dēi! — Ar. Prs.

tāke Sgl. p. 3 alone. — pād'šā to forind 'pādšā yak tāke månd'. — Cf. Prs. taka a single volume, Yd. toko.

take Sgl. p. 3 male kid, one year old.

— Prs.

tuk'mă Sk. button. — Turki.

tok-sa'rī Ishk. pillow. — Or. taksa'rä; et. Par. taisō'rī, Madagl. toi-i-serī + Prs. takiya.

tākat Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) endurance. —
ovzūi to nos koð 'dil-iš to na kard'.
— Ar.-I'rs.

 $t\bar{a}l$  Sgl. p. 2 cooking-pot. — Cf. Yd.  $t\bar{a}l$ .  $t\bar{i}$   $l\bar{a}$  Sgl. is., p,  $t\bar{i}l^{\dagger}l\bar{a}$  Sk. gold. — Prs.

tāl: tāld Sgl. p. I, 2, s., Ishk., :tāld Gr. (Zb.) to shave. — 'tālin, 'tāldəm Sgl. p. 1, t'ālum, 't'āldum Ishk. — Ct. Yd. tīž-.

telf Sgl. p. 3 child, baca-i maida. — Ar.-Prs. tifl.

to lap- Sgl. p. 2, ta lap-: talapt Sk. to wish, seek. — Ar.-Prs.

tal'pak Sk., Gr. fur cap. - Turki.

talx Sgl. p. I. Ishk. bitter. — Prs.

təmba Sgl. p. 3 to thee? — In wok to asteen 'yak tara rawan mēkenim'.

təmux, °əx Sgl., Ishk. you. V. § 110. ta'mūz Sgl. p. 3 autumn. — Ar.-Prs.

tan Sgl. p. 2 person. — cəmənd tan-ān ma təməx xān ma mic xān röi tan-ān. — Prs.

ta'na Sk. body. -- Prs.

tənd Sgl. p. 2 steep. — Prs.

tandur Sk. thuuder. - Prs.

tang Sgl. p. 1, 2, Sk. narrow. - Prs.

tan'k Sk., tanuk Gr. thin, narrow. -Prob. genuine.

tar Ishk. wet, moist. - Prs.

tar Sgl. p. 2, 3, Gr. through, amongst, in(to), to. — parenda tar hawā arazō the bird flew through the air: wok cīze tar məne[n] həṣ-ōi 'yak cīzī ba dil-i mā st'; tax'sīm kenān tar xāa p. 2 they divide amongst themselves. — Cf. Yd. tro. V. § 107.

tīr Ishk, roof-beam; Sk, arrow. — Prs.
\*tor-: torδ Sgl, p. 2 to fart. — torδəm
'gūz kardam'. Cf. tərə bā[d] dyem
Sgl, s. id.

tar bəz Sgl. p. 2, tür būz Sk. water melon.
— Prs.

tərəf-: tərəft Sk., təruf- Zar. to steal. — Cf. Yd. tərif-.

'törik Zb., 'tå' Ishk., Sk., ''rik Sk. dark(ness). — Prs.

tur'kī Sgl. is., p. 1 darkness. — \*turk dark (ef. Yd. tīro) + Prs. -ī.

tīra'mā Sgl. is., p. 1, 2; tīra'mā Ishk., ti Sk. autumn. — t k šīð, co kū yūzo xašom. — Prs.

t(3)rūs- Sgl. p. 2, 3 to fear. — trūsen ke f<sup>3</sup>rnisen be p. 2 I am afraid to lose it. Cf. the foll. word:

tros Ishk., tros Sk., tras Gr. fear. -

 $t^{\circ}$  kenum,  $t^{\circ}$ -um kul I-hk.,  $t^{\circ}$  kən-Sk. I fear,  $t^{\circ}$  \(\delta\delta yum\) Sk. I frighten. —  $< tars^{\frac{1}{2}}$  But cf. Sar. intrâs- to shy, etc.

trīš- Sgl. p. 2, 3 to sneeze. — trīšm buš, pf. trīšūk 'axse mēzanad' (pres.!). — Cf. Wkh. štrof-, Yd. ĉirf-, etc. teˈrəṣ Sgl. is, trəš p. 1, truš Ishk., truš Zar. sour; truš Gr. bitter. — Prs. trošp Sk. sour milk. — Cf. Yd. trīšp.

tarå zë 8k. seales — Prs. teske Sgl. p. 3 —? — Cf. Texts V. 72.

tas mā Sk. a strap. -- Prs.

tå·i·sar Ishk, top of the bead, — Cf. Mj. tō·i sar. Prs,

toš kon- Sk. to empty out. — Cf. Wkh. toš; EVP., s.v. taš; Nyberg, Studia Indo, Ir., 214.

tošna Sgl. ie., °ē p. 1. tašna Ishk., taxm Sk. thirsty. — tošna, etc. < 1'rs. Reg. taxm (also in Wkh.), v. s.v. Wkh. taž.

tēša Sgl. is., ° ½ē p. 1, 3, ° ša Ishk. adze. — Prs.

tāt Sgl. p. 1, 2, tot Ishk., Gr., tå(t) Sk., Gr. (Zb.) father. — mič tāt xân; tāte xē māl taxsīm kuð; xē tā be γēžoð he said it to his father. — Cf. Yd. tat, etc.

tūt Sgl., Zb., Islik., Sk. mulberry (tree).
 Prs.

tüti Sgl. p. parrot. — Prs.

tūt-pət Sgl. p. 2 mulberry-flour, tall.ån.
— Prs. V. put.

tav Sgl. p. 2 fever. — Prs.

tā vē Sgl. p 2 griddle. — Prs.

təv-: təð Sgl. p. 1, 2, : ted Gr. (Zb.), "Wkh."
tīwd, sac-: səd Ishk., san-: sud Sk.,
Zar. to burn (intr.); sīw-: sud Sk.
to burn (tr.).—təvāi Sgl., savū Ishk.
it burns: mən ingit mə sənāī təð p. 1

my fivger was burnt in the fire. — Cf. Shgh., Wkh. θάω., Khwarizm. θ'w-, etc. V. § 37.

to võr Sgl. is, p. 1, 3, Zb., tu wur Sk., Gr. axe. — va durk to maida kenen p. 2; foreð kuð pe tovor p. 3. — Prs.

tāve'stān Sgl.is ,p., tōvə'stōn Zh., tåbi stån Ishk. summer. — Prs.

təximərg Zb., tüxmur Sk. egg. — Prs. tuxm-i-mury, cf. Wkh. təxmory. etc. tax-rū Sgl. p. 3 plank. V. Texts V. 14. Prs. \*taxt-rū.

tax'sīm Sgl. p. 2 dividing. — va māl t° ke! — Ar. Prs.

taxt Sk. curtain. - Pis.

taxta Sgl. p. 1 roof-board, p. 3 plank. — taxta-pārε rū p. 3 on a piece of plank 'rū-i taxta-pāra'. — Prs.

təxt xē Sgl. p. 3 steam (?). — Cf. Yd. tux. ta'yāk Sgl. is., p. 3, tây Sk. colt. — Cf. Yd. taya. Cf.:

tiya-xa'rak Sgl. is. donkey's foal.

tez Sgl. is., p , Ishk., Sk. sharp. — tez hon-Sk. to sharpen. whet. — Prs.

# V

va a particle denoting the accusative. V. § 104.

vəcə rīm, v. wəcərin.

vi di ök Sgl. p. 2 irrigation, watering, xākāva. — v° kenān. — V. vēk.

vəδ SgI, vud Ishk., wəδ Sk. was. — Cf. § 125.

 $v\tilde{a}_i^*d$  Sk.,  $v\tilde{a}_i^*d$  Gr. nightmare. — Cf. Wkh.  $v\tilde{a}_i^*d$ , Sar., Or.  $v\tilde{v}id$  < Av. baxta fate, misfortune.

vē,k) Sgl., Ishk., Sk., Gr. water. — vēki diān = vī-diōk henān (q.v.); warfə vē čuwōi the snow melts; vē mə pīālə nūšen Sgl p. 2; vē pavdəm; vēk xənuk-ō, daryāo yəx-o kuōk p. 3 the water is cold and the river is frozen; arāz mə  $v^{\imath}\bar{e}k$  is. fly into the water.

— From a purely phonetic point of view \* $\check{a}p\bar{a}k(i)ya$ - seems to be the most satisfactory reconstruction. Cf. Orm.  $w\bar{o}k$ , with loss of  $\check{a}$ -.

võ kõļin Sgl. p. 1 day before yesterday. vən Sgl. p. 2. — V. Texts III, 2.

vīn Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, Ishk., Sk., Gr., vin Sgl.
s., p. 3, vanū "Wkh." beard. — Cf.
Shgh. bån < \*upā(ha)na-, cf. Gr.</li>
ὑπήνη (v. NTS, VII, 120; cf. Kretschmer,
Glotta, 18, 204; 22, 246; Pisani, Misc.
Etym., 107).

vānd: võst Sgl. p. 1.3, s., võnd: vūst-Ishk., vund: vust Sk. to bind, tie. vānden Sgl. p. 1, °em s, võndum Ishk.; pret. võst; pf. võsto-mõ-i p. 3. — Cf. Yd. vad-.

vond Sgl. is., p. 2 stick.

võr Sgl. p., var Zb., Ishk., Sk., wår "Wkh." door. — võr šõx (həţ) õi p. 2 the door is closed (open). — Cf. Yd. l³vor.

vūr Sgl. p. 2, 3, Sk. burden. — vūr kenen p. 3 I load. — Cf. Yd. vīra, Wkh. vūr.

vrīc Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, vric p. 3, Sk., v<sup>3</sup>ric Zar., v<sup>3</sup>cēr(!) 'Wkh.' eyebrow. —
\*brūċi-, cf. Yd. vrīvo.

v³rūð Sgl., v³rū Ishk., wrūd, wru Sk., v(³)rūd Gr., Zar. brother. — Pl. vrūðār: m' amič xān hōvð vrūðār-ān p. 2; am xān m³š v³rūðaren is. this house helongs to me and my brothers, am xān m³m v³rūðen-ē p. 2 this house is my brother's. — Cf. Yd. vrai.

vrũδkuč Sgl. is., p. 1, vru kũč Sk , v³rūδarkuč "Wkh." brother's wife.

v<sup>3</sup>rōk Sgl., Zb., Ishk., wruk Sk., wrok Gr., verāk Gr. (Zb.) horse. — am v<sup>3</sup>rō <sup>27</sup> — Kulturforskning məm  $v^3r\bar{u}\delta en\bar{e}$  Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Shgh.  $v\hat{a}r^3\hat{j}$ , Or.  $v\bar{o}r\hat{j}$ , Yazgh.  $var\check{a}k < b\check{o}raka$ .

vorok Sgl. p. 2 window. — Cf. vor.

vrēļ- Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s.: vərēt- p. 1, 3, vṛts.; vəlēl-: vəlēld- Ishk., vrand-: vrət
Sk., vərēl-- vərut Zar. to break. —
psā vrēļen Sgl. p. 1; vrandum, vrətum.
vrət, vrətkum, vrtuk, vranduk Sk. —
Cf. Shgh. vəraž-, Yd. vrī-. — Reg.
vəlēl- v. § 74. vrand- has been influenced by \*škand- (Wkh. škəndiv-).
vrōn-: vrōnd Sk. to scold. — Cf. Wkh.

vər vəs Sgl. is., p., °ves s., ur'wəs Zb., 'wu° Ishk., 'urvəs Sk., urwus Gr. barley. — vərvəs sör xaš-ö Sgl. p. 2. — < \*rpasiyā-? Cf. Yd. yeršio.

rārand-.

vər'vēs Sgl. is., s., wə' p. 3, wər'wēs p. 1, ər' Zb., wurwist Ishk... 'urwēs(ak) Sk., Gr., wurvēsāk Zar.. wər'vēs "Wkh." fox.— < rūvēs < \*raupāsya-, v. § 88. Ct. Yd. rūso.

və rāz Sgl. is., p. 2; w/vrā'zā Sk. above; vrōz Sk. up, werāz Gr. (Zb.) high, tall, up; vrāzā Gr. a mountain hight.

— cə təˈfāk vəˈrāz-mō Sgl. p. 2 I am above you. — Cf. Khow. (lw.) vārz above (v. BSOS, VIII, p. 664), Ingush (lw.) barz tumulus < Av. barəzah-? But note Or. vuˈrōz hillside = Prs. farāz-kōh (Lentz), (Zangana Kurd. war(ā)z high < \*abi-rāza-?).

v<sup>3</sup>rūzəman Sgl. is., p. 2 nephew. — V. v<sup>3</sup>rūδ.

vo'sīn Sgl. is, vasīn Gr. whetstone, ausån.
— Cf. Yd. 'afseno.

viš Sgl. is , p. 2, 3, Gr., vīš G1. (Zb.) below;
višt Sk. tloor, ground. — co mom viš
'az tā·i mā'; co mēz viš p. 2 under
the table; co kafas biš(!) under the

cage; ce viš from below; ce āsmān xavδ me viš p. 3 descended from heaven. — V. baγalviš, γālviš, kašviš. viš ²\ Sk., viš Gr. bed.

vōš Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, vuš Gr. rope. - \*bastra-, cf. Shgh. vâš, Psht. wāš; Prs. dial. baš bandage.

vəz Sgl., vuz Ishk., Gr., vz Sk. goat, Sgl. is, also female markhor. — wok vəz-əm wend p. 2. — Cf. Shgh. vaz, Mj. vuza.

vözd Zar. pillow. — Cf. Yd. virzane. və'zōk 1) Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 branch.

və'zōk²) Sgl. is. tat, vzzůk Sk. thick. — Cf. Sar. divēz, Yazgh. də'vūz, Wkh. baj(?) < \*dwaz-. cf. Yd. s.v. livzīn. vəṭ'dŭk Sgl. p., Ishk., vəṛ'dūk Sgl. is., wûżdûk Sk. long, Ishk. (and Gr. wużduk) high. — Cf. Wkh. vərz, Shgh. vužj, Psht. ūžd < bərəzant.

v(u)žēr Sk., vajer Gr. (early) evening.—
Cf. Ishk. wajer day before yesterday,
v. wəcərīn.— Scarcely from uz-ayar.,
cf. Yd. uzīro.

## W

wa<sup>1</sup>), wai Sk. oh. — wa xē kūć! oh, my wife. — Prs.

wa, dem. pron., v. §§ 115, sqq.

<sup>1</sup>ww̄-bō Sk, thither, — A dative form, Cf, wōδ.

wuc-: wucud Gr. to find room. — Cf. Mj. wuj-, Yazgh, wiz-.

wice rīn Sgl. p. 1 yesterday, p. 2 day before yesterday, vice rīm is. three days ago, hence: we jēr Ishk. day before yesterday. — The correct meaning prob. is the one given by Sgl. is., the true word for 'yesterday' being Sgl. pāruzd (and Ishk.

 $kar\bar{e}r$ ?), and for 'the day before yesterday' Sgl.  $v\bar{o}k\bar{o}l\bar{i}n$ . If that is the case,  $v\bar{o}c^{0}r\bar{i}n$ /m may be derived from \*upa- $\bar{c}a\vartheta ru + \bar{i}n$ /m, cf.  $p\bar{o}r\bar{s}\bar{o}t\bar{i}m$ , and Shgh. ve'der < \*upa-lurya-. V.  $v'u)\bar{z}\bar{e}r$ .

wuč Zar. np. — Cf. Wkh. wūč < usča.</li>
wāda Sgl. p. 3 marriage, marriageable
age. — po w° līt telf 'ba wāda rasīd'.
— Ar. Prs.

wed Ishk. willow. - Cf. Yd. wiya.

wēd-: wētt Sk. to put. — Cf. Yd. wul-wöδ, wöδa k, Sgl. p. 2, wəδωk p. 3, wadak Ishk., Sk., wāk Sk., wōda Gr. (Zb.) there. — ce wōδ šīδ he went from there; mo wōδ šīδ he went there; wōδak ογōδast, wōδa (h)ast Sgl. p. 2; 'ογοδ mo wəδωk p. 3; wadak xōn tīn-ō, w° tī xōn Ishk. Av. avaδa.

ww δργδ Sgl. is., p. 1, s., uyδ p. 2, ūγδ
p. 3, duyd Ishk., wa dūyd Sk., udōyd Gr., widəyd Zar. daughter. — mūmbučinā-i wdūy Sk. female cousin (: my uncle's daughter). — Cf. Yd. luydo. Reg. wu- cf. § 92.

wu δi! Sgl. is., p. 2, s., wuδie! p. 3 (and wuδihēl 'kūh' for 'gūh'?), wū de! Zar. goat's dung, manure, pošk. pårub; wu'di! Ishk. cow-dung. — pasi naurūz² w καλūn Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Yd. p²škedrš.

ww oth Sgl., id Zar, span from thumb to little finger. — Cf. Yd. wulëyo; "Wkh." wo let.

wah Sk. bad smell.

1

wa'jāb Ishk., ab Gr. span from thumb to little finger. — Ar.-Prs.

wə jer, cf. vužer, wəcərin.

wok Sgl. is.. Zb., Ishk., Gr., wök Sgl. p., wök Sk., wûk Zar. one. — wok kitāv; paša wok nesi lakoi the flies didn't leave one — Cf. Yazgh. wug. V. § 87.

- wo'kī Sgl. p. 2 'yakī'. w° w° zamīn kul·šon baxš kenen I give all of them one field each.
- woktăk Sgl. p. 2 a little. mić tāt xān  $w^{\circ}$  kalān- $\bar{u}$  our father's house is a little bigger, 'yaktaš kalāntar-a'.
- wulāt Sgl. p. 2, 'wulo Ishk., wulo Gr.

  (Zb.) before, in front of, formerly,

  ulō, wlō Sk. forwards. azi w° γəzd

  Ishk. I ran in front; w° žwondok-əm

  vəδ, psāt əm sēr kəδ formerly I was
  hungry, now I have become satisfied.
- walč Sgl. p. 3, Ishk. rafter. V.  $w\bar{a}l^{2}$ ).  $wu^{i}l\bar{a}k\bar{\imath}$  Sgl. p. 2 first (adv.).  $am^{i}\bar{a}\delta am$   $w^{\circ}$   $o^{i}ro\delta$  this man came first. V.  $wul\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$ .
- wul mēk Sgl, is., s., 'šīk p., ē "Wkh.", ilmēk Gr. (Zb.), dulmik MFB (with instead of 3). \*uxšmāhyaka·, cf. Yd. imoyo.
- wulyēka Sgl. p. 2 alone. az w°-mō.
- ww<sup>1</sup>lāt Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 village. Ar.·Prs., cf. Khow. (O'Brien) wal lāt village, cultivation.
- wəl'vōğ Sgl. p. 1, 'wulvuš Gr., valvāš MFB trouser-string. V. wāl') and vōğ; ef. Yd. warwaḍεn.
- wāl ¹) Sgl. is., wāl p. 1, 2, wāl Zar., var MFB trousers. Cf. Yd. 'woro prob. an ancient pl.).
- wāļ<sup>2</sup>) Sgl. is., p., wōļ "Wkh." roof-beam.
   Cf. Yd. wāṛ.
- wolk Sgl. is., p. 1,  $wv^{\circ}$  p. 2, s.,  $w^{\flat^{\circ}}$  p. 3,  $w^{\flat^{\circ}}$  "Wkh.", wolk Zb. kidney. Cf. Yd. wulya, Wkh. wAltk.
- wu'lōk Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, wuluk Ishk., u' Gr, (w)ŵlu/ôk Sk, wuluk Zar. flonr.

   \*ārtaka-, cf. Yd. yāre.
- wo¹lŏx Sgl is., p. 1, 3, wuˆ p. 2, wu¹lēx
   "Wkh.", u¹léx Sk., ulex Gr. rib. —
   V. å¹lax hill; cf. Yd. alīxa rib;

- N.W. Ir. Turf. "rg side, Psht. arax side, Georg. alagi direction (lw.).
- wan, v. wa.
- wīn- Sgl. is.: wīnd is., p. 2, wēn- s., Sk., : wēnd- s., p. 1, 2, 3, Ishk., Sk., wīn-: wīnt Zar., vīn-: vīnd Gr. (Zb.) to see. nə wīnō-š Sgl. is. he doesn't see him; wīndom-ōn is. I saw them; az-əm wēnt, wēndum, amax va-tfak wēndan p. 1; wēnd-əm va-tfak, xōdm-əm wīnduk p. 2; wēnem, wēndəm, xōdm-om wēnt s.. wēndum, azi fak wēnduk Ishk.—Cf. Yd. wīn-. Shgh. wīn-: wīnt-.
- wēn Sgl., Gr., Sk., wēn Zb., Ishk., Zar., wan "Wkh." blood. — wēn be zīδū blood flows; wēn zənē wash off the blood; wēn-i šuwōi he is bleeding?). — Cf. Yd. īno.
- wānīc Sgl. is., p. 2 female calf, two years old, turpīk (cf. Par. torpī), fəryəmē; waņic p. 3 heifer, three years old; wānic Gr. fem. calf; wā Sk. heifer.— < \*yuwānicī-.— Cf. E.Oss. wanıg. W.Oss. iwonug young bull < \*y/w`wān-.
  - wanji Sk., Gr. (Zb.), 'vanji Gr. cloak, coat. — Av. varənā- name of a part of the dress,
- wont Ishk. calf of the leg.
- wə nīż: wə nīšt Sgl. p. 2, wu nīż: wu nīżdp. 3, s., wə niy: wə niyd- is, to go
  round, walk about. wəniy, is
  'bayard, biā!' is,; cə wōð wənīšt p. 2
  they returned from there; psū be
  wəniżəm 'mēgardam', wunīżəm be,
  wu nīżdəm p. 3. Apparently from
  \*wi-nai(y'ż-. Cf. Shgh. nēż-, \*nuiż(Sk.) to turn; nōž- (ABC) to wander
  about??
- wē rē Sgl, p. 3 gums. Bad. Prs, wēirā, ef. EVP. s.v. ōraī. Cf. also Skr, velā gums.

- wŏrc Gr., Zar. quail. Cf. Yd. woryo.
  wur¹cūn Sgl. is., p. 1 (°n is.?) smoke-hole.
   Cf. Yd. rūžen, Wkh. rīcņ. V. § 88.
  warf Sgl., Ishk., Sk., "Wkh." v° Gr.
  snow. warfə dehō it snows; w° vē šuwōi Sgl. p. 2 the snow melts, a²!ax-nā-i warf Sk. snow of the hills. Cf. Yd. warfo.
  - wərōfs-: wərōft Sk. to stand. Cf. Wkh. wurufs-, Mj. wurafs-. See EVP. s.v. riyawdəl, and Bailey, Or. Stud. Pavry, p. 22.
  - 'wērak Sgl. p. 2, we'rāk p. 3 female lamb.

     Cf. Yd. wōryo.
  - wo'rok Sgl. is., Zb., wa'rōk Sgl. p. 2, wo' p. 3, 'waruk Ishk., Gr., Zar. u'ruk Sk. male lamb. — Cf. Yd. wərəy, "Wkh." warī.
  - work Sgl. is., work p. 1, 3, s., Zb. Ishk., "Wkh.", Zar., urk Sk., Gr. wolf. — Cf. Bur. (lw.) urk, Yd. wury.
  - wo'rokok Sgl. is. demin. of wo rok.
  - wur mēk Sgl. is., °īk p. 1, wər mīk p. 3 poplar.
  - wārv- Sgl. p. 3, wōrv- Zar. to boil (tr.).
     va vēk wārv. Cf. Mj. wurv,
    Par. yarv-, etc.
  - wa'sē Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 wide. Cf. Yd. wosa.
  - wōsi Zar., vāse Gr. cotton thread. Cf. Wkh. wəsai, Yd. wušāles (?).
  - wus-: wud Sk. to carry; uss-: wud Gr., wūs-, wūd- Zar. to take, lead away.

     wusum, wus, wudum, wuduk, wusuk Sk. Cf. Yd. is-.
  - wo'sōk Sgl. is., p. 3, wa° p. 2 calf, up to one y. old, naušudagi; wa'sŏk p. 1, s., wā'suk Sk., 'wa° Ishk. calf. — Cf. Wkh. wošk.
  - $wu's\breve{n}k$  Sgl. is., "Wkh.", w'suk Sgl. p. 2, 3 elbow.

- wost Sgl., wast "Wkh." fat, tallow. Cf. Yd. wazd, Sar. wast.
- wastuk, v. ostok.
- $w\bar{o}\bar{s}\bar{o}$  Sgl. p. 2.  $-w^{\circ}$   $n\bar{t}\delta$  ' $unj\bar{u}$   $bi\bar{s}\bar{\imath}n'$ .  $-< w\bar{o}\delta + j\bar{a}$ .
- wišt Sgl., Gr. (Zb.), bist Zb., lshk., Sk. twenty. — V. § 24. Cf. Yd. wišto.
- wăş Sgl. is., p. 1, Ishk., ăş Sgl. p. 2, 3, uş Sk., wuş Zar., ūş Gr. straw, kāh-i safēd. — Cf. Yd. wuş.
- wəṣt Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., wəxt "Wkh."
  juniper, arca. \*hapṛsi-tā (cf. Yd.
  yovurso) might result in \*vəṣt, but
  why tā, and why Sgl. w? Kati
  'viṣṭe may be a lw. from Ir.
- wōtuk Sgl. p. 2, watik Gr. feast, tūi. —
  nēr-mō wōtuk, to-day I am feasting(?);
  wətukə gāxān. < \*wadk < \*waduka-,
  cf. Yd. waly?
- watan Sgl. p. 2 country. dīr w° ba šīð. — Ar.·Prs.
- wu ter Sgl. p. 3, °er s., 'wusir Ishk., 'u°
  Zb., u'sur Sk., Gr., wu° Zar. ashes.
  \*āθarya·, cf. Or. aθīr, Shgh. θīr, Saka āhära. V. §§ 37, 91.
- wēx Sgl. is., p., Zb., Ishk., Sk., Zar. root;
  vēx Gr. twig. Cf. Yd. woxo.
- waxs Sk. 'the earth, a planet' [?].
- wöxs Sgl., vuxs Sk., voks Gr., vuks "Wkh." snake. — Cf. Wkh. fûks, Shgh. de'vûsk, Or. t(u) fausk, Sar. tafusk, Yazgh. δο'γōvc.
- waxt Sgl. is., waqt Sk. time. mə w°·i qadīm. Ar.-Prs.
- waz- Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk. : wāt- Sgl. p. 1, 3, wat- Ishk. to fall. wazen, az-əm wāt Sgl. p. 1; watəm p. 3; azī sō wazum Ishk. 'mēγaltum', watum I fell. Cf. Wkh. waz-, Shgh. wāš- (from pret. wēšt), Psht. watəl.

waz mīn Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk. heavy. — | xōôm Sgl. is., p. 3, xōdm p. 2, s. dream.

Prs. — mo xoôm wēnd p. 3 he saw in a

wu zinjak Sgl. is., s., wuż° p. 3 wife; wujinjak Gr. (Zh.) woman. — w² zəmanok oyoð mə dērī Sgl. p. 3 his wife became pregnant. — Reg. z—j v. § 75. Cf. jōnj.

wuznuk Zar. inflated goat-skin, mnssuck.
Cf. Wkh. yāzn, Yd. izē.

wuz'nel Sgl., wuz'nel Ishk., "Wkh."; uznul Gr., wu Zar. daughter in law. — Cf. Yd. zinio.

wa zīr Sgl. p. 3 minister. — Prs. wož dān Sgl. p. 3 back-tooth.

wu¹žižīr Sgl. is., p. 1, wu¹ziržir s., wu´zrzer
"Wkh.", ujirj Gr. partridge, kauk.
— Cf. Yd. žoržo.

wuž'dan Sgl. p. 1, <sup>2</sup>den p. 3, waž'den s., woγ'dän is., wuγ'den "Wkh.", <sup>1</sup>ūždən Zh., wuž'dɪn Ishk., <sup>1</sup>ůždan Sk., wuždən Zar. millet. — < \*(h)ārzana-, ef. Yd. yurzon.

#### X

xē Sgl. p., Ishk., Gr. owu. — xē döst Sgl. p. 1 his own hand; šuān xē xān p. 2 'buran xōna-i xud'; wa xē kuč oh, my wife; xē māl taxsīm kuð he divided his own goods. — < hwahya? Cf. § 118. But Gr. xadak (I my)self. xāb Sk. sleep. — Prs.</p>

xūb Sgl. is., p. 2. Sk. good, well, quite.
— xūb āðam-ū; čīziā-i xūb p. 3 good things; xūb rōst durk-ū it is a quite straight stick. — Prs.

xēb:: xēbt Sk. to beat. — Cf. Wkli. xēb.
xēčē Sgl. p. 3 inflated skin, maška. —
Prs. xīkća.

xə<sup>1</sup>dā Sgl. p. 3, xu<sup>1</sup>dō Sk., <sup>o</sup>dā Gr. God.
— xədā az-mō 'xudā mā astim'. —
Prs.

Norman Sgl. is., p. 3, xõdm p. 2, s. dream.
— mo xoôm wēnd p. 3 he saw in a dream; xõdm-um wēnt s. — Cf. Yd. xūbon.

xu  $\delta \bar{a}ri$  Sgl. i\*.,  $x\bar{\delta}^{z}$  p 1, 2, s.,  $x \partial d\bar{o}ri$  Zb.,  $xo^{z}$  Ishk.,  $x^{\hat{u}'}d'\hat{a}ri$  Sk.,  $xud\bar{a}ri$  Gr.,  $z^{z}\bar{o}ri$  Zar. water-mill. —  $x\bar{o}\delta\bar{a}ri$   $y\bar{u}\eta uk$  Sgl. p. 2 to grind in the mill. — Cf. Yd.  $x\bar{v}ryo$ .

xafa Sk. anger. — Ar.-Prs.

xof. Sgl. p. 3, s. to cough. — xofum buš.Cf. Yd. xof.

xof Sgl. p. 1, 3. xaf Zb., xafuk Gr. seum, foam. — Cf. Yd. xof.

xōfuk Sgl., xoʻfuk Sk., xa` Gr., xuf Zar. cough. — xˆ-o noδōk 'silfa giriftast'. — V. xof-.

xūg Sgl. is., Gr., xūk Sk. wild boar. — Prs.

xåk Sk. tomb. — Prs.

 $x\bar{a}k^e$  stār Sgl. is.,  $x\bar{a}ki^-$  p. 1, 2 ashes. — Prs.

xālī Sgl. p. 2 empty. — Ar.-Prs.

xölək Sgl. p. 1, xwlük Sk. maternal uucle; xuluk Gr. paternal uucle. — Kab., Bad. Prs. xåla maternal uncle, Ar.-Prs. xālū.

xolm Sgl. p. 1, 3 mucus from the nose.

— Prs

xa lās Sgl. p. 2 finished. — bas x<sup>o</sup>! šōwōk x<sup>o</sup> sīān the weeding was finished. — Ar-Prs.

xuāļ Sgl. is., s., xọ° p. I, 2, xọl Ishk.,
 xōl Zb., Sk, Gr., xāl Gr. (Zb.\, xoār
 MFB, xûl Zar. six. — < \*xwaša-.</li>
 V. § 55.

xuālados Sgl. is., xuāloos p. 1, 2, ados s., xwālados p. 3 (šonzdāu Zb.) sixteen. xām Sgl. is., p. 2, xōm Zar. raw. — Prs. xom Sgl. is., p. 3, xom p. 1, s., Ishk., xum

Gr., "Wkh.", xm Sk. milk. — Cf.

Prs. šama milk which flows spontaueously from the ndder. But Sgl. x = Prs. š is only possible, if  $\langle x s \rangle$ . Possibly ancient lw. from Prs.  $x\bar{a}m$ , cf. Afgh.-Prs.  $s\bar{s}r$ -i- $x\bar{a}m$  'fresh milk'.  $xam \partial n \partial k$  Sgl. p. 2 tick. — Cf. Kab. Prs.  $xamand\bar{u}k$  beetle, wood-lonse (Bogdanov, JASB, NS, 26, 118).

xān, xā Sgl. is., p., xån Ishk., Gr.. Sk., "Wkh.": xånavār Sk. house. — ma mən xān, ō tō xān Sgl. p. 1; tar xāa p. 2 among the houses, families, rū-i xāna; amin xōn mun-ō Ishk. — Prs. xān(a).

xān-bərš Sgl. p. 2 corner of a house. — Prs. \*xān-burj.

xānd- Sgl. p. 2, xōnd- Ishk.. Zar., xōnd-: .cūnd- Sk. to laugh. — xāndum buš 'mēxāndam'; psād ba xānden p. 2. — Cf. Yd. xoud-.

xing Sk. bluish grey. — Prs. xinj Sk. whey.

xan jar Sk. dagger. - Prs.

xənək Sgl., Zb., x(d)nök Sk. cold. vēk xənuk-ö p. 2; nēr fai xnök Sk. — Prs.

xap Sk. silence. - Prs.

xair Gr. sweat.  $-=*x\bar{e}\delta^{\gamma}$  Cf. Yd.  $x\bar{u}l$ .

xīr Zar. sister's son. — Cf. Mj. xurī. xŏr Sgl.is., p., xur Ishk., Sk., Gr. xər Zb. ass. — Cf. Yd. xoro.

xūr: xərið Sgl. p. 2, xur- p. 3 to scratch oneself. — xurum buš p. 3, xəridəm p. 2. — Cf. Prs. xāridan.

 $xar\bar{a}b\bar{\epsilon}$  Sgl. is.,  ${}^{\circ}\bar{a}b$  p. 2 lean. — Ar. Prs. xar'bz Sgl. p. 2,  ${}^{\circ}b\bar{u}za$  Sk. melon. — Prs.

xarč Sgl. p. 2 expenditure. — xarš xaštān. — Ar. Prs.

xu ruk Sk. food. - Prs.

xŏr'mōn Sgl. p. 2, 'xūrman Sk. threshing-ground. — x² xūyen p. 2 'čuyul mēkum'; xōrmō xūyūk. — Cf. Yd. xu'rom.

xarn Sgl. p. 1, x3r<sup>3</sup>n p. 3, xern s., kurni Gr. raven, zåγ. — Cf. Yd. xun.

xərn- Sgl. is , p. 2, xərn- s., : xərī $\delta$  is., p. 2, s. to buy. — Cf. Yd. xo $^{\alpha}n$ .

xars, Sgl. is., x1rs p. 1, s., x2rs p. 3, x2rs Sk., xurs Gr., Zar. bear. — Prs.

xv<sup>1</sup>rūs Sgl., xù<sup>2</sup> Sk., xò<sup>1</sup>rus Ishk, cock. — v<sup>5</sup> bōn kenōi Sgl. p. 2. — Prs.

\*\*\text{than a wolf, red and blue(?), with long tail and snout. — Cf. Yd. \$xu \text{r\text{u}so.}\$

xarav Sk. mountain-brook, x° vēk ravine
water; xaraw Gr. gorge with a stream.
Prs. xarāba a small stream.

xu|rūš Sgl. p. 3 itching. — Cf. Prs. xāriš,

v. xūr.. xarž gār Sgl. p. 2 custom-official. — Ar.-Prs. xv'sər Sgl. is., s., xə<sup>2</sup> p. 1, xu'sur Ishk.,

'ar Sk. father-in-law. — Prs. xusərbə'rē Sgl. p. 1 wife's brother. — Prs.. cf. Yd. xəsərbərō.

xēště Sgl. is., p. 1, ota p. 2, s. bread. — az xo xwāren p 2; näi xēste nai pədf p. 2. — Cf. Yd. 'xisto.

xaš·tīrek Sgl. p. 1 arrow; is. small bow used as a toy. — Cf. Yd. xəsmānek + tīr?

xăš. Sgl. p. 2, s., Zar., : xašəð p. 2, 3, xaš.: xašt Sk. to draw, pull, smoke.
— čilim xāšen, čilim-əm xāšəð Sgl. p. 1; dam fāžek xašen I yawn; xarš xāštan; guðom xaštān 'ambār kašīdan'; vəza xašān they kill(?) goats; cə kū yūzə xašəm; wuðiļ xašān p. 2 they spread dung; pādšā xašəð xē tīr-i dast p. 3. — Cf. Wkh. xaš., Yd. xoš..

xēš Sgl. p. 2 kinsman, relation. — dūδum xē xēš be I gave it to my kinsman. — Prs.

xườk Sgl. is., ° kāk p. 3, xəšk Ishk. dry. — Prs. (Sgl. p. 3  $xu\check{s}k + q\bar{a}q$ ).

xaš pā Sk. a kind of porridge. atāla (cf. Yd. aṭīle). — Cf. Shgh. xuš pa.

rišt Sgl. p. 1 brick. - Prs.

xoš Sgl. is., p. 1, s. xuš Ishk., Gr., xūš Sk., xuž "Wkh." mother-in-law. — Cf. Yd. xušo, Wkh. žaš.

xū. 'əš kən Sk. to wish, want. — Prs. xuṣ 'dāuman Sgl. is. wife's brother's wife, zan-i.xusurberā.—Cf. Wkh. xušdōman, Prs. xušdāman, xušt mother in law. xav. xavd Sgl. p. 3 to descend. — cə āsmān paše xavd mosquitoes descended from the sky. — Cf. Yd. xafs. xāwand Sgl. p. 2 master. — Prs.

xwār-: xwo)oļ- Sgl. p. 2. :xōļ p. 3, is., xor-: xūl s., xar-. xūl Ishk., Sk., xar-: xul Zar. to eat. — xwār-ən (cf. § 131) Sgl. p. 2. xēsta xorem s.: is xwār p. 2 come and eat; az-əm xēsta xwol p. 2: xēstē-em xōl is., xēsta-im xūl s.; xwōlō-dak p. 2 he has eaten; xarem, xūlum Ishk.; xaram, xar! xūləm, xāruk Sk. — Cf. Yd. xoar-. xā yē Sgl. is., °ē p. 2 scrotum. — Prs. xūy-: xūð Sgl. p. 2, 3, s. to thresh. — xormōn xūyen p. 2. xūyem s. 'xirmāne kunum'. — Cf. Yd. xā-.

xãz-: xŏt Sgl. is., p. 2 3, Sk., xaz-: xət Ishk., xaz-: xet Gr. (Zb.), :xut Gr. to rise. — az-em xōt Sgl. is.; xazen, xotem, bād cə wōð xōt a wind arose from there, sāar ba xōtan p. 2; 'xazum. a'zī cə mīnduk xə tuk Ishk. I have risen from sleep; 'xazum, xaz!, 'xotum, xatuk, xazuk Sk. — Cf. Prs. xāstan, Psht. xatəl, etc.

 $xa\tilde{z}ok$  Gr. sweet. — Cf. Wkh.  $x\tilde{v}\tilde{z}g$ , Shgh.  $x\tilde{\imath}\tilde{z}$ , Psht.  $x\tilde{o}\tilde{z}$ , etc.

#### Y

yā Ishk. or; yō-yō Sk. either-or. − Prs.

yō, v. ō.

you Sgl. is., p. 2 grain coll.'. yalla: yau Gr. cereals, provisions. — Cf. Yd. you.

yēća Zar. nest. Cf. Yd. yēxio.

yūδ Sgl. is., p. l, s. husband's brother's wife, zan-i ēvar. — Cf. Mj. yūi.

 $y_{\tilde{\sigma}_{i}^{n}}$  Sgl. p. 1.  $y_{\tilde{\sigma}_{i}^{n}}$  Gr.,  $y_{u_{i}^{n}}$  Zar. yoke. — Cf. Yd.  $y_{\tilde{u}_{i}^{n}}$ .

yak Sgl. p. 2 one. — In yak sal fauž orob. — Prs. Prob. only used in special expressions.

ya lē Sgl. p. 1, fā p. 3 released, opened.
y fəm kul p. 1: kafas ranzan y kəb p. 3 he opened the window of the cage.

yãl Sgl. p. 1. vərro(k) yãl is., p. 2 mane.
 — Prs.

yel; ār'band Sgl. is. rope fastening the yoke round the bullock's neck.

yūn· Sgl. is., yūl·: yūrd p. 2, yūṇ-: yūrð p. 3, yūṇ-: yūrð s., yūln·: yūld Ishk., yurn·: yurd Zar. to grind. — xuðāri yūnūk is. xō'ðūrī yūṇuk, yūniś p. 3 grinding. — Cf. Yd. yāṇ-. V. § 138. and s.v. wuļōk.

yūṇāk Sgl. p. 3 pine-marten. — Cf. Wkh. wīnek, Yd. wāṇ.

yər Sgl. is., p. 3. yır p. 1, yır p. 2 stone, rock. — Cf. Yd. yar. V. § 27.

yur ya Sk. ambling — Wkh id., cf. Turk. Prs. yarya a swift horse.

yārč Sgl. is., p. 1, ārč Zb. avalanche. yarx Gr. animal's droppings. — Cf. "Wkh." rəx, Zänganī Kurd. rex id., Sar. riš excrements \*irx < Av. hixra- thin excrements?

ya'sir Sk. prisoner. — Ar.-Prs.

yő'tuk Sgl., 'yetik Sk., Gr., ya° Zar. bridge. —  $< *\tilde{e}tk$ , v. § 24. Cf. Yd.  $y \in ya$ .

 $y \bar{e}v : y \bar{e}v \delta$ . Sgl. p. 3, s., y iw- p. 2,  $\bar{i}v : \bar{i}v d$ Zar. to spin. —  $y \bar{e}v e n$  bvš,  $y \bar{e}v \delta \delta m$ Sgl. p. 3. — Cf. Yd.  $\gamma \bar{i}$ -.

yiv ook Sgl. is., p. 2, iv p. 1, ivduk Gr., kivduk (?!) Sk. thread. — V. yev.

yəx Sgl. is., p. 3, yex p. 1, yəx p. 2, yex s., yax Sk., Ishk., Zar. ice, frost. — daryāo yəx-o kuōk p. 2 the river is frozen. — Prs.

yə'xōai Sgl. is., ə'xōai p. 1, 3, u'x° s., ixwāī p. 2. əxōi "Wkh.", ixo Sk., Zar. 'īxā Gr. sister. — rōī-xwāī mənen-ē Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Yd. ixō. V. § 92. Cf. also Shgh. ka(x)wōi woman < \*ka-hwahā-?</p>

yōz Sgl. is., yūz p. 2, Zar., yås Sk., yuz Gr., yū MFB firewood. — cə kū yūzə xašəm Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Wkh. yūz, Shgh. žīz firewood, Psht. yōza faggot, yaz, Prs. gaz tamarisk, Sak. ggaysa-, Oss. qāz(ā) reed. — V. Walde-Pokorny, I, 569 \*gēg(h) (cf. e.g. Norw. kage low shrub).

yōzda, v. kolos.

#### Z

za Sk.—?—In a'zi za 'cē-wûnəm, tə 'zə 'cē-wûnē, 'au 'zə 'cē wûnū, məx ze 'cē-wûnān.

zē Sgl. is. bowstring. — Prs.

zī Sgl. p. 3 such, like that. — mənī zi Xudāi nəst, kə wo žanan 'az mā ītarī Xudā nēst, ke ūna bukušan'; tə-δō ma zi cē·va gaxtog? 'cirā hamī kārī kardi-ast'(!) why hast thou done such a work? — Cf. Wkh. azi such, hazi like that. V. Texts, V, 78.

zdār-: zdūd Sk. to sweep. — V. astar-, cf. Shgh. zedār-, etc. V. § 63.

zīδ: zŭst Sgl. p. 2, 3, s. to flow, run. — wēn be zīδū, wēn zust p. 2; vēk zīδen p. 3 1 let the water run, 'åwe mērēzəm'. — Cf. Yd. zəyal.

zūγ Sgl. p. 1, s. raven, zdy (with red beak);
zd(γ) Sk. crow; zāγčuk Gr. chough. —
Cf. Yd. zãγo.

 $z^{2}\gamma \bar{o}log$  Sgl. p. 1 humble-bee. — <\*uz-gartaka-?

z<sup>3</sup> yēr Sk. linen. — Prs. zayīr linseed.
 zukām Sk. a cold ('another word exists').
 Ar.-Prs.

zvil Gr. sleeve of a garment. — Cf. Shgh.

zuž, Or. zū, Sar. zūl, id. < \*zuša·,
Oss. dis, dus < \*dušā·, Sangisāri
dū'še < \*daušaka, \*dū°, or dušya°,
Prs. (B.Q.) jūšša < \*zuš(y)aka(?).
Derivation from Av. zuš· 'pretty,
ornament' seems improbable. Possibly
< \*duš· (with z- from zasta·?), cf.
Prs. dōš, and, with reduced vowel,
Lett. pa duse armpit, breast of a
garment. But \*dus·o·, with vowel
gradation, from \*deus·/dus· would
have to be an extremely ancient
formation.

zile'žem Sgl. p. 1, is. earthquake. — zaminžem (q.v.) + zilzila.

zāļ Sgl. p. 1. 3, zōļ "Wkh." yellow. — Cf. Yd. zīt.

zam'būr Sgl. is , p. 1, 3 wasp. — Prs.

zə mūδ Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, "Wkh.", ze s. sonin-law. — Cf. Yd. za mai.

zema'nī Sgl. s., kurčūn zəmā'nī is. chicken.
— V. zəma'nōk.

za mīn Sgl. is., p. Ishk., Gr. field, earth;
Sgl. p. 1 floor. — zamīn-əm köndəm
p. 2; cəfūr z -ō p. 2 I have four fields.
— Prs.

zəma'nök Sgl. is., p.. "Wkh." boy; zō man Sk., zāman Gr. Zh.) child. — mən xān kövð zəma'nāk-ō Sgl. p. 3, z° tawalīd šīd p. 3. — Cf. Yd. zəmon. zamin'zəm Sgl. p. 2 earthquake. — Prs. zamīn'jumb. V. zzlc iem.

zemi'stån Sgl. is., zəme p. 1, zəmz p. 2, zami'stån Ishk., ze Sk. winter. — Prs.

zə nē Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, zenūd Ishk., zenūd p. 1, s., zeney: zenūd Ishk., zenām Sgl. is., zenūd Sk. to wash. — zenēm Sgl. is., xē dēst zenēyen p. 1; wēn zenē! p. 2; zenūdəm p. 1; zenayum; zenai; azi xe dust zenūd Ishk. — Cf. Yd. zənay. zin, v. zūng.

zīn Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Sk. saddle. — v<sup>3</sup>rō-zīn
 Sgl. p. 2. — Prs.

zīna Ishk, ladder. — Prs.

zīnda Sgl. p. 2 alive. — az z²-mō. — Prs.

zində<sub>1</sub>gō nī kən- Sk. to live. — Prs. zin<sup>1</sup>hōr <sup>1</sup>bō zin<sup>1</sup>hār Sk. never(??. — Prs. zenz- Sgl. p. 2, zənj- p. 3, zōnz- : zŭyd Ishk.

Sk.,  $z \dot{a}nz$ .  $z \dot{o} \cdot d$  Gr. to seize, catch, lift up, take on one's back. — zenzen Sgl. p. 1. — Cf. Shgh.  $z \dot{e}z$ :  $z \dot{a} \dot{s} \dot{t}$ , Or.  $z \dot{o}z$ - to seize, Sogd.  $z \dot{\gamma} \dot{t}$  to hold. Av.  $z \dot{a}z \dot{a}z$ - (haz-) to get hold of (with secondary nasalisation) does not explain  $z \ddot{u} \dot{\gamma} \dot{d}$ , etc., while Skr.  $u \dot{d} \cdot a \ddot{u} \dot{c}$ - to lift, elevate' does not quite suit the meaning of the Sogd, word. Cf. also Saka biysamj- to grasp?

zăng Sgl., Gr., zin Ishk.(?), zng Sk., zong Zar. knee. — Cf. Yd. zīk, Wkh. zun, etc. zūngviš Sgl. is, calf of the leg. — V. viš.
zangiāk Sgl. is. wooden pegs for keeping the two strings of a pellet-bow apart.
zār Sgl. p. 2, Sk. poison. — Prs.

zör Sgl. p. 2 strong, powerful. — az zör-mö 'ba sar-i tu zör astim'. — Prs.

zard Ishk., zård Sk., zord Zar. yellow. -- Prs.

zardək Sgl. p. 2 carrot. — Prs. zar'dölu Ishk. apricot. — Prs. ziät Sgl. p. 2 much. — Ar. Prs.

zot Sgl., zus Ishk., Gr., zes son, zāt Gr. (Zb.) son. — zōt paidā šīδ; cəfūr zot-o mənen Sgl. p. 2. - Av. zaidabirth, Turf. Phl. zhg boy. V. § 37. zə vūk Sgl. p. 1, 2, uk p. 3, ze vūk is, s.. Zb.,  $z^{j}v\bar{p}k$  Ishk.,  ${}^{\circ}uk$  Sk. tongue, language. — tī zə vūk pə zīnum Sgl. is.; tə məmbå yaž kūnā zəvək-d Sk. tell me if there is an ancient word. - Cf. Yd. zəviy. Also the Yazgh., Yaghn., Sogd., Oss. forms go back to \*hizwāka- (> Saka \*wizwāka-). \*hizwā is retained in Shgh., etc. (zev) and prob in Psht. (žiba), while Wkh. zīk goes back to \*hizūka. S. and W.Ir. have\*hizwān-, which is influenced by dantān.

za.xm Sgl. p. 2. za.xm Sk. wound. — z`-o šiōk. — Ar.-Prs.

za.c·mī Sgl. p. 2 wounded. — az-mō z° šiōk. — Ar.-Prs.

# Ž, Ž

ža Sgl. p. 2. je p. 3 before, in front of.

— az tū ža-mō 'pēš-i tē-im'; tə mən

ža-δō 'tə pēš-i mā-st[ī]'; aδa āδam tō

žī-ō he is before thee; oyoð pādšā jē

he came before the king; is men jē

'pēš-i mā bīā'.

Zɨrök Sgl. is., p. l, yuwök "Wkh." male markhor; Zuwāk Gr. (Zb.) deer. — Cf. Yd. mā-žəγə?

žaduk Sk. murderer. — V. žan-.

zāla Sgl. is., ° lē p. 3. žāla p. 1, Sk.. j Zb., Ishk. hail. — Prs.

žan-: žōð Sgl. p. 2, 3, jan-: joð s., žan-: žad Sk. to kill. — təfak) žanen; az-əm wa žōð 'ura kuštam'; šənāy-əm žōð I extinguished the fire; va šenāi žan! Sgl. p. 2: wayim Xv'dā 'žanem; va-tō Xədā-im žoð p. 3. — Cf. Prs. zadan, etc.

zān'žək Sgl. is., °žək p. 1, 2, 'žānžək p. 3, 'žanjek s. entrails. — Possibly < 'žānj-ek < \*žanacī, cf. Psht. žanai</li>

catgut (with IE. \*gh-, but cf. Lith,  $\tilde{z}arn\grave{a}$ , Skr.  $hir\tilde{a}$  with \* $\hat{g}h$ ).

žəšt Sgl. is., p. big, large. — am ādam cə məcəf j žəšt is.; am xān žəšt, hab xān riziāk p. 1; cārvā cə vəz zəšt-6 p. 2; zəmanök zəšt šīb p 3.

źwondok Sgl. p. 2, żon dok p. 1, żónduk Ishk., Sk., Gr. hungry. — az żomo p. 2; wulāi žomo vob p. 2; azim żo soduk Sk. — < \*a-j i)wantaka., ct. Skr. a-jivant destitute of a livelihood. żondoki Sgl. p. 2, żandaki Gr. (Zb.) hunger, famine. — yo ž šib p. 2. — V.</p>

žwondok.

žvondok.

žīc Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, žic p. 3, zīc Ishk., říc (ž-?) "Wkh." coal. — Cf. Or. žēj.

# List of Placenames.

Injilgan Sgl. p. 1, 3, s. Lutkuh. Cf. Yd.
 —Mj. Yidg.—Leitner, Dardistan in 1895, map of the Chitral expedition, gives the form Hingan.

Izi'vūk Sgl. p. 2, 3, Īz° s. Zēbāk. — Izivū bē to Z.

Baš'gal Sgl. p. 2 the Bashgal valley in Nuristan.

Čátrāb Sgl. p. 3, Čeltrāl p. 2 Chitral. — V. Šām-.

Do'rā Sgl. p. 3, Dor'rā p. 1 the Dorah Pass, Flaxma'rīg Sgl. p. 3, F'slaxma'līk s., Flakhmarikh Indian Survey, n. of a village in Sanglech.

Faizo bod Sgl. p. 2 Faizabad.

Gögərd Dašt Sgl. p. 2 n. of a place below Lake Dufferin.

Gazke'stān Sgl. p. 2 "The Tamarisk Place" (?), n. of a place near Lake Dufferiu.

Inji gān Sgl. p. 1, 3, s. Lutkuh. Cf. Yd. Köfər stān Sgl. p. 2 Nuristau; mə Kāfıren—Mj. Yıdg.—Leitner, Dardistan in among the Kafırs of Lutkuh)

Kō'stān Sgl. p. 1, Kōestān p. 2 Chitral. Kō'vō Sgl. p. 1, 3 Chitrali. — Cf. Yd. Kūa, v. BSOS, VI, 441.

 $L\ddot{a}n'd\ddot{u}r$  Sgl. p. 3 n. of a place in Lutkuh below Shoghor.

Mande žān Sgl. p. 2, s. Munjan; Mande ži adj. p. 3. — Cf. BSOS, VI, p. 439.

Parröγ Sgl. p. 2 Kafir. — Cf. Yd. Pəráγο Nuristan.

Pŏroγ Sgl. p. 2, 3, Pōrəγ is., Parch Indian Survey, Fareg Burhan ud-Dīn. Pōruγ Mj. n. of a village in Sanglech.

Po run Sgl. p. 2 Parun, Prasun in Nuristan.

'Ski'tūl Sgl. is., p. 3. s. p. 3 also °ūδ'. Skitūl p. 2, Iskitul Indian Survey, Curzon. Isketul' B.u.D. n. of a village in Sanglech. — < \*uska-?

San lēč Sgl. p. 3, °ēš p. 2, °ić p. 1 (Prs. form?), Sang lēž p. 1 Sanglich Ind. Survey, Curzon Sanglech. — Can lēš (= c-Sanlēš) p. 2 from S. — Not with Herzfeld, AMI, VII. p. 59 < M.Prs. saxvališān, saxvaličān.

So'yot Sgl. p. 3, s. Shoghor in Lutkulı. — Cf. Yd. Šoyoyo.

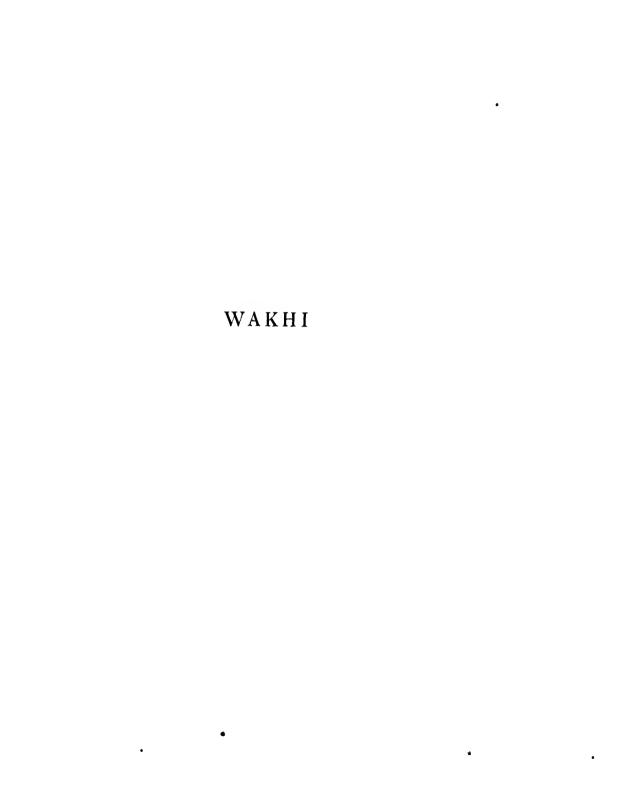
Škåšim Zb., Škåšim Ishk. Ishkashim.

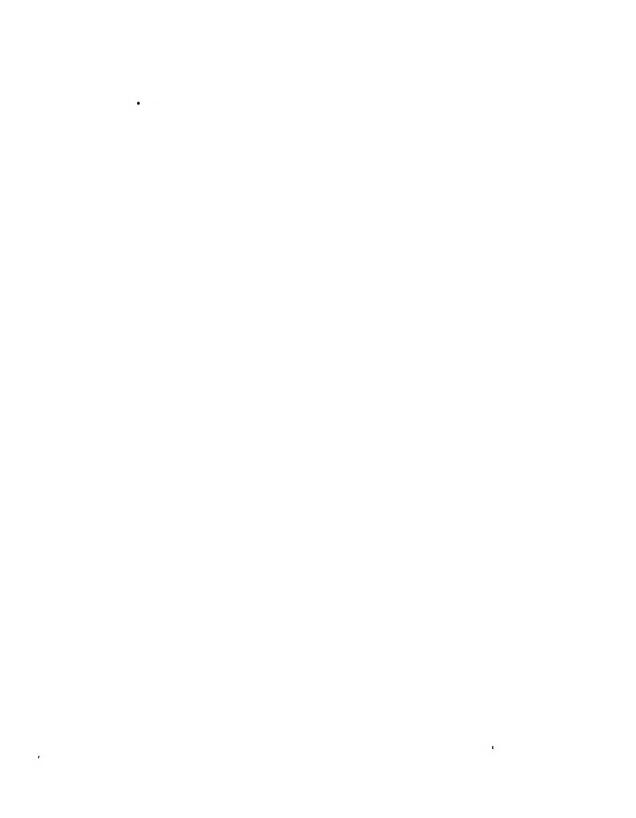
— Cf. Anc. Chin. \*Sək-ka-siem ˌv. Marqwardt. Ērānshahr, p. 224,, Beruni سكاشي

Šām-Čatrās Sgl. s. Chitral. — Cf. BSOS VI, p. 440.

Xāža 'Nīmkū Sarvār Sgl. p. 1 Terich Mer in Chitral.—Cf. 'Tiraj Mir or Sarowar', Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, quoted by Stein, Serindia, I, p. 51.

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# INTRODUCTION

- Our chief source of information about Wakhi is still R. B. Shaw's 1. valuable, but of course incomplete and now in several ways insufficient, account.1 The LSI. (Vol. X) adds further to our knowledge of this linguistically important dialect, besides giving a complete bibliography up to the date of the publication of the volume. To this I refer once for all Recently S. I. Klimchitskiy has published some Wakhi texts, together with a short vocabulary and important notes on phonology and morphology.2 A few Wakhi words are also given by Zarubin in his Munji Vocabulary,3 and some remarks of a general nature are found in my Rep. N.W. Ind., pp. 67 sqq. Still no comprehensive account of Wakhi has been published, and since Geiger's short survey to no attempt has been made to trace the historical development of the language. The following notes may therefore, it is hoped, in spite of the insufficiency of the new material on which they are based, be of some use for the understanding of one of the most archaic, and at the same time most peculiar, of living Ir. dialects.
- The material utilized for the following account of Wakhi has been collected by the late Dr. Sköld, by Lt. Colonel Lorimer, and by myself. During my stay in Chitral 1929 I had occasion to interrogate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On the Ghalchah Languages (Wakhi and Sarikoli), JASB. 1876.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ваханские тексты, in Труды Таджикиетанской вазы, том III, лингвистика pp. 75—124; изд. Академиа Наук СССР, 1936.—I did not see this article till my own account of Wkh. had already been written, and I have only been able to insert a few references to it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. above, p. 3, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2.

four inhabitants or natives of Wakhan, but each of them only for a very short time.

My informants were:

- 1. Nabī, a young man from Namadgūt in Russian territory. He N. was born in Zebak, but had been brought up in Wakhan and had lived most of his life and had married there. He asserted that he had learnt Wakhi as his first language. Although his language was evidently Wkh., it was much mixed with Ishk. words.
- 2. A man from Wark, on the Afghan side of the river. His W. language was not really Wkh., but a kind of Ishk.—Sgl. interspersed with Wkh. words. The small number of grammatical forms noted were all Ishk.—Sgl. Thus a'ze 'I', to fak 'thee', tumux 'you', kenen 'I do'. As remarked above the Sgl.—Ishk. words given by W in the great majority of cases present the characteristic archaisms of the Sgl. dialect, thus, e.g. ù for Ishk. i in pūš, kurčūn, δ for Ishk. d in kiskūδ, zəmūδ, etc.
- 3. Alī Shāh a 30-40 years old inhabitant of Khandūt. He X. admitted that he had lived for some time in Hunza, and, in spite of his assertion, I do not feel certain that he was really a native of Wakhan. He used several Khow. and other IA. words, and his pronunciation of Wkh. was in some respects incorrect or vacillating. -Regarding the sounds of Wkh. he quoted a Prs. proverb: Farsi hunar, Arab sakar, Waxi tinz-i-xar.
- 4. Shāh Nawāz Khān, a village headman, about 50 years old, from Yamg in Russian territory. He was by far my best, and probably my only quite reliable, Wkh. informant. Unfortunately I could only work with him for a few, short sessions.
- 5. Dr. Sköld's Wakhi material 4 consists of a list of words and a list Sk. of verbs corresponding to those given by Hjuler. He also gives a few

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Acc. to Stein, Innermost Asia, II, p. 871, "Namadgut, though inhabited by Wakhis . . . is reckoned as belonging to Ishkashm."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Rep. N.W. Ind., p. 68.

<sup>\*</sup> Ishk.—Sgl. § 8.

<sup>4</sup> V. Preface.

paradigms of verbs. I have not come across any information in his papers as to name(s) or home-village(s) of his informant or informants.

- 6. Colonel Lorimer with great kindness has permitted me to make full use of the copious vocabulary which he compiled from Wakhi settlers in Hunza in 1935. At the time when his vocabulary was placed at my disposal, I had already worked out my own, and I have only inserted a limited number of such words which appeared to be of special interest from the point of view of historical and comparative linguistics. Col. Lorimer's valuable Wkh. material will, I hope, be published in full.
- 3. The geography and history of Wakhan has been dealt with by several authors.<sup>1</sup>

It has since long been recognized that the name of  $Xand\bar{u}t$ , the largest village in Wakhan, is represented by the Ancient Chinese form  $xu\partial n d^i\hat{a}\cdot t\hat{a},^2$  given by Hüan-Tsang. It is also possible that Hüan-Tsang's Hu-mi ( $\gamma uo\text{-}miet$ ) may be identical with the modern village of Yamit (<\*Hamit(i)?).

The Prs. names for the valley and its language,  $Wax\bar{u}n$  and  $Wax\bar{i}$ , are evidently related to the native forms  $Wu\check{x}$  'Wakhan',  $\check{X}\bar{\imath}k$  'Wakhi' (language and inhabitant).<sup>3</sup>  $\check{X}\bar{\imath}k$  is a curtailed form of \* $W(u)\check{x}-\bar{\imath}k$ , and  $Wu\check{x}$  may be derived from \* $Wax\check{\imath}u$ -, with the development of  $x\check{\imath}$  mentioned below. This sound-change appears to be of some antiquity, since it is reflected not only in Hüan-Tsang's name for the river U-hu (uo-xuo), but also in Skt. Vokkāna, Bhokkāna, and in Mas'ūdī's  $Aux\bar{\imath}n = Wax\bar{\imath}n$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Marquardt. Ēranšahr, passim; Olufsen, In the unknown Pamirs; Stein Innermost Asia, II, pp. 863 sqq., On aucient Central Asian tracks, pp. 311 sqq. [Cf. now also Hudūd al-ʿĀlam, ed. Minorsky.—Corr. note].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Acc. to Karlgren's reconstruction.

<sup>3</sup> Acc, to Skold Šik is used in E. Wakhan.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Marqwart, Eranšahr, p. 244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ksemendra, Avadānakalpalatā (transl. into Chinese 472 A.D.) — Vaksu, Var.Br.S. and Vanksu-M.Bh. 'Oxus', cf. Tib. Paksu (Tanjur Colophon, acc. to Levi, JA. 1933, p. 27) may have been borrowed from some other Ir. dialect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Marqu., Eranšahr, p. 235. Cf. ibid. p 234 about Waxab and Waxsab.

<sup>28 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

The derivation of the Burushaski name for a Wakhi *Guirts*, pl.  $Gvw\bar{v}\dot{c}o^{1}$  is unknown.

4. The extent of the ancient fortifications in Wakhan, the ruins of which have been investigated by Stein,<sup>2</sup> and the description given by Hüan-Tsang point to the existence of "an earlier population and resources far greater than those of to-day".

The present population of Russian Wakhan is estimated by Stein at some 3000 souls, living in about 200 households,<sup>3</sup> and by Klimchitskiy at 5000. On the Afghan side of the river the population appears to be more numerous, according to Minorsky there are 3500 inhabitants, living in 64 villages and hamlets.<sup>4</sup>

5. Among the inhabitants of Wakhan there are some Munji and Shughni settlers who do not speak Wakhi.<sup>5</sup>

But on the other hand the hardy Wakhis, accustomed to living at high altitudes, have in recent times overflowed into the upper parts of nearly all the neighbouring valleys, and have established themselves above the settlements of the older inhabitants. In some cases permanent immigration has been preceded by exploitation of summer pastures and of local supplies of fire-wood.

The Wakhi settlements in the Yarkhun valley in Chitral have been described by Stein,<sup>6</sup> and Colonel Schomberg <sup>7</sup> informs us that several villages in the Ishkoman valley in the Gilgit agency contain

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lorimer, Bur. Grammar, I, Intr. pp. IV and XXXIII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Innermost Asia, II, p. 869; On Ancient Central Asian Tracks, pp. 311 sqq.—Stein is evidently right in rejecting Olufsen's hypothesis that these "Kafir" forts were built by raiders belonging to the Siahposh-Kafirs of Kafiristan (Olufsen, Through the unknown Pamirs, pp. 176 sqq.).

<sup>8</sup> On Anc. Centr. As. Tracks, p. 311. In Innermost Asia, II, p. 869 another estimate is mentioned, which agrees with that of Minorsky (Enzykl. d. Islam, s.v. Wakhan), who counts 27 villages with 2000 inhabitants. Acc. to Olufsen, op. cit. p. 56, there are 172 households in Russian Wakhan, including Namadgut.

<sup>4</sup> From Burhan-ud-Din, Badaxšan i Kattagan, p. 154. Acc. to B.ud-Din there are 27 villages in Russiau Wakhan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Gauthiot, MSL, XIX, p. 133 f., Olufsen, op. cit., p. 145.

<sup>6</sup> Serindia, I, p. 50; cf. also Rep. N.W.Ind., p. 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> From the Indus to the Oxus, pp. 81 sqq.

a strong, but recently immigrated Wakhi element. The Wakhi settlements in upper Hunza, including the Shingshal valley, are mentioned by several authors, but the most detailed account of them is given by Lorimer who estimates the number of Hunza Wakhis at 2411. Stein mentions Wakhis living at Dafdar in Sarikol, and Dr. Jarring has kindly informed me that according to information received by him from an inhabitant of Guma, on the upper reaches of the Yarkand Darya, Wakhis had settled in the hills south of that place about 60 years ago, and use to come down to the weekly market, speaking a language of their own.

Finally it may be mentioned that there is a village called Shund near the hot geysir in the Garm Chashma valley in Shughnan. There can scarcely be any doubt that this name is identical with the Wakhi word sundr 'hot', but it is not certain that it indicates the presence of Wakhis, at any rate not in modern times.

It is impossible to calculate the exact number of speakers of Wakhi, but we may perhaps guess that it lies somewhere about 10—15000.

6. There is nothing in written records, oral traditions or place-names which points to an immigration of Wakhis into Wakhan in historical times. We are not able to decide how long the language has been spoken in its present home, but all circumstances seem to indicate that Wakhi, in its essentials, is derived from the dialect of the very earliest wave of Ir. settlers in these regions, and that it has developed in relative isolation for a considerable period. This does not exclude the possibility that Wakhi may once have been ousted from other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E.g., Stein, Sandburied Cities, p. 42; Schomberg, op. cit., p. 215; Conway Climbing in the Karakoram, p. 254,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Burushaski Gramm, Intr. pp. IV, XXXIII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sandburied Cities, p. 64; Innermost Asia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Acc. to Jarring Pakhpos also are living near Guma, and besides at Kok-yar, in Karatagh, and in the neighbourhood of Karghalik. The Turks believe that they speak Persian among themselves.—They do not appear to be Wakhis.

valleys by later immigrants, nor that the language may have been strongly affected by the admixture of other Ir. elements. The intricacies of Wakhi phonetical development can in fact only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that an assimilation of foreign elements, similar to that which we can observe to-day, has been going on for centuries.

7. The isolated position of Wakhi among the neighbouring Ir. dialects is shown by a number of phonetical, morphological, and lexicological peculiarities.

Wakhi alone among the surrounding Ir. dialects preserves intervocalic surd stops and—at least to some extent— $\dot{s}$ , changes surd fricatives to stops (also in groups with r), assimilates rn > r, does not change sn- into zn-, or  $\dot{s}m > m$ , and develops a mixed vowel from ancient  $\bar{a}$ . Note also the Saka—Wkh. development of IE  $kw > \dot{s}$ .

In the field of morphology may be mentioned the very peculiar forms of the personal pronouns, the infinitives and past participles containing an n, and the existence of *three* stems in some verbs. Note also the preservation of the ancient meaning of the root *baw*-in *vitt* 'became'.

The astonishing originality of Wakhi vocabulary will appear from the following short list of the more remarkable words not found in the neighbouring dialects.<sup>1</sup>

Nouns: avārt span, bərīn knee, bīspiir eagle, cərm'ū) canal, dəger nail, durukş bull, dröst sleeve, dai man, duri stack, dus wasp, detk brick, kaš boy, mingas sparrow, mūr cloud, nayd night, noyordum bear, pərcād girl, pert back, pīrz evening, regiš beard, rōyət young she-goat, ramet chewing the cud, rīp hair, resip whip, rəwār day, resip whip, skīd skull-cap, skōrd bridge, səpərdän) flea, sönd raven, şafš hair, šung wood, sapt wolf, tap wing, vədek road, vōin light, vroks Ovis Poli, wuc arrow, wundr field, wān) belly, wuner stable, wīyīn pass, yijīn felt, yukş male ibex, yūm) flour, yīnōt dream, yāngəl finger, yīrk barley, yīsp shoulder, yīṣək plough-handle, yaž twig, yīxūn bridle, zem snow, zaž thorn, zārz milk, zītr woollen thread.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For further details v. Voc., passim.

Adjectives: baf good,  $\gamma$ af much,  $\gamma$ eš male, ruxn white,  $str\bar{\iota}n$  barren, sundr hot,  $s\bar{\imath}vd$  new,  $s\bar{\imath}x$  near.

Adverbs and Pronouns: sak we,  $s\tilde{a}i\tilde{s}t$  you,  $v^2r\tilde{o}k$  to-morrow,  $w\bar{u}dg$  to-day.

Verbs:  $b\ddot{u}t$ - to overthrow, car- to do,  $\check{c}aly$ - to wish,  $\grave{c}\partial rm$ - to enter,  $dedi\check{\gamma}$ - to look at, gafs- to run,  $\check{\gamma}at$ - to arrive,  $h\ddot{u}m\ddot{u}$ - to be,  $k\grave{\rangle}\ddot{u}y$ - to hear,  $l\bar{u}v$ - to slip, nesi- to lie down, nezd- to sit down,  $p\partial\partial me\check{s}$ - to swell,  $perm\partial r$ - to wither,  $p\bar{u}rind$ - to sell,  $p\ddot{u}tm\ddot{u}i$ - to mimic,  $r\partial\check{c}$ - to go, rand- to give,  $ras\ddot{u}\partial$ - to break,  $re\check{x}up$ - to sleep,  $\grave{s}and$ - to mix, tu- to be,  $v\dot{u}\partial\bar{u}v$ - to ride,  $v\ddot{u}c$ - to become,  $v\partial\bar{z}i$ - to come,  $\check{x}\bar{a}n$ - to speak,  $y\ddot{a}\partial$ - to pile up,  $y\bar{u}nd$ - to carry,  $y\bar{u}v$ - to eat, yaver- to select,  $y\ddot{a}\dot{z}$ - to bear,  $z\ddot{u}be\partial$ - to burst, etc., etc.

But although Wkh. possesses a greater number of peculiar traits than most other Ir. languages, it naturally agrees with one or other of the neighbouring dialects on special points. None of these resememblances, however, amounts to a special relationship between Wkh. and some other language together with which it might be said to form a group.

An ancient and important isoglott which unites Wkh. with Saka is the development of IE kw into k (ks). We also find some lexical accordances between the two languages, cf. Voc. s.vv.  $\delta ai$  and  $h\ddot{u}n\ddot{u}$ . But the retention of intervocalic tenues, the development of  $\partial r$ ,  $\partial w$ , -k, the forms of the personal pronouns, and several other important traits separate Wkh. from Saka.

9. The special points of resemblance between Wkh. and Mj.—Yd. are mainly restricted to a number of words containing  $l < \delta$ . Some of these words may have penetrated into Wkh. through the contact with Munji settlers in Wakhan, but in several cases the Wkh. forms do not correspond to the Mj. ones. Thus we find Wkh. malung 'middle', but Yd. malanë, Wkh. žil 'sweat', but Yd. xul; Wkh.w lând 3 'tooth', but Mj. of Wakhan lât (Gauthiot). It is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. Reichelt, Idg. Jahrbuch, I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. § 69. Cf. also Gauthiot, MSL, XIX, pp. 133 sqq., and Rep. N.W.Ind., p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> If correct.

perhaps possible that some Wkh. words with  $l < \delta$  may have come from Saraghlani (or Saraghlani?), a dialect which is at present separated from Wkh. by Ishk., but which may perhaps at an earlier date have been in direct contact with it. One of the three Saraghlani words given by Zarubin is woliké 'water', cf. Yd. wolo, Mj. wēla 'irrigation channel', etc.<sup>2</sup>

And among the place-names from the Saraghlani (Sarghulami) district given by Burhan-ud-din <sup>3</sup> we find *Melengau* or *Melengab* as the name of a village situated on the middle one of three tributaries of the Zardiv river. We shall hardly be wrong if we identify *meleng* with Wkh. *malung* 'middle', and *au*, *ab* with Prs.  $\bar{a}b$ .<sup>4</sup>

10. With the Shgh. group Wkh. shares the important suffix -ung/-en), the development of the prefix fra- into re-, ra-, and a number of words, especially verbs. As might be expected, the accordances are most numerous between Wkh. and Sarikoli, the only member of the Shgh. group which is not separated from Wkh. by other, intervening, communities.

In some cases the Sar. word has apparently been borrowed from Wkh., ancient or modern. Thus, Sar.  $s\bar{\imath}c$  (but Shgh. sej) 'needle' < Wkh. sic; Sar.  $\check{x}i\partial p$  'wolf' < Wkh.  $\dot{s}apt$  (< \* $\dot{s}ap^i\delta$ , in its turn from Khow. \* $\dot{s}api\delta > \dot{s}ap\bar{\imath}r$ ); Sar. kauk 'spring' < Wkh.  $k\bar{\imath}k$  (< \* $k\bar{\imath}k$ ); Sar.  $ga\check{x}nez$  'earring' (but  $\gamma aul$  'ear') < Wkh.  $gi\dot{s}niz$  ( $\gamma i\dot{s}$  'ear'); Sar.  $wi\dot{s}k$  'calf' < Wkh.  $wu\dot{s}k$  (< \*wasyaka); Sar. imbat- 'to overthrow' < Wkh.  $b\ddot{u}t$ - (< \* $\partial mbut$ -), etc.

Other Sar. words which have probably been borrowed from or influenced by Wkh. are: reb 'hair on the body', yax 'ibex', indij

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 24, note 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The meaning given by Zar. may be due to some misunderstanding.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Kattagan i Badaxšan, p. 120.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;iv may be the ancient obl. pl. ending. Unfortunately our knowledge of Saraghl. is restricted to these place-names and the three words given by Zarubin. Repeated endeavours to get hold of some information about the dialect through local officials have so far not proved successful, in spite of the kind interest shown by the Ministery of Education in Kabul and the Afghan Legation in London.

'slave', zamån (but Shgh.  $\grave{z} \ni ni$ ), etc.) 'snow', pamez- 'to dress' (but. Shgh. peniz-): Wkh.  $r\bar{\imath}p$ , yukš, andag, zem, pamec-. Some of the Sar. words given by Shaw as corresponding to Wkh. ones, may of course turn up in some other dialect of the Shgh. group. But it is safe to say that the contact between Wkh. and Sar. has been specially close. The profound differences which in many respects exist between Wkh. and the Shgh. group show, however, that the actual accordances are due more to secondary contact than to ancient relationship. On the whole Wkh. has been the influencing part, no doubt because Wakhis have settled in Sarikol from early times, but at least a few Wkh. words appears to be of Sar. origin:  $\grave{\imath}era\check{x}$  'knot' < Sar.  $\grave{\imath}ere\check{x}$  (with  $\grave{\imath}-< g$ -, characteristic of the Shgh. group);  $su\delta\gamma$  'smooth'; rau) 'flame'. Cf. also § 30.

11. Also Ishk.—Sgl. presents a few instances of special lexical correspondence with Wkh. Cf. e.g. Wkh. ktūċ 'hut': Ishk. krūċ;¹ Wkh. p²zöv 'heart': Sgl. ōvzui, etc.; Wkh. goˇz- 'to do': Sgl. gux-; Wkh. niwiz- 'to go out': Sgl. nēz-; Wkh. pōv- 'to drink': Sgl. pöv-; Wkh. kkāv- 'to catch a cold': Ishk. škōv-; Wkh. wūzəm- 'to bring': Sgl. ½žīm-, and other words.² Note also that Wkh. żəmak 'moon' agrees with Ishk.—Sgl. and Mj.—Yd., but not with the Shgh. group. Some of the correspondences mentioned above are no doubt due to recent borrowing,³ but others, such as p²zöv/ōvzui, indicate a certain amount of contact at an early date.

There are, however, no phonetical changes common to Wkh. and Sgl.—Ishk.,<sup>4</sup> and only a small number of special morphological correspondences.<sup>5</sup> The loss of the ancient distinction of gender <sup>6</sup> is common to Wkh. and Sgl.—Ishk., but it is also found in the neighbouring IA. language Khowar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But v. Sgl.—Ishk. § 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Especially in Skold's material (from W. Wakhan?.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. also Voc. s.v xədörg, frīl-. kalıbən.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  Note, e.g., Wkh. srtə $\check{x}$ , but Sgl. wuznul < \*snuš $\check{a}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf the abs. gen. in -an, and the 2 pl. in -ar common to Sgl.—Ishk, and Western Wkh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> V. § 105.

. On the whole it seems probable that Sgl.—Ishk. belongs to a later wave of Ir. settlers than Wkh., and that this latter language must be considered to form a separate branch of the north-eastern Ir. dialects.

12. The numerous Prs. lw.s in Wkh. need not detain us here. Their exact provenience, phonetical appearance, relative date, etc, present many interesting problems, which must, however, be discussed in connection with a general survey of the expansion of Persian in Tajikistan, Badakhshan and the Pamirs. The extreme variety of pronunciation of many Prs. lw.s points to repeated borrowing of the same words from various sources.—One example of double borrowing may be mentioned here: According to Sköld there exists, besides the naturalized loan-word xaly 'person, man, people (люди) (coll.)', also a more recent and 'literary' word xaly 'nation (народ)'.

Also the provenience of the Turkish lw.s, many of which are common to Wkh. and Sar., must be left to be studied by the specialist.

I have not been able to detect any words of undoubtedly Burushaski origin in Wkh..² and the derivation of tōr 'walnut' from Tibetan ³ is highly improbable.

13. There are a few IA. lw.s in Wkh., the exact source of which cannot be determined. Thus: ¿kər 'partridge', mutr 'augury', and possibly kend 'woman'. Also a number of words containing a cerebral sound are probably of IA. origin. Examples are: ¿aṭ 'horned cattle' (Sar. ¿āt); čuṭ car- 'to tear asunder'; kaṭ- 'to throw'; kəṭ 'short'; qaṭ 'mucus'; kuṭōl 'dagger'; mōṇ(?) 'male oorial'; māṇḍ- 'to rub' (v. s.v. mānd-); paṭ 'penis'; peṭ 'round'; pṭok 'bread'; pəṇḍək 'unripe apricots', etc., regarding which ef. Voc s.vv.—There is also a curious, but possibly accidental, similarity between Wkh. mingas, etc. and the Kati-Kafiri words for 'sparrow'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> V. Shaw's Voc. passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> As for Wkh. lw.s in Bur., cf. my Preface to Lorimer, The Burushaski Language, I, p. XXIV.—Add Bur. diščik (Conway dishtik) 'brick', v. § 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.

14. I have found no certain Shina lw.s in Wkh.,¹ but from Khowar are borrowed türt 'ford' (Khow. thūrt); šiven 'rope' (Khow. šimēni); šapt 'wolf', Sar. žiθρ (<\*šapiδ > Khow. šapīr). The number of lw.s from Khowar is, however, very restricted ² It is therefore most surprising that Wkh. should have borrowed the personal pronoun 1 pl. spā 'us' from Khow. ispa (<\*spā), and probably also sav, sab 'you' from Khow. bisa (<\*bsā <\*vasā). Also the occurrence of a cerebral č is probably due to Khow. influence.³

What renders the borrowing of Khow. pronouns into Wkh. all the more astonishing is the fact that Wkh., which at any rate in our days is the language of the poorer and politically and culturally less important community, has supplied Khow. with a considerable number of lw.s. It is not always easy to distinguish Khow. words of Wkh. origin from those belonging to other Ir. dialects, but in some cases there can be no doubt about Wkh. being the immediate source of the Khow. words.<sup>4</sup>

Examples are: Khow.  $u.x\bar{a}r$  'ladder';  $and\bar{a}w$  'fever';  $doy\bar{u}r$  'fingernail'; rigis 'beard';  $sang\bar{u}r$  'entrails': sonthu 'raven';  $x\bar{e}l$  'sweat';  $p\bar{a}z$  'breast'; zox, jox 'thorn': Wkh.  $wax\bar{a}r$ , andav,  $dog\bar{o}r$ , regis,  $song\bar{o}r$ , sond,  $x\bar{i}l$ ,  $p\bar{u}z$ , zax. Also Khow.  $ispr\bar{a}sk$  'rafter';  $ispr\bar{u}$  'flower';  $bizb\bar{a}r$  'eagle, kite'; a.cam- 'to descend'; kisipi 'magpie'; nosk 'beak'; yoz 'ice' may be of Wkh. origin; ef. sipask; spray;  $bisp\bar{u}r$ ;  $x\bar{a}m$ ;  $kirzep\bar{e}r$ ;  $n\ddot{u}ck$ ; yaz. It is also tempting to derive Khow. supuk, Wershikwar supa 'hoof', Burush. sup 'horseshoe' from a lost Wkh. form with p < f. On the other hand, Khow. sar- 'to appear' and vor 'smell' (Wkh.  $s\ddot{u}d\ddot{u}y$ -,  $v\ddot{u}l$ ) may have come from any E.Ir. dialect, and it is impossible to tell whether Khow.  $s\ddot{a}$  'black' has been borrowed from an older form of Wkh.  $s\bar{u}u$ , or of Ishk.  $s\bar{u}i$ . There are also several words common to Khow. and Wkh. the origin of which is altogether unknown.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As for Shina listik 'brick' < \*Wkh., ef. § 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Khow, words given by Wkh. x., excepted. They are, at the utmost, used within a very limited circle of Wakhi speakers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Note, on the other hand, the striking difference in the treatment of ancient  $\widehat{kw}>$  Wkh.  $\check{s},$  but Khow.  $\check{s}p.$ 

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BSOS. VIII, pp. 261 sqq.

15. The crossborrowing between Wkh. and Khow. can hardly have been conditioned merely by scanty communication across the Hindu Kush passes, or by the slight and apparently quite recent contact between the two languages in the Yarkhun valley.

We know that the Khos won Chitral proper from the Kalashas at a comparatively recent date, and that their original home—original of course to be taken in a relative sense—was Upper Chitral, the valleys round Mastuj.¹ Also the Kho settlements east of the Shandur Pass, in the Ghizr district of Gilgit agency, may be fairly ancient. We are therefore entitled to assume as a possibility that the Khos in early times may also have crossed the easy saddle of the Baroghil Pass and occupied at least some part of Wakhau, mingling with the Ir. Wakhis coming from the West.

But this remains a matter of speculation as long as no further documents are found which may throw light upon the early history of the Khos.

It is very probable that dialectical differences should exist within the extensive territory in which Wkh. is spoken. But so far very little is known about such variations. Differences of pronunciation, especially of vowels, are frequent in the available sources, but it is not possible to assign them to different parts of Wakhan. It may, however, be mentioned that Wkh.y., in accordance with Klimchitskiy's, Hjuler's, and Sköld's informants, used forms in -v for the 2 pl. of verbs, while Wkh.x., Shaw, Stein and LSI had -tt. The western neighbours of Wkh., Sgl.—Ishk. and Mj.—Yd., have -of, but Sar. and Shgh. have -id. It may therefore be surmised that an isoglott separating W.Wkh. from E.Wkh. passes between the villages of Yamg and Khandut. Similarly Sköld and Klimchitskiy give kort 'did' (cf. Wkh.y. kerk 'has done') while Shaw has the more regular form cart. Also the variation between intervocalic -o- and -d- may be of a local nature, -d- possibly belonging to W.Wakhan, where influence from Ishk. might be suspected. As for the forms of the infinitive v. § 157 sq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As for the ancient name of this region cf. BSOS, VI, p. 441.

# PHONETIC SYSTEM

17. For reasons explained above only one of my Wkh. informants, viz. Wkh. y., can be relied upon with regard to the phonetical structure of the language. In the main Y's sounds agree with those given by Shaw, Sköld, Lorimer and Klimchitskiy. Discrepancies, especially in the pronunciation of vowels, may either be due to dialectical and individual variation or to inexact notation.

## Consonants.

		 Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	, Uvular	Glotta
Plosive		p, b	t, d	<i>ṭ</i> , ⟨ <i>ḍ</i> ⟩²		k, g	q	
Affricate .		-	$c, (j)^3$	ṭ, ⟨ḍ⟩² ˇç	č, j			
Fricative .		f, v	$(\vartheta)$ , 3 $\delta$			x, y	x, y	h
Sibilant .			8, Z	š, ž	š, ž			
Nasal		m	n	$[n]^4$		[3] 4		
Lateral			1	⟨ <i>l</i> ⟩ <sup>2</sup>			]	l t
Rolled			r					
Semivowels		w			y			]

<sup>1 § 2.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Not used by Y.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Very rare.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Not a separate phoneme.

- 19. The consonant system of Wkh. appears, as far as it is possible to judge from our present limited knowledge of the language, to be based upon the following correlations:
  - 1. Voiced: b, d,  $(\dot{q})$ , g,  $(\dot{j})$ ,  $\dot{j}$ , v,  $\delta$ ,  $\dot{\gamma}$ ,  $\gamma$ , z,  $\dot{z}$ ,  $\dot{z}$ . Surd: p, t, t, k, c,  $\dot{c}$ , f,  $\vartheta$ ,  $\dot{x}$ , x, s,  $\dot{s}$ ,  $\dot{s}$ .

There are no voiced counterparts of q and  $\dot{c}$ , and  $\dot{d}$  and  $\dot{j}$  are rare and uncertain phonemes. The great number of correlations of voice in Wkh. are worth noticing.

- 2. Plosive: p, b, t, d, k, g, q. Fricative:  $f, v, \vartheta, \delta, \check{x}, \check{\gamma}, x$ .
- 3. Plosive: t, d, t, d. Sibilant: s, z,  $\check{s}$ ,  $\check{z}$ .

But s and z have no plosive counterparts.

4. Plosive: t, d, t. Affricative: c, (j),  $\check{c}$ .

A very fragmentary group of correlations.

- 5. Plosive: p/b, t/d, t/(d), k/g. Nasal: m, n, (n) [n].
- 6. Labial: p, b, m, f, v

Dental: t, d, n,  $\vartheta$ ,  $\delta$ , c, (j), s, z. Retroflex: t, d, n,  $\check{c}$ ,  $\check{s}$ ,  $\check{z}$ .

Palatal:  $\dot{c}, \dot{j}, \dot{s}, \dot{z}$ .

Velar:  $k, g, [x], \check{x}, \check{\gamma}$ . Uvular:  $q, x, \gamma$ .

Aspiration of surd stops has been noted occasionally in Y:  $k \cdot \delta m$  'palate' (Bell. khom);  $p'\bar{u}n$  'palm' (Bell.  $ph\bar{u}n$ );  $p'\bar{u}z$  'breast'. Cf. X  $k' \wedge la$  'ram';  $p'\bar{u}d$  X 'foot';  $p'\bar{u}nzs$  N 'five';  $k' \wedge nd$  Sk. 'wife'. But it seems to be much less marked than in most other Pamir dialects.

20. Labials: f and v are labio-dentals. w is a bilabial semi-vowel.<sup>2</sup> Dentals: The voiced affricate j is very rare. I heard it only in  $j \ni i$  'bowstring' (L.  $j/z \in i$ ). Kl. gives also  $j = i \neq j$  'yak' and  $j \ni j = i \neq j$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Either  $\gamma$ , or (if x,  $\gamma$  are taken to be velar sounds) q is without a counterpart.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Acc. to Kl. a bilabial, voiced "sonant".

(Sh. and Sk. also j-). But Wkh. y., etc.  $z \ni ka \ lai$ . The numeral 'five' has j acc. to Sk., Kl. and Z., but Sh. and my informants had  $p \bar{a} n z$ , etc.

It is doubtful whether postvocalic d and  $\boldsymbol{\delta}$  are separate phonemes. Wkh. y. always has -d-.

 $\vartheta$  is of rare occurrence, especially in non-initial position (cf. Voc. s.vv.  $pi\vartheta u$  L.,  $yo\vartheta$  L.). Phonetically r is alveolar.

Palatals: y is phonetically nearly a fricative.

Cerebrals: Y had initial t only in  $t\bar{o}r$  'walnut' and no examples of d. This may, however, be due to accident. Kl. gives d also in initial position. n is a variant of n before d ( $p \ni n d \ni k$  Sk. 'bud',  $m\bar{a}nd$ -' to rub', but Y  $m\bar{a}nd$ -). Independent n was heard only in the pronunciation of W, and not with certainty true Wkh.

Kl. gives two words with j. I never heard this sound.—To my ear s, s and c were retroflex sounds, and Kl. also at first took them to be "cerebrals". Afterwards he had the pronunciation of the Wkh. sounds analysed by Ščerba, who comes to the conclusion that s is dorsal and resembles Engl. sh, while s is coronal and akin to Russ. s. I have not the slightest doubt that this analysis is phonetically more correct than Kl.'s and my own (which was based on a very short observation). But I am still inclined to believe that the s series phonologically belongs to the retroflex sounds, and the s series to the palatals. Kl. groups the s sounds with the dentals as 'dorsals', and the s sounds together with s as 'coronals'.

It did not always seem easy to distinguish the two series of  $\hat{s}$  and  $\hat{s}$  sounds, nor  $\hat{s}$  from  $\hat{x}$  (or  $\hat{x}$ ,  $\hat{\gamma}$  from x,  $\gamma$ ), and considerable variations are found in the different sources. But in the great majority of cases my notation of Y's pronunciation agrees with Kl., and usually also with Sk. There can at any rate be no doubt about the existence of three separate series. Cf. e.g.:  $di\hat{s}$ ,  $di\hat{s}t$  Y, X, Sk., Kl. 'to know';  $di\hat{s}t$  X, Sk., Kl. 'plain':  $x\tilde{a}\tilde{s}$ ,  $xa\tilde{s}t$  Y, Kl. 'to pull' (but  $-\hat{s}$  Sh., Sk.);  $nie\tilde{s}t$  Y,  $noyo\tilde{s}t$  Kl. 'went out':  $Wu\tilde{x}$  Y, Kl. 'Wakhan';  $go\tilde{x}$ ,  $go\tilde{x}$ ,  $go\tilde{x}$  Y, X, Kl., etc. 'to do'.

A 'cerebral' l is used in a few words by X, and a similar sound is probably denoted by L's  $\hat{l}$ .

Velars: I have followed Kl. in grouping  $\check{x}$ ,  $\check{\gamma}$  with the velars, and x,  $\gamma$  with the uvular q, although I am not certain about the correctness of this classification. Acc. to Kl. x is akin to Russ. x, and identical with Shgh. etc.  $\check{x}$  (=  $\check{s}$ ). To my ear Shgh.  $\check{s}$  has much more of the  $\check{s}$  character than Wkh.  $\check{x}$ , which appeared to me to be a slightly advanced x (something between German ach and ich, but more allied to the former sound).

n is not a separate phoneme, but a variant of n before g. 1 Glottal: In spite of Kl.'s remarks to the contrary I believe that h, at any rate in the speech of Y, must be considered as a phoneme, but one with a very limited range of employment and very unstable. It is chiefly found in initial position.

21. Final voiced consonants usually become unvoiced. Thus, e.g.: rīcu, ruxu, rūγu, yāzu, yīrzu, tuxu, pətγ, səkγ, skōrd, naγd, fasl, qətb. Wakhi possesses a gemnated tt (common in preterital forms), and to some extent kk, perhaps also other geminates.

# Groups of Consonants.

22. Groups of consonants are numerous and frequent. Especially to be noticed are groups of surd stops (in final position): kt, tk, pk, pt, etc. Acc. to Shaw we also find  $\delta t$  and  $\delta t$ . A number of other groups occur in the preterital stems and in the 3 sg. present. In these forms we also find a number of morphonological changes.

Through loss of short, unstressed syllables more complicated groups occasionally arise, as in  $k\dot{s}tg\bar{a}$  Sk.,  $\check{e}k\partial r$ ,  $tp\bar{a}r$ ,  $dg\ddot{o}r$  (v. s.v.  $d\partial g\varepsilon r$ ).

Characteristic of Wkh. are the numerous groups of stops followed by r. A short svarabhakti-vowel is sometimes developed, e.g. in  $b^{3}rin$ ,  $b^{3}rit$ ,  $d^{3}rev$ -,  $p^{3}ri\hat{c}$ , etc.

<sup>1</sup> ton X is a variant of \*tung.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. also  $sp \in \delta k$ ,  $sp \in \partial k$  L. sole.

Other frequently occurring groups of consonants are:  $k\S$ , gn,  $\gamma n$ , vd, vn, xt, xs, fs, ft, fst,  $\gamma z$ ,  $\gamma/\tilde{\gamma}d$ , rk, rt, rx,  $r\tilde{c}$  (and all other possible combinations of r + cons.), nd, nj, ng, nd, nz, mb, md, lg, ld, st, sk, sp, st,  $\S t$ ,  $\S t$ ,  $\S t$ ,  $\S p$ , zd, zg, zn,  $\grave{z}d$ ,  $\grave{z}g$ ,  $\check{x}t$ ,  $\check{x}n$ , etc.

### Vowels.

23. I feel very diffident about the possibility of establishing the vowel system of Wkh. from the material which I was able to collect, and it certainly varies a good deal in the different parts of Wakhan; but according to the pronunciation of Y, my most reliable informant, I believe it to be of the following type:

#### Short Voicels.

### Long Vowels.

- 24. i is a wide sound (1):  $b^u r i t$ ,  $\delta i r s$ ,  $d i r g \hat{a}$ .
  - e is frequently open (ε): d³gεr, kɛnd, xεṣt. But I have noted e in ceγ, dendik, d³rev-, dežd, γer, kerk, t³reṣp, xec, yez, zem, etc.
  - a was frequently heard as Δ: sΔ'mīn, sΔn'duq, čΔžm. But sak, sac.
     ä in s²pərdän) is prob. a palatalized variety.
  - u is wide (v):  $n \ni m v k$ , p v r s. Before y we find  $\ddot{u}$  in  $k \not\in \ddot{u} y$ .
  - is found both in stressed and unstressed position: ἀkər, δəγd, gəzd, kət, kət, məst, nə δavn-, pətr, rəγd, rəxnīg, səkr, s¹təx, wəsk, wəkk, xərz, zə¹mak, etc. The delimination between e and ə is often uncertain.—p²zöv probably stands for \*p²zəv.

- $\tilde{i}$  appears in  $k\tilde{i}rpa$ ,  $k\tilde{i}\tilde{s}$ ,  $\delta\tilde{i}s$ ,  $\delta\tilde{i}tr$ ,  $g\tilde{i}\tilde{z}d\tilde{i}m$ ,  $k\tilde{i}k$ ,  $w\tilde{i}\tilde{s}$ . It appears to be distinguished from  $\tilde{i}$ .
  - o in gož-, kipok, k<sup>3</sup>roš, no; ordum, šolx, xošk, etc. is an open sound (δ).
  - $\bar{i}$  appears e.g. in  $\delta it$ ,  $sk\bar{i}\delta$ ,  $\vartheta \bar{i}n$ ,  $r\partial xn\bar{i}g$  (but Kl.  $r\partial xn\bar{e}g$ ).
  - ē is narrow, and appears only in lw.s: bēd, bēwa, bēx, mēšak, pēča, etc.
  - is high, mixed, unrounded Cf. ȳūu, k̄ūud, k̄ūrən, mədīr, sīr, s̄ū, s̄ūr. The vowels in c³būr, hūb, pū'd (L. puιεδ), ṣūu, x̄ūi probably represent attempts to denote varieties of this sound, conditioned by the nature of the neighbouring consonants.
  - $\bar{a}$  is a palatal a. Examples are, e.g.:  $\gamma \bar{a}r$ ,  $n\bar{a}n$ ,  $y\bar{a}ng\beta l$ .
  - $\vec{u}$  occurs, e.g. in  $x\bar{u}n$ ,  $p\bar{u}n$  ( $p\bar{u}'n$ ),  $p'\bar{u}z$ ,  $y\bar{u}n'l$ .
  - $\tilde{o}$  is a low and wide  $\tilde{o}$ , sometimes of a rather advanced type. Examples are the Prs. lw.s:  $amb\tilde{o}\gamma$ ,  $di\tilde{o}r$ ,  $d\tilde{o}ry\tilde{o}$ ,  $k\tilde{o}m$ ,  $k\tilde{o}na$ ,  $r\tilde{o}n$ ,  $r\tilde{o}st$ ; but cf. also  $p\tilde{o}r$ -,  $sk\tilde{o}rd$ ,  $sk\tilde{o}r\tilde{r}$ ,  $t\tilde{o}r$ ,  $t\tilde{o}rt$ ,  $vo\tilde{c}$ ,  $v^2r\tilde{o}k$ ,  $x\tilde{o}d\tilde{o}ry$ ,  $y\tilde{v}n\tilde{o}t$ ,  $y\tilde{o}\tilde{c}$ . In a number of Prs. lw.s I have noted  $\tilde{d}$  (or  $\tilde{a}^1$ ):  $\tilde{a}t^2\tilde{s}ak$ ,  $d\tilde{a}m\tilde{a}d$ ,  $kit\tilde{a}b$ ,  $t^2r\tilde{a}z\tilde{u}$ ,  $x\tilde{d}l\tilde{i}$ , etc., but I am inclined to believe that this notation represents merely a variant of  $\tilde{o}$  ( $\tilde{o}$ ), and not a separate phoneme. Cf. also  $w\tilde{v}ft$  (pret. of  $\tilde{u}f$ -) =  $w\tilde{o}ft$  Z.
- 25. The phonological distinction between short and long vowels appear to be clearer than in Yd.—Mj., but dubious cases no doubt occur. The overshort vowels are probably either unstressed variants of short ones, or svarabhakti vowels; e.g. in d"ruk\$, d"raxt, d"rev- (dr"or-Sh., Kl.), k"rust, δ"σ", etc.

I have noted the following dipthongs:  $\tilde{a}i\ (p\tilde{a}i)$ ;  $\tilde{u}i\ (k\tilde{u}i,\ tr\tilde{u}i)$ ;  $\tilde{o}i\ ()\tilde{o}id)$ ;  $\tilde{\iota}u\ (n\tilde{\iota}u,\ \tilde{\iota}u)$ ,  $\tilde{\tilde{\iota}}u\ (\check{\gamma}\tilde{\tilde{\iota}}u)$ ,  $au\ (yau,\ v^2rau)$ .

26. In Sköld's material we find, corresponding to Y's vowels: i,  $\ddot{i}$ ,  $\overset{\circ}{i}$ , u, e, o, o, a;  $\ddot{i}$ ,  $\ddot{\bar{i}}$ ,  $\overset{\circ}{u}$ ,  $\ddot{e}$ ,  $\ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$ .— $\ddot{a}$  and  $\breve{o}$  are probably variants of a, o, or of  $\ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$ , and  $\dot{o}$  is a variant of o, the exact quality of which I am unable to determine. It is not clear whether his  $\mathring{a}$  is meant to design an independent phoneme, separate from  $\ddot{o}$ .—In some words

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Swedish long  $\bar{a}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Written u, u in some of his notes, but corrected into  $\iota$ ,  $\bar{\iota}$ .

Sk. gives vocalic r,  $\eta$  and  $\eta$  (e.g. rndag. rndag), but these may be variants of  $\partial r$ ,  $r\partial$ , etc.

The vowel system of the village of Langar Kishm as described by Kl. agrees fairly well with that of Yamg. We find the short vowels i,  $\ddot{u}$  (corresp. to  $\ddot{i}$ ), u,  $\vartheta$ ,  $\ddot{o}$  ( $\dot{o}$ ), a (a), and the long vowels  $\dot{i}$ ,  $\ddot{e}$ ,  $\ddot{u}$ ,  $\ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$  ( $\ddot{o}$ ). Kl.'s o ( $\ddot{o}$ ) corresponds to my  $\varepsilon$ , at any rate in some cases ( $k\ddot{o}nd = k\varepsilon nd$ ). The total number of his vowel phonemes amounts to 13, the same as I believe to have found in Yamg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The above section was written when I got his paper.

### HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

#### Consonants.

Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.

27. Initial surd stops remain. Thus, e.g.:  $k\bar{u}i$  'who';  $kib\bar{t}t$  'pigeon'; k-, t, p-kerk 'hen'; tu 'thou'; t- $p\bar{a}r$  'axe';  $ta\check{x}$  'thirsty'; pac- 'to cook';  $p\bar{u}^id$  'foot'; p-tr 'son';  $p\bar{a}nz$  'five';  $p\cdot\bar{u}^{(i)}n$  'palm of the hand'.

Regarding aspiration cf. above, § 19.

We find a change into a fricative in  $\vartheta \bar{a}w$ - 'to burn';  $\vartheta \bar{i}n$  'hot';  $x\bar{u}f$  'foam';  $x\bar{a}\bar{s}$ - 'to pull'. Cf. Sar.  $\vartheta au$ - 'to burn', and v. above Yd.—Mj. § 63, Sgl.—Ishk. § 18.1 If we are right in assuming that ancient  $\vartheta$ -, x- resulted in Wkh. t-, k- the change into fricatives in these words must be late, or they must be lw.s. The change of \*kaf-> xaf-, and of \*taf-t> \* $\vartheta af$ -t might be due to a kind of assimilation.

Sonorization has taken place in gahal Sh. 'lazy, slow' (< Prs. kahal) and possibly in  $g\bar{\imath}z$ - 'to rise', if < \* $k\bar{e}z$ - < \*xaiz-.2 The derivation of  $go\check{x}$ - 'to do' < \* $kar\dot{s}$ - is very uncertain, and with  $g\bar{a}\check{c}$ - 'to totter' cf. not only Sar.  $wa-ko\dot{c}$ -, but also Yd.  $\gamma o\dot{z}\bar{\imath}$ -.

 $\tilde{cu\tilde{\gamma}}$  Sk. 'multicoloured' is borr. from Shgh., and  $\tilde{cir}$ - Sh. 'to sing' from Sar. (cf. Av. kar- 'to praise', etc.). It is tempting to derive  $\tilde{c}\partial\tilde{x}$ - 'to kill' from kuŝ-, but the  $\tilde{c}$ - may have come from a present base  $\tilde{c}au\tilde{s}$ -.

28. The fate of ancient *č*- is uncertain, just as in Yd.—Mj. and *č*-Sgl.—Ishk.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  V. Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2, p. 299. Cf. also Saka khava- 'foam'  $<*xapa\cdot < kafa\cdot,$  etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But a derivation < \*an-get- < \*an-ket < \*han-voit is more probable.

In most genuine Wkh. words we find c-; e.g.,  $c \partial b \bar{u} r$  'four'; c u m 'how much';  $c \partial - w a x t$  'when'; c a r- 'to do', etc.¹ But we also find  $\check{c}$ -, not only in lw.s and words of unknown origin, but also in  $\check{c} \partial r m$  'canal',  $\check{c} \Delta \check{e} m$  'eye';  $^2 \check{c} i p$ - 'to pick'. As for  $\check{e} \bar{a} w$ - 'to go', v. § 55.

## Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates.

29. Intervocalic tenues are, as a rule, retained. Thus -k- in maks -k- 'fly'; tuk- 'to go'; tīk 'willow', and, with ancient suffix -ka-, detk 'brick'; mərtk 'dead'; purk 'mouse'; yupk 'water'; wunuk 'willow'; wūrk 'lamb'; kīk 'spring'; dock 'inflated skin'; yaṣk 'tear'; zīk 'tongue'; xīk 'Wakhi', and past ptc, such as xinak, xanetk 'said'.

—yūk L. 'dewlap' is of unknown derivation.

In secondary contact with n, m and z, but not with r, b becomes  $g: m\bar{\imath}zg$  'urine'; namurzg 'rake';  $y\bar{\imath}ng$  'raw'; wvrzg 'right (hand)';  $b\ddot{\imath}ng$  'snare';  $b\partial ng$  'seed'. Cf. also and ag 'slave' (ag and ag, or ag lw.?); but  $r\bar{\imath}an$  'fast, light'. ag Sh., St. 'collar', and ag 'slave' L. 'a fast' may be lw.s. Note ag Y, ag Sh., B. 'horse-dung', but ag L. 'yak's dung'.

30. Intervocalic -t- remains in ət Kl. 'and'; bət Kl. 'again'; δīt 'smoke'; -t-kibit 'pigeon'; kūt 'roof'; kat-δīt 'soot'; ktīċ 'hut'; pitvår 'small mussuck'; rɔ̄γət. rɔ̄γd L. 'young she-goat'; sắt 'baking-pan'; wīst 'twenty'; (y)ət, -et 'this'; in pres. 3 sg., e.g., pīt 'he drinks', and in preterites and past participles such as vīt 'was'; žatum 'I said'; δetem 'I gave'; pītk 'drunk', 'rotten'; pəċētk 'cooked'; setk 'satisfied', etc.—gōt- 'to obtain'; γat- 'to arrive'; sət L. 'early supper'; dētər Sk. 'memory' are of uncertain origin.

The unstressed preposition pu < pati has lost its t, but it is

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> With assimilation < \*cažm? Cf. Kl. cjžm with complete assimilation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Probably with retention of  $\ell$  before i. V. § 33. Cf. the parallel development in Saka. But cf. Yd.—Mj. § 44.

<sup>4</sup> V. Geiger, § 20.—Cf. the retention of -s- as an unvoiced sound.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 76, 80. But cf. pārg 'ashes', perg 'necklace'.

retained in pütmüi- 'to mimic'; pütrüz- 'to lean against'; pütžårm 'wooden trough', and, with sonorization, in pazdan- 'to recognize' (Sar. padzån-). It is doubtful whether pūmez- 'to dress'; peterô- 'to spring from one root' and other verbs with pax- contain ancient pati-. More probably they have ancient api- or upa-. Also the derivation of pətum L. 'repair' from \*pati-dāna- is uncertain.— It is not likely that paè- in paërux- 'to arrest' goes back to pati-(+\*raž-< raxŝ-?).

The geminated postvocalic *tt* which occurs in some preterital bases must be due to internal development in Wkh.<sup>2</sup>

Verbs in original āu or āi have past stems in d, e.g., staud (stau-) 'praised'; sədōid (sədii-) 'appeared'; uōzdōid (wīzdey) 'washed'; porōd (puru-) 'washed'; varoid 'howled'. This is possibly due to influence from Sar., where we find staud, parod, varaud, etc.

xədōrg (xedōrg) 'watermill' is prob. borrowed from Ishk. (we should expect genuine Wkh. \* $\check{x}$ ət $\check{v}$ rk); su $\check{\sigma}$ y 'smooth' from Sar.

Also madāž 'mare' must be a lw. And pārd 'last year' < \*parutmay have been influenced by \*sard 'year', cf. pardingī 'of last year': sērdingī (\*sardingī) 'of this year'.

31. The only instance of ancient -p- given by Geiger is nəpūs 'grand-p-child'. Other examples are: yupk 'water'; təpār 'axe'; režup- 'to sleep'; rīp 'hair on the body'; repk 'refuse, sweepings'; dərepè 'broom'; nipes, etc. (v. s.v. nəbəs) 'comb'; rešip 'whip'; šipk 'twig, rod'; škop 'castrated'; šūp 'night's halt'; čip- 'to pick'; šūp- 'to suck'; žip- 'to spin', and, with early contraction, špūn 'shepherd'. Of unknown derivation are: čup 'small hawk'; drüp- 'to scratch'; kipok 'cuckoo' (?); lup 'big'; rapic- 'to lose the way'; sup 'spider'; šilūp- 'to splash'. Regarding ripk 'neck-rope' cf. sub. -b-. ruparu Sh. 'opposite' is adapted from the Prs. form.

We find -b- in kibit 'pigeon' (influenced by the lw. kabiit 'blue');

¹ Cf. čərm- 'to enter' < \*ati-ram-?? But v. Voc. s.v. tanē- 'to fold sheep'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> After a stressed vowel?

 $k \ni b \bar{u} n$  'wooden bowl, dish' (of uncertain derivation), and in  $n \ni b \ni s$  'comb' (v. above).

tovn, tov cerāk 'to twist' is borr. from Prs.  $t\bar{a}v$ , cf. Sar. tuv čeigao. Also  $parv\bar{e}y$ - 'to attain' may originally belong to another dialect. andav 'fever' might be derived from \*han-tafya-, and  $\vartheta\bar{a}w$ - 'to burn' has prob. got its -w- from the past \* $\vartheta awd < *tafta$ -. The causative suffix -v- is probably of foreign origin.\(^1\) The derivation of  $t\partial tv\bar{a}rt$  'the year before last' < \*tyta-parut, and of  $v^3r\bar{o}k$  'to-morrow' from \*aparaka- is quite uncertain.

- 32. The retention of intervocalic stops appears to have been the rule in the dialect which forms the main base of Wkh. Cf. the similar archaism in the much less isolated W.Bal. But in this respect, as well as in many others, the development of Wkh. may have been troubled by the admixture of foreign elements in various ways, and it is very difficult, perhaps even on principle impossible, to decide which irregularities are due to the internal development of the language.
- 33. The treatment of intervocalic -ċ- is parallel, on the one hand to -ċ-that of intervocalic surd stops, on the other to that of initial ċ-.

  The regular outcome of ancient -ċ- is -c-. Thus: sic 'needle'; rīcn 'smokehole'; δic- 'to milk'; ce 'from'; pac- 'to cook'; pec 'face'; δock 'skin bag' (<\*daċaka-?). The derivation of rapic- 'to loose one's way'; rucəpe 'cousin', and iska-cusk 'top of the shoulder' is unknown.

Before an  $\tilde{\imath}$  ancient  $\tilde{c}$  retained its palatal character. Thus:  $\tilde{s}a\tilde{c}$  'dog' (< f. \* $swa-\tilde{c}\tilde{\imath}$ );  $vo\tilde{c}$  'paternal aunt';  $d^{\nu}rep\tilde{c}$  'broom';  $\Delta nt\partial r\tilde{c}$  'sister-in-law';  $wol\tilde{c}$  'quail';  $y\tilde{o}\tilde{c}$  'duck';  $w\tilde{\imath}\tilde{c}$  'moth';  $d\tilde{a}r\tilde{c}$  'thread';  $va\tilde{s}\tilde{c}$  'milkpail', which all may go back to feminines in  $-\tilde{c}\tilde{\imath}$ . In secondary contact with n we find -n).<sup>2</sup> Thus, the adj. suffix -en), -un) (f. of -ung);  $str\Delta n$ ) 'durree, rug';  $s^{\nu}p\partial rd\tilde{a}n$ ) 'flea';

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 79.

 $\dot{s}\bar{u}n$ ) 'corner';  $w\bar{u}n$ ) 'belly'. Cf.  $y\bar{u}m$ ) 'flour'.— $v\bar{v}$ ' 'outside' may go back to \* $abya\dot{c}\bar{i}$ .  $re\dot{c}e\gamma$  'fasting' is a lw.,¹ and the derivation of  $n\ddot{u}\dot{c}k$  'beak';  $\dot{s}a\dot{c}\ddot{u}v$ - 'to strain', and  $tir\bar{i}\dot{c}$  L. 'dark' is uncertain. Regarding  $\dot{z}\bar{u}r$ )/ $\dot{z}$  'milk' v. Voc. s.v.  $r\dot{u}u$ ) Sh. 'flame' is probably borr. from Sar.²

As to the development of -čy- cf. § 55.

## Voiced Stops and Affricates.

34. Wkh. belongs to the group of N.E.Ir. dialects in which voiced stops were changed into fricatives at an early date.

Ancient g-, from which  $\gamma$ -, has become slightly palatalized ( $\check{\gamma}$ -), at g-any rate in the dialect of my best informant Y,3 and in the varieties of Wkh. described by Sk., L., Z. and Kl.<sup>4</sup> The same sound is probably denoted by Shaw's italic g.<sup>5</sup>—X pronounced g-, e.g. in  $g\bar{\imath}\bar{u}$  'cow'; gidim 'wheat', etc. One would certainly be inclined to regard this merely as an incorrect rendering of Wkh.  $\check{\gamma}$ -, if it were not for the past ptc. kitetk (=  $\check{\gamma}atetk$  Sh.) 'arrived' (<\*ktetk < \*g(a)tetk) of gat- ( $\check{\gamma}at$ - Sh., etc.) 'to arrive'. Cf. also  $k\check{\gamma}\ddot{u}y$ - 'to hear', if < \* $gu\check{s}aya$ -. It is therefore possible that a certain section of Wakhis really pronounce g-.

Examples of  $\check{\gamma}$ - are:  $\check{\gamma}\bar{\imath}u$  'cow';  $\check{\gamma}id\bar{\imath}m$  'wheat';  $\check{\gamma}\bar{a}r$  'stone';  $\check{\gamma}\bar{\imath}\mathring{\imath}$  'ear', etc.—Cf. the parallel palatalization of  $\check{x}$ .  $\gamma$ - appears chiefly in lw.s, but, according to Y, W, Sk., Sh., etc., also in a number of genuine Wkh. words Thus, e.g.:  $\gamma a \grave{\dot{\gamma}} Y$ . W;  $\gamma \bar{a} \grave{\dot{\gamma}} Sk$ ., Sh. 'mouth'. It is impossible to decide whether this notation does represent the real pronunciation of Wkh.

 $q\bar{i}$  'excrement' is an early lw.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. above, § 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This would also account for the diphthong. But Sh. gives Sar. sauz.

<sup>3</sup> Also in some of the words given by W.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Note the further palatalization in žip- 'to spin' [if not early lw. from Sar., ef. žerāx 'knot'), and yīp L. 'fat' (= Khow. γιρ).

<sup>5</sup> Which I have transcribed with y.

35. In intervocalic position we find γ, γ in δίγ Y, δίγ Sk. 'buttermilk'; rðγίἐ Sk., reγiὲ Sh., regiẽ Y 'beard' (Khow. rīgiẽ, borr. from Wkh.); rðgūm Sk., raγūm Sh. 'heifer'; sprðγ Sk. 'flower'; r̄σγðt, r̄σγ̄d 'young she-goat' (if < \*fra-gatā); yūγðnε γðr L. 'anvil' (\*ā-gana-?). The derivation of ἐiröv-: ἐirögn Sh. (ἐðröγ̆n Kl.) 'to be stuck' and of prigīn Sh. 'horse-clothing' (Sar. parwein) is unknown. tūγ 'she-goat' may be a lw.

36. Examples of  $\delta - \langle d - \text{are} : \delta \partial \gamma d \rangle$  'daughter';  $\delta itr$  'sickle';  $\delta \bar{\imath}t$  described 'smoke';  $\delta ic$  'to milk';  $\delta \bar{\imath}\gamma$  'buttermilk';  $\delta \bar{\imath}r$  'distant';  $\delta \epsilon tk$  'brick';  $\delta \bar{\imath}z$  'wall'.

A number of words with d- probably go back to ancient forms in \*han-d-, e.g. dis- 'to know'; durz- 'to seize'; possibly also dārc' 'thread'. deθi;- 'to look' is due to dissimilation.\(^1\) dast 'hand' is borr. from Prs., and dūr 'belly' may, in spite of its vowel, be an ancient lw. from Ishk. dūr. All sources agree in having d- in dendik 'tooth'. In this word the initial may have been influenced either by Prs. or by Ishk.—X has δīγ, δīr, but dṛgd, dit<sup>u</sup>r, die-, etc. This may, however, be due merely to his imperfect knowledge of Wkh.\(^1\) lēw 'demon' belongs to a dialect of the Yd.—Mj. type, cf also W. lûnd 'tooth'; lûst 'hand',\(^3\) and məlung 'middle'; xil' 'perspiration'; vūl 'smell'; wvlvn- 'to shake apricots' (\*wi-dunau-?).\(^4\) Note the rendering of Wkh.\(^6\)- by Shina l in liṣṭik 'brick', v. Voc. s.v. δεtk. Burushaski has, however, diṣčik.

37. For ancient -d- Sh., Z., Kl., L., W. and Be. have the expected -d-sound -\delta-5,\(^5\) while Y., X., Sk., St. and Hj. in most cases have -d-. Cf. the Voc. s vv. mād 'waist'; pū'd 'foot'; mədūr 'noon'; skīd 'cap'; wād 'canal'; sədūi- 'to appear'; wūdg 'to-day'; vədek 'path' the lw.s madāž 'mare'; k\(^3\dalpha\) d' wide'; xədôrg 'watermill', and also \(^3\dalpha\) d' six'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> If true Wkh. words. Hayward's 'las' '10', 'shal' '6' are prob. misheard for  $\delta as$ ,  $\delta a\delta$ .

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Written (d)z by Be.

Note, however, Y pöön 'saddle';  $n \ni \delta avn$ - 'to embrace';  $pi\delta ing$ - 'to take fire'; 'St.  $ma\delta \ddot{u}r$ ,  $wa\delta uk$ , and Sk.  $\check{\gamma}\bar{u}di$  'theft' but  $\check{\gamma}\bar{u}\delta$  'thief'. This variation must be due to difference of dialect.<sup>2</sup>

Other examples of  $\delta$ - are: Sh.  $\dot{s}k\ddot{v}\delta$ - 'to break';  $r\ddot{v}\delta$ - 'to flee';  $n\ddot{u}\delta n$  'to sit' (v. Voc. s.v. nezd-);  $z\ddot{u}be\delta$ - 'to burst';  $v\dot{v}\delta\bar{a}w$ - 'to ride'; L.  $na\delta un$  'quiver';  $wa\delta$  'handle';  $spe\delta k$  'sole';  $p\bar{a}\delta$  'ligature', and, with unknown etymology,  $\dot{s}\bar{\iota}\delta$  'uphill';  $pe\delta\dot{e}\dot{s}\partial n$  'breast work';  $y\dot{\iota}\delta\dot{e}sen$  'riped crops'. Note Kl.  $p\partial rm\partial y\bar{u}ng$  'belt' with y from Prs. As to  $-l < -\delta$ - v. above.

Y rəstəv- 'to break' = Sh. raseôüv- does not prove any great age for the no doubt secondary transition of  $-\delta$ - > -d-, since a similar form is also given by Kl. (rəstv-), who always has - $\delta$ - in modern postvocalic position.

If  $\hat{s}apt$  'wolf' is borr. from early Khow., it goes back to  $\hat{s}ap\vartheta < \hat{s}ap(i)\delta$ , cf. Sar.  $\check{x}i\vartheta p$ .

38. Initial b- results in v-, e.g. in  $v\bar{a}nd$ - 'to bind';  $v\bar{i}r$  'load';  $v\bar{i}t$  b- 'was';  $v\bar{r}z$  'long'. X hesitated between  $v\bar{i}t$  and  $b\bar{i}t$  'was', and gave bidek 'road' corresponding to Y  $v\bar{r}dek$ . Cf. his pronunciation of  $\gamma$ - and  $\delta$ -.

All sources have furz 'birch', with unexplained f- for v-. Cf. also Voc. s.v. fuks 'snake': Ishk. vuks.

39. Intervocalic -b- results in -v-: pôv- 'to drink' (pres. 3 sg. pīt); -bδ²viy- 'to steal'; d²rεv- 'to sew'; səmvər 'yoke' (\*sami-bara-); nvv'to soak'. Also viδāw- 'to ride'; viş iv- 'to sweep' (\*abi-xs̄waib-?); vizam'to rub', and vīč 'outside' probably contain ancient \*abi-. With
ȳūv Sk. 'cornbin' cf. Ishk. yōv; and with pəzīv 'heart' Sgl. ŏvzui.
Be. gawust 'fist' may stand for \*γavust, if connected with Skr.
gabhasti-.

X has, as might be expected, -b- in pöb- 'to drink'; sab, sav 'you', and drip- (for drib-?) 'to sew'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ancient prefixed forms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 16.

<sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.v., and cf. § 14.

40. The only certain instance of j- is Y jəi, L. j'zēi 'bowstring'; cf. ·)
Kl. jēl 'string of an instrument'. juγ 'yak' and jək'qlai 'small'
(v. s.v. zəkalai) are not true Wkh. words.—But cf. či- < \*ĉi (§ 33).

Intervocalic -j- is perhaps found in wuzem- 'to bring', if < \*ājamaya-. sprēl- L. 'to blossom' < 'spra)(a)ya-. The derivation of
L. yōž- 'to bear' and wiżīk 'ibex' is unknown.</li>

#### Cerebrals.

41. St. gives t in  $h\bar{a}t$  'eight', but all other sources have the regular t ( $< \hat{s}t$ ). I have noted dental and cerebral t in Y  $b^n r t t' t$  'elbow', cf. St.  $b^n r u t$ , but Sk.  $b^n r u t$ , Sh.  $b\bar{o}r u t$ .

All other words with t are of IA, or unknown, origin. Thus:  $\partial t$  Sk. 'open'; band X 'walking stick';  $\check{c}at$  'horned cattle';  $\check{c}at$  Sk. 'asunder'; dotki X 'calf, 1 y. old'(?); kat- 'to place, throw';  $k\partial t$  'short';  $kut\bar{o}l$  W 'dagger'; pat 'penis'; pet 'round';  $pt\bar{o}k$  Sk. 'bread'. The only word with t- is  $t\bar{o}r$  'walnut'.

We find nd in  $m\bar{a}nd$ - (but Y  $m\bar{a}nd$ -) 'to rub'; pandak Sk. 'unripe apricot'; n only in W  $man\bar{n}$  'apple' and  $m\bar{o}n$  'urial', which are certainly no true Wkh. forms; and l in X  $kel\bar{i}$  'yoke peg' which is a Khow. word.

#### Surd Fricatives.

42. We find ancient fricatives retained in  $x\bar{a}r$  'ass';  $x\bar{a}n$  'house';  $f\bar{\imath}ak$  'shoulder-blade';  $x\bar{\imath}am$ - 'to descend';  $yi\bar{x}$  'ice';  $\bar{\imath}f$ - 'to weave'; parwuf- 'to plait', xuf 'foam'. The initial fricatives in  $x\bar{a}\hat{\imath}$ - 'to pull'; xuf 'foam';  $\theta\bar{\imath}w$ - 'to burn';  $\theta\bar{\imath}n$  'hot', and the  $\theta$  in  $yo\theta$  'nest' ( $< \bar{*a}$ -hu $\delta a$ -?) are of secondary origin. Cf. also  $x\bar{\imath}e\hat{\imath}$  'bread':  $sk_{\Delta}f$ - 'to trip';  $p\bar{\imath}\theta u$ ,  $p\theta\bar{u}$  'mosquito', and  $y\bar{\imath}x\bar{\imath}u$  'bridle', the derivation of which is uncertain.

In a number of cases we find, however, Wkh. stops corresponding to fricatives of other Ir. languages. Thus:  $k\bar{a}nd$ - 'to laugh';  $g\bar{t}z$ 
1 Cf.  $\vartheta r$ , xr > tr, kr.

'to rise' (< \*an-kez- < \*han-xaiz-); kik 'spring' ( $< *x\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ , cf. Orm.  $x\bar{a}k\bar{\nu}$ , etc.¹);  $k\bar{\nu}b\bar{u}n$  'wooden bowl' (if  $< *k\bar{\nu}mb\bar{u}n < *xumb\bar{a}na$ );  $k\bar{a}s-$  'to thresh' (if < \*xad + sa-); ruk 'forehead, brow' (cf. Prs. rux);  $p\bar{e}i$  'paddle, shovel'; ramet 'chewing the cud' (if  $< *rauma\bar{\nu}a-$ ); tap 'wing' (cf. Rosh.  $t\bar{e}f$ );  $y\bar{\imath}n\bar{\nu}a$  'dream' (\* $hufna\bar{\nu}a$ ), and, possibly,  $d\bar{\nu}ger$ ,  $d\bar{\nu}a$  (Cap. hindiger) 'finger-nail' (if  $< *ng\bar{\nu}a < *n(a)k\bar{\nu}a$ , cf. Sar.  $na\dot{\nu}aur < *nax\bar{\nu}a$ ). Cf. also Khow. supuk, Werchikwar sapa 'hoof'; Bur. sap 'horseshoe', prob. from Wkh. \*sap(ak), and possibly Khow. auzetu 'heifer', which might be borrowed from a Wkh. form derived from \* $abi-za\partial\nu\bar{\mu}a$  and corresponding to Yd.  $p\partial zex\bar{\nu}a$ .

Wkh.  $p\bar{u}z$  'breast' corresponds to Mj.  $f\bar{u}z$ , and Wkh. kap 'hump' to Av. kaofa, etc. But we find p also in Khow.  $p\bar{u}z$ , Sar. puz (both of which words may however be lw.s from Wkh.), and in Sar. kiep, Orosh.  $k\bar{u}p$ , etc.

It seems probable that ancient initial and intervocalic fricatives were changed into stops in Wkh., just as was the case with fricatives followed by r.<sup>2</sup> Words containing fricatives may be borrowed (e.g.  $x\bar{u}n$ ,  $fi\bar{a}k$ ), or due to mixture of dialect.

In the name of the village Xandut (Hüan-Tsang  $Xu\partial n$ - $d\dot{a}$ - $t\hat{a}$ ) x may go back to hw-.

In  $y\bar{b}\dot{c}$  'duck' ( $<*\bar{a}\vartheta i\check{c}i?$ )  $\vartheta$  has possibly been dropped before  $\check{c}$ .

#### Sibilants.

- 43. Initial and intervocalic s remains in Wkh. Thus: sīi 'hare'; sic s 'needle'; skīd 'skull-cap'; səkr 'red', etc.; nesi- 'to lie down'; nüs- 'to lose'; pos 'fat sheep'; δas 'ten', etc.
- 44. Also z remains unchanged: zīk 'tongue'; zem 'snow'; zart 'yellow', z etc.; wuz 'I'; wāz- 'to fall'; mīzg 'urine'; yez 'yesterday'; vizam- 'to rub to powder'.
  - <sup>1</sup> Sar. kauk < Wkh. \* $k\bar{o}k$ .
  - <sup>5</sup> Cf. also the parallel development in W.Bal., Par. and some dialects of Kurd.

- 45. There is no certain instance of ancient  $\hat{s}$  in Wkh. But it is  $\hat{s}$  possible that  $\hat{s}\bar{a}p$  'to suck';  $\hat{s}\bar{i}n$  'dung', and perhaps a few other words may contain Ir. \* $\hat{s}$  < \* $\hat{k}s$ .
- 46. The treatment of intervocalic is varied, and it is difficult to is determine the genuine Wkh. development of this sound. One fact appears, however, to be evident: Wkh. did not change into \*- into

We find § and s in Y, X, Kl.  $\check{\gamma}i\grave{s}$ , etc. 'ear': Sk., Sh., Z  $\check{\gamma}i\grave{s}$ , etc.; Y, X regi\grave{s}, etc. 'beard': Sk., Sh.  $r\check{\gamma}\check{i}\grave{s}$ , etc.; Y ramu\^{s}- 'to forget': Sk., Sh.  $r\check{m}\check{u}\grave{s}$ -, etc.; § in Y, X, Sh., Z  $\grave{s}i\grave{s}$  'louse'; Sk., L.  $m\check{u}\grave{s}$ -,  $mu\grave{s}$ - 'to conceal, steal' (\*mu\grave{s}ya-?); Y  $p\check{i}\grave{s}$ , etc. cat; Sh.  $uu\grave{s}\check{u}y$ - 'to untie'; § in Y  $y\check{i}\grave{s}ik$  'plough-handle';  $\check{x}$  in Y, X, Sk., Kl.  $sit\check{o}\check{x}$ , etc. 'daughter-in-law'; Sh.  $p\check{i}\check{x}$  'biestings'. In all these words Ir.  $\grave{s}$  goes back to IE. s. IE.  $\hat{s}ks$  and qy apparently yield the same result in Wkh. Thus: Y  $ti\check{s}$ - 'to shave': X, Sk., L.  $t\bar{u}\grave{s}$ -, etc.; Y, W, Sk.  $k\check{i}\check{s}$  'vulva'; L  $p\check{s}\check{s}$ - 'to ripen'; Sh., L, Kl.  $p\grave{s}\check{e}u$ -, etc. 'to return' (\*apačya-); Sh.  $parg\check{o}\check{s}$ - 'to be entangled' (\*pari-guz + s?). Of uncertain origin are: L.  $r\bar{u}\check{s}$  'Ovis Poli';  $ner\check{s}$  'boiling over';  $mu\grave{s}\check{e}ng$  'entire (bull)' (< \* $wr\check{s}anaka?$ );  $y\bar{s}\check{s}ir$  'threshold';  $m\check{s}\check{s}en$  'along with'; Y, Sh.  $\delta i\check{x}$ -,  $\delta \check{u}\check{x}$ - 'to crush' (cf. L.  $\delta \check{e}\check{s}en$  'millstone'); Y, X  $m\check{s}\check{s}(\bar{u})$  'ankle' (cf. Sh.  $ma\check{s}\check{i}n =$  Sar.).

mai 'sheep, female urial' probably belongs to a dialect of the Yd.—Mj. type (cf. Mj.  $m\ddot{v}yo$  'sheep').  $kal(\imath b \vartheta n)$  'armpit' appears to be of Ishk. origin, although this dialect has now adopted the Prs. form  $ka\dot{s}(vi\dot{s})$ .<sup>2</sup> Cf. also  $fr\bar{\imath}l$ - 'to crumbe': Ishk.  $vr\bar{e}l$ - 'to break'.

There remain to be explained  $\hat{s}\bar{a}\delta/d$  'six', and  $y\bar{a}k\hat{s}$  'to boil',

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As to Yd.—Mi., cf. § 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Sar. bijel < \*upakaša-, Sogd. 'pkšy 'side, tlank'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Possibly with dissimilation of sibilants from \*:  $\tilde{a}z$  (cf. Oss. axsaz), with unex plained z.

if correct and connected with Av. yaēs. Regarding somak 'moon', ef. 60.

As to 2 in groups of consonants cf. § 74.

### Nasals.

47. Initial m- and n- remain: mād 'waist': maks 'fly'; mərt 'dead', m-, n-etc.; nāu 'nine'; nə 'not'; nayd 'night', etc.

ż

Intervocalic m and n remain, e.g. in  $\gamma id\bar{\imath}m$  'wheat';  $s\partial mv\partial r$  'yoke'; -m-, -nzem 'snow';  $y\partial m$  'this';  $b\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to winnow';  $k\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to draw a sword';  $p\bar{\imath}n$  'palm of the hand'.

In secondary contact with  $g \ll k$  m and n are assimilated into -n. Thus: nong 'name'; ying 'raw' (but yim) 'flour'  $\ll \tilde{a}ma\tilde{c}i$ -);  $\delta \tilde{u}ng$  'springe' (but Sar.  $\delta om$ )); m-lung 'middle' (if  $\ll malama$ -);  $\delta \partial ng$  'seed', -ung  $\ll -\tilde{a}maka$  (f. -en).

mingas 'sparrow' is dissimilated into wingās Sh., ingas X. Cf. siven 'rope' < Khow. simeni. A very special case is dəger 'nail' (Capus hindiger), if < \* $n(d)g\bar{o}r$  < \* $n(a)k\bar{o}r$ .\(^1\)

## Liquids.

48. Initial r occurs in  $r\bar{\imath}en$  'smoke-hole';  $r\bar{\imath}\imath\gamma n$  'ghee', etc.; intervocalic -r- in  $\check{\gamma}\bar{\imath}ar$  'stone'; mar- 'to die', etc.

Ancient l is retained in  $y\bar{a}ng\partial l$  'finger';  $l\bar{i}v$ - 'to slip' (<\*sleib-), l while  $li\check{x}$ - 'to lick' is probably a lw. The etymologies of lup 'big';  $nam\bar{u}l$ - 'to hem';  $park\ddot{o}l$ - 'to excavate';  $\dot{s}il\bar{u}p$ - 'to splash'; uvlvn- 'to shake apricots', etc. are unknown, or uncertain.

We find l < r in wolč 'quail';  $pl\bar{o}ng\bar{o}st$  'finger-ring';  $kut\bar{o}l$  W 'dagger'. l interchanges with r in wêra Y: wēla X 'gums';  $ming\bar{o}r$  Y:  $minq\bar{o}l$  X 'beak';  $rarig\bar{o}n$  X rilian Sh. 'nephew'; ralian Parè Be. 'leaf'. There is apparently a tendency in Wkh. to change r into l before c, and perhaps before tk (restitution of r in perfect stems?). We find r retained in  $parc\bar{o}d$  'maid'. But this r Ct. §§ 42, 77.

word has ancient simple r, while l in  $pal\dot{c}$ ,  $wal\dot{c}$ ,  $waltk^1$  go back to, or form part of, ancient groups of consonants. Cf. the change of r > l before certain consonants in Saka. Note the insertion of l in  $\dot{solx}$  'branch' (< Prs  $\dot{sdx}$ ?).

#### Glottal.

49. Initial h- is lost in week 'dry';  $y\bar{u}r$  'sun' (Av.  $h\bar{u}r$ -);  $y\bar{u}n\delta t$  'dream' h-(\* $hufna\vartheta\bar{u}$ -?);  $yo\gamma ut$  Be. 'groin' (< Av. harti-); andag 'slave'; ce 'from'. The prefix ham- has in many cases been reduced to m-, n-, which is assimilated to a following consonant."

In view of the general disappearance of h- in all neighbouring languages it seems probable that  $h\bar{u}b$  'seven' and  $h\bar{u}t$  'eight' have got their h from Prs. But why  $h\bar{u}mi$ - 'to be'?

Intervocalic -h- is lost in  $s\tilde{i}i$  'hare';  $\tilde{x}\tilde{u}i$  'sister'; nezd: nein--h-(nieng) 'to sit', and possibly in  $r\tilde{o}in$  'light', if  $<*b\bar{u}han\bar{\iota}$ . Cf. \*-hy-in  $\delta ai$  'man, lad';  $k\bar{u}i$  'who';  $m\bar{i}y$  'month'. As to  $wu\ \tilde{x}\epsilon n$  'blood', cf. § 62.

### Semivowels.

50. Initial w- remains. Thus:  $w\hat{a}d$  'watercourse'; waltk 'kidney'; w- $w\bar{i}n$ - 'to see';  $w\bar{u}r$  'rain';  $w\bar{a}n$ ) 'belly'; wunvk 'willow';  $w\bar{u}rk$  'lamb';  $wu\dot{s}\bar{u}y$ - 'to untie', etc. — w- is lost through assimilation in  $\bar{u}f$ - Y (analogically  $\hat{a}ft$ -) 'to weave', but " $\bar{o}f$ - Z, wuf- Sh.;  $u\dot{s}en$  X, N 'blood': wu'xen Y. Note  $\check{x}\bar{i}k$  'Wakhi'  $< *w(u)\check{x}\bar{i}k$ .

There is a number of words of unknown origin having initial w-, e.g., ww-ner 'stable'; w-nek 'marmot'; wv-, 'arrow' (< v-, 'sw-, 'ww-, In  $\gamma \partial \dot{s}$ ,  $\dot{\gamma} \partial \dot{s}$  'male' (Prs.  $gu\dot{s}n < var\partial \dot{s}na$ -) and  $\dot{\gamma}er$  'wool' (if connected with Av.  $var\partial n\bar{a}$ -) w- has become  $\gamma$ -. These words may originally belong to some other dialect, cf. Par.  $w > \gamma$ - and Saka wi > gu-(before labials).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. walth 'kidney', § 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 76 sq.

51. Intervocalic -w- remains in yāw- 'to eat'; čāw- 'to go'; drāw- 'to -w-reap'; viðāw- 'to ride'; rāwez- 'to fly'; yawer- 'to select'; wasêr- 'to become cold'; wazem- 'to squeeze out'; wāndr 'field' (the three last words with awa-). In modern final position āw often results in a diphthong: γ̃ūu (Z γ̃ūw, Sk. γīv) 'cow'; nīu 'millrace'; nāu 'nine'; yau 'that'; tau 'thee'; żūu 'grain'; ṣ̄əu, ṣ̄ēw 'horn'; v'rau 'eyebrow'. Cf. īu, īw 'one'.

Between Wkh. i and a following consonant w is elided. Thus:  $y\bar{\imath}t$  'he eats';  $dr\bar{\imath}t$  'he reaps';  $\check{\epsilon}it$  'he goes'. The development probably was  $awa > uu > \bar{\imath}$ .\(^1\) But cf. also  $p\bar{\imath}t$  'he drinks'  $(p\bar{o}v)$ ,  $\vartheta\bar{\imath}t$  'it burns'  $(\vartheta\bar{a}w)$ , with secondary w).

52. Initial y- is retained in yāw- 'to eat'; yūm 'twin'; yaž 'twig'; y-yašk 'trained, taught', and possibly in yīrk 'barley'; yūnd- 'to take away'; yaz 'ice'. Regarding antorè sister-in-law, v. Voc. s.v.

 $\dot{z}\bar{u}u$  'grain, provisions' is of foreign origin (cf. Khow.  $\dot{z}\bar{v}$ ).  $\dot{z}\bar{v}$ 0. Sh. 'to sow' (Sar.  $y\bar{e}\delta$ -) is probably identical with  $\dot{z}\epsilon\delta$ - Sh. 'to strew, sprinkle' (Sar.  $\dot{\gamma}ie\vartheta$ -). The derivation of this verb is uncertain.

53. Intervocalic -y- appears in pütmüy- 'to command'; zwāy- 'to roll -yup'; sədūy- 'to appear'; γ̃īy- 'coire'; rami- Sh. 'to command'; wušūy'to untie'. Cf. also trūi 'three'; pāi 'curds'; wīyīn 'pass' (\*wi(y)ayana-?). -y- was elided in mədīr 'noon' < \*madya-ayara-; 'pezïn,
pīzən 'udder' prob. < \*payah-zana-; tī 'thy' < \*taya? As for pēi
'paddle', sətrεi 'female' v. Voc. s.vv.

Note dediž- 'to look after': Av. diday-.

# Prothetic w- and y-.

54. Wkh. has a tendency to develop prothetic semivowels before ancient initial vowels, in accordance with all neighbouring Ir. dialects.

Thus, before original u, we find a prothetic w- in  $w \ni sk$  'dry';  $w \bar{u} \check{c}$  'high'. In w u z 'I' unstressed a was changed to u at an early <sup>1</sup> Cf.  $au > \bar{i}$ , § 99.

date, and in wurzg 'right' r became ur. But note  $w\bar{u}zem$ - 'to bring' ' $(<*\bar{a}$ -)amaya-?);  $w\bar{u}dg$ ,  $\bar{u}dg$ , etc. 'to-day' (<\*adyaka??).

Prothetic y- is much more frequent, and numerous examples will be found in the Voc. Cf., e.g.,  $y\bar{a}ng\partial l$  'finger'; yupk 'water';  $yuk\hat{s}$  'male ibex' (with development of y- before the change of the vowel into u); yurm 'forearm';  $ya\hat{s}$  'horse';  $y\bar{t}\hat{s}n$  'iron';  $yi\check{x}$  'ice', etc., and even the Prs. lw. yafta 'week'. In  $y\bar{t}r$  'sun'  $< h\bar{u}r$ -, and  $y\bar{t}n\bar{t}t$  'sleep'  $< *\bar{u}n - < hufn$ - the vowel must have moved towards  $*\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{t}$  before the prothetic y- was added.

No prothetic semivowel appears before the unstressed initial vowels in and av 'fever', and ay 'slave'. The absence of y- in  $\bar{\imath}u$  'one' (besides  $y\bar{\imath}w$ ) is probably also due to lack of stress. In  $h\bar{u}b$  'seven', hat 'eight' the Prs. h (v. § 49) has prevented the development of a prothetic y or w.

# Groups of Consonants.

## First Component an Affricate.

55. Ancient čy (< ċiy, ċay) apparently results in č (or č?). Cf. X, Kl. ċy čāw- 'to go': Sk. ċāv-, Sh. ċau-; Y, Kl. rəč-, X reč- 'to go': Sk. rəċ-, Sh. raċ-; Sk. wərəċ-, Sh. wareċ- 'to remain'; Y, X pɔ/iċetk, Sh. pö'ċetk 'cooked' (from pačaya-, cf. Sh. pöč-; but cf. L. pɛṣ- 'to ripen' < paṣya- < \*paċya-).¹ Cf. regarding sy, § 72.

## First Component a Voiced Stop (or Fricative).

56. As to the derivation of δεγεί 'daughter' from \*duxtā or dugdā, gel ef. Yd.—Mj. § 87.

The derivation of  $\frac{1}{2}ar\dot{z}$ , etc. 'milk'  $< \frac{*g\dot{z}ara-\dot{c}i}$  is probable, but  $g\dot{z}$  not certain. On the other hand we find  $\dot{s}nw$ - 'to gnaw' (cf. Ishk.  $\dot{s}\bar{a}w$ -) corresponding to Prs.  $\dot{j}avidan$ , etc. ( $< \frac{*g\dot{z}-\dot{z}}{2}$ ).

<sup>1</sup> V. S 46.

xüημη Sh. 'husband's sister' (Yd. xuyē;eno); piδigg, piδη- flamed up' probably contain  $n < \gamma n$ .  $r \tilde{u} \gamma n$ ,  $r \tilde{u} \dot{\gamma} \partial n$  'ghee, grease' is a lw., or has in any case got its vowel from Prs. or Ishk. No reliance can be placed upon the retention of γ in the place-name Ši; inôn 'Shughnan'. As to  $\check{x}k < \gamma n + k$ , cf. § 61, and as to  $\gamma n$  in past stems v. § 152.

The only certain instance of gr is  $r^{2}r\bar{u}ng$  'heavy'.

Ir.  $d(\delta)$  is assimilated to a following n in ne-in- 'sat down' (nezd-); ronn-,  $r\ddot{o}n$ - 'fled' (rod-); rasen- 'broke' (rased-, v. rostov-); zübön- 'burst' (zübeð-, v. s.v. zubüt-).

Ancient dr- is preserved, or, more probably,  $\delta r$  has been differentiated dr57. into dr. Thus:  $d^{p}rev$ - 'to sew';  $dr\ddot{u}p$ - 'to scratch';  $dr\ddot{u}v$ - 'to reap', etc.

It is possible that -dr- was transposed into rd in wirdina L. 'clear sky', cf. Skr. vidhra-, etc. Cf. also rardenz- 'to press down' < \*abi-dran}-?

Ir. dw, through  $\delta v$ , became b. Thus  $b\bar{u}i$  'two';  $b\partial t$  'again'; dw $b\bar{a}r$  'door';  $b\bar{u}n$ - 'to winnow';  $b\bar{a}$ ) 'thick';  $b\partial r\bar{i}n$  'knee'(?). In postvocalic position v: savand- 'to throw away' (< \*hača-dwan-?), and  $-\partial v$  pers. suff. 2 pl. < \*-divar. \*-divai.

As to -dy in  $m\bar{a}d/\delta$  'waist', etc., cf. § 37.

58. Ir. bd is possibly represented by vd in d<sup>3</sup>revd 'sewed'; nadevd bd 'affected' (v. Voc. s.vv.  $d^{3}rev$ -,  $n_{3}\delta avn$ -). The derivation of  $v_{3}dek$ 'path' is uncertain.

Ir. bz has become unvoiced (through analogy with other verbs) bz in nadevs-, nadefs- 'to affect', etc. V. Voc. s.v.  $n \partial \delta avn$ , which furnishes an instance of ancient bn.

Initial br results in  $v(\partial)r$ :  $v\partial rau$  'eyebrow'; varin- 'to shear'; brvares- 'to fry'; varit 'brother'. In postvecalic position we find metathesis in sērv Sh. 'hole'. Scarcely mūr 'cloud' < \*amawr < \*ham-abra-.

qr.

dy

bn

<sup>1</sup> After the sonorization of -vw-, cf. § 65.

## First Component a Surd Fricative.

59. In spite of its preservation of intervocalic surd stops and of  $\dot{s}$ , Wkh. follows the other Pamir languages in the voicening of the groups ft and xt.

Thus  $\gamma d < xt$ :  $na\gamma d$ ,  $n\bar{a}\gamma d$  'night';  $v\bar{a}\gamma d$  'night-mare';  $t\epsilon\gamma d$  xt 'shrap';  $ta\gamma d$ , etc. 'went';  $r\partial\gamma d$  'went, moved'  $(r\partial\xi)$ ; "yoghut" Be.  $(*yo\gamma^{2}d?)$  'groin'. Note also the lw.  $co\gamma d$  Sh. 'when'  $<*c\partial$ -waxt. The etymology of  $\S\partial\gamma d$  'new' is unknown.

Secondary formations are the past stems: töčt Sh. 'went'; pacd-, pöšt- 'cooked'; čukt- 'beat' (čuk-).

Wkh. vd < ft (bd?) appears in a number of past stems. Thus: ft čavd 'picked' (čip-); pac.vd- 'cooked' ( $pac\ddot{u}v$ -), and other causatives. Secondary preterites are, e.g.,  $\hat{a}ft$  'wove'  $(\bar{u}f$ -);  $ro\check{x}opt$  'slept'  $(re\check{x}up$ -);  $\vartheta it$  'burnt'  $(\vartheta \bar{a}w$ -).

 $h\bar{u}b$  'seven' is irregular. A metathesis of \*avd into \*adv >  $(h)\bar{u}b$  is unlikely.

60. Ir. xš- occurs in šūp 'night's halt'; šãy- 'to kill', and possibly in xš šafš, šāfš 'hair'. šād 'six'; šipk 'rod' probably go back to forms in xšw-. Cf. also šui 'moraine' (Skr. kṣaya- 'decay'?).

 $k \S \ddot{u}y$ -,  $k \S \partial n$ - 'to hear' can have nothing to do with Av.  $x \S n\bar{a}$ -, as suggested Air.Wb. s.v. It is possibly derived  $< *g(u)\S aya$ -.

Intervocalie  $x\check{s}(w)$ - appears as  $\check{s}$  or  $\check{x}$  in  $y\lambda\check{s}k$  L. 'taught',  $ye\check{x}k$  Sh.  $x\check{s}$ - 'learning' ( $\langle yux\check{s}aka$ -);  $ya\check{x}$  'twig' ( $\langle yax\check{s}a$ -?);  $Wu\check{x}$  'Wakhan' ( $\langle wax\check{s}u$ -);  $y\flat\check{s}t$  L. 'agreement' ( $\langle Av. \bar{u}x\check{s}ti$ -);  $vi\check{s}iv$ - 'to sweep' ( $\langle abi$ - $x\check{s}waib$ -?);  $r\check{s}ip$  L. 'whip' ( $\langle fra$ - $x\check{s}waipa$ -?).

rakš 'grey, brown' is probably adapted from Prs.  $rax\grave{s}.-vrok\grave{s}$  Sh. 'male Ovis Poli' is of unknown origin;  $druk \v{s}$  'bull' may go back to  $*dru\v{s}k < *dru\v{z}dk < *drz\v{z}daka$ . (v. Voc. s.v.).  $yuk \v{s}$  'male ibex' may have been influenced by the ending of these two names of male, horned animals, and go back through \*yuks to  $*yusk < *\bar{a}suka$ . A derivation of  $bak \v{s}$  'husband's brother'  $< *ham - bax \v{s}a - ka$ , or  $*ham - pax \v{s}aka$ - is very uncertain.  $yak \v{s}$ - 'to boil' can hardly be derived from Av.  $ya \v{e} \v{s}$ -.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 149.

<sup>30 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

Ir. x 
in n was apparently simplified into xn after the change of x 
in n original xn into  $\gamma n$ , if ruxn, etc., 'white' and  $r\partial x n ig$ ,  $r\partial x n i\gamma$  'fire' are not early lw.s.

The only instance of xs is  $\dot{s}\ddot{o}xs$ - 'to pass' (lw.?). But cf. Voc. s.v. xs  $p\bar{\iota}cev$ -.

61. Ir. xm is sonorized into  $\gamma m$  as in other Pamir dialects:  $ta\gamma m$ , xm  $ta\gamma m$  'grain'. tuxm is a lw.

Similarly  $xn > \gamma n$  (gn) in the following past stems: pamegn-Sh. xn 'dressed' ( $p\bar{u}mec$ -); rapagn-Sh. 'lost the way' (rapic-); waregn-Sh., wərə $\gamma n$ -Sk. 'remained' (w>rə $\dot{c}$ -);  $\delta\ddot{v}g$ >n,  $\delta\ddot{v}\gamma n$  'milked' ( $\delta\ddot{v}c$ -). Possibly also  $var\delta e\gamma n$ -Sh. 'pressed down' ( $var\delta enz$ -) and  $\check{x}\ddot{o}gn$ -Sh. 'filled into' ( $\check{x}\ddot{o}nz$ -).

In secondary contact with k we find  $\check{x}k$  ( $<*\gamma(n)k$ ) in: ware $\check{x}k$ , pama $\check{x}k$ , etc.

62. Ir. xr is changed into kr in s ∂ kr 'red'. Cf. the development of xr ∂r and fr. This change is probably connected with that of surd fricatives into stops in other positions.¹ Note also the retention of vr-, γr-.—verām 'threshing-ground' (Yd. xurom) cannot go back to \*xrama-. Kl.  $x∂r\ddot{u}∂$ - 'to snore' may be an onomatopoetic word.

Ir. xw < hw has lost its labial element and results in  $\check{x}$ . Thus:  $xw \times \check{x}\bar{u}i$  'sister';  $\check{x}il$  Sh. 'perspiration';  $\check{x}\bar{a}n$ - 'to speak';  $\check{x}\bar{u}nen$  'own';  $\check{x}at$  'self';  $\check{x}\bar{u}rs$  ( $x\bar{u}rs$  Sk.) 'father-in-law';  $\check{x}a\check{s}$  ( $x\bar{a}\dot{s}$  Sk.) 'mother-in-law';  $re\check{x}up$ - 'to sleep';  $wu\check{x}en$  'blood' (<\*wahwani-).  $\check{x}\bar{u}m$ - 'to descend' probably has ancient x-, in spite of Khow. xwam-, xam-(Ir. lw.).

 $x ilde{v} d ilde{o} r g$  'water-mill' is a lw.;  $^2 x ilde{o} f s$ - 'to fall asleep' is borr. from Prs., and also  $x ilde{u} ilde{z} g$  'sweet' may be of non-Wkh. origin. Note  $ilde{x} i lian$  Sh.:  $x ilde{a} r ilde{v} ilde{o} r$ , Z, etc. 'nephew' (sister's son?).

The only possible example of \*xw < kw is ruk 'forehead', if < \*hraxwa = Prs. rux.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. § 82.

fšy

Br

63. If  $\vartheta in$  'hot' and  $y \bar{i} n \delta t$  'dream' go back to \* $\vartheta a f n a$ - and \*h u f n a-, f n has been completely assimilated, in contradistinction to  $\beta n$  (bn) (only recorded, however, in the present base  $n e \delta a v n$ -).

The prefix fra- has resulted in ra/e- in: rəgūm 'heifer' (\*fragāmā); frregiš 'beard' (\*fra-gaiša-); rə̄γət 'young she-goat' (\*fra-gatā); rami'to command' (\*fra-māy-); ramuṣ- 'to forget' (\*fra-muṣ-); rapic- 'to
lose the way'; rūr- 'to stretch out', etc. (\*fra-ar-); rəst-əv, rased'to break' (\*fra-sid-); reṣip 'whip' (\*fra-xṣwaipa-); rexup- 'to sleep'
(\*fra-hwap-); cf. also reṣpuk 'bobbin, shuttle'; rəwār 'day' (\*fra-wahra).

—fəryəmċ 'she-calf, 1 y. old' and fril- 'to crumble' are not true
Wkh. forms.

On the analogy of tr,  $kr < \vartheta r$ , xr we might expect to find pr in originally stressed syllables. But the derivation of puru- 'to wash' < \*praw- is uncertain on account of Sar. paro- (Wkh. lw.?), and Sar.  $par\bar{o}d$ , Or.  $per\bar{o}d$ , etc. correspond to Wkh.  $pr\ddot{u}t$  'first, foremost', which has been compared by Geiger with Skr.  $pravata\bar{d}t\bar{a}$ , but which is more probably connected with Av. paouraya-, Old Prs. paruviyata-  $p^2r\bar{i}v$  'worm' (cf. Sgl.  $p^2vuk$ ) has certainly nothing to do with Par. ruv, Kafiri waig.  $pr\bar{u}v$  'flea' < \*pruvi.

On the other hand  $r\ddot{u}n$  'shelf' ( $r\tilde{o}n$  Sar.; cf. Sgl.  $fr\bar{u}n$  'plank') seems to show that fr- was assimilated in all positions. I am unable to explain the relation between  $v^3r\tilde{o}k$  'to-morrow' and W.Yghn,  $f^ir\bar{j}k$ .

Intervocalic -fr- possibly results in -rf-. Cf.  $\gamma \partial rf$ ,  $\gamma(z)erf$  (=  $\check{\gamma}$ - $\check{z}$ ) -fr-L. 'fireplace' < Av. gufra- 'deep'?

Ir.  $f \circ y$  occurs in  $t \circ y$  'steam'  $< *taf \circ ya$ .

64. Ir.  $\partial r$  results in  $tr: tr\bar{u}i$  'three';  $p\partial tr$  'son';  $\partial itr$  'sickle';  $z\bar{i}tr$  'thread' (\* $\gamma aiftra$ -); witrin-'to sky' (\*wi- $\partial rahna$ -, or \*wi-trhna-?). The etymology of  $d\bar{e}t\partial r$  Sk. 'memory' is unknown. 'catr 'parasol' is borr. from IA, and the same is the case with  $c\bar{i}tr$  'spindle' (the Wkh. form corresponding to Yd.—Mj. ' $c\bar{e}sa$ , etc., would be something like \* $c\bar{i}s$ ).¹ Also mutr 'augury' and  $tr\lambda kc$  'bitter',  $tr\bar{a}c$  Sh. 'bad tasting' are probably IA. lw.s.—tor Sh. 'net' is of Prs. or Ishk. origin. It is, perhaps, possible to derive  $tir\bar{i}c$  L. 'dark' from \* $ta\partial rya$ - $c\bar{i}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf., however, § 70.

As to  $y\bar{o}tr$  'nest', v. s.v.  $yo\vartheta$ .  $t^{\vartheta}r\bar{a}$  'thither' probably contains ancient \*tarah.

65. Ir.  $\vartheta n$  appears to have resulted in t(n) in haret, arat St. 'cubit', but  $\vartheta n$  this sound-change is phonetically improbable. Cf.  $b\vartheta rin$  'knee' ( $<*dwari\vartheta na-<*dwari\vartheta ra-??$ ).

Intervocalic  $\vartheta w$  was sonorized into  $\delta w > \delta v$ , from which  $b: {}^{1} c \partial b \bar{u} r - \vartheta w$  'four';  $c \partial b r \partial m$  'four days hence'.

### First Component a Sibilant.

66. Ir. sk- remains in skīd 'skull-cap'; s³kεn 'puppy'; sək (sk-əm) 'on, sk above'. Cf. also skaf- 'to trip'; skōrd 'bridge', and skurf 'rough', which may contain ancient \*sk- or \*us-k-.

As in other Ir. dialects the sandhi-form has prevailed in some cases:  $\check{s}kop$  'castrated (bull)';  $\hat{s}k\bar{u}rg$ - 'to seek';  $\hat{s}k\bar{u}v$ - 'to catch a cold';  $\hat{s}k\bar{o}r\check{c}$  'burning coal';  $\hat{s}kandir$ - 'to break'.

67. Ir. st remains. Thus: s²tīy- 'to send'; stau- 'to praise'; 'stin st 'post, pillar'; sitâr 'star' (prob. lw.). The etymology of stɔ̄rs 'plough-share' is unknown. Postvocalic st occurs in: pīst 'bark, skin'; nāst 'is not'; yost 'fowl-house' (\*ā-stā?); vāst 'bound'; zirest 'turned in a lathe' (zirānd-).

Wkh. šč in yašč (yarč, ya-ič) 'bone', and xašč (xaišč, xa-ič) 'damp, wet' corresponds to e.g. Yd. st in yastë, xusto (Sgl.  $x\bar{a}st$ ).—\*sti/y was possibly palatalized into \*s't' > šč. Cf. also žeč 'bread'; mič 'fist, double handful': Yd.—Mj. .cisto, mišč(a). vašč 'milk-pail' might be derived from \*basti-.

- 68. Ir. sp appears in s<sup>2</sup>pūndr 'ploughshare'; sprəγ 'flower'; spreż- 'to sp blossom'; s<sup>2</sup>pərdän' 'flea'; spʌn- 'to fill up' (\*us-parna-?). sipask 'rafter' is of unknown origin. Intervocalic -sp- occurs in naspar- 'to thread down'; yīsp 'shoulder' (of uncertain etymology).
- 69. Wkh., as well as Saka, distinguishes between ancient sp and sw. sw <sup>1</sup> Cf. § 57.

This latter group results in  $\hat{s}^{1}$ . We are here in the presence of an important and very ancient isoglott which connects Wkh. and Saka.

After early Ir. \* $\acute{s}$ , or \* $\acute{c}$  (< IE  $\^{k}$ ) w was palatalized into  $\ddot{u}$ , and this sound, in its turn, helped to preserve the palatal character of the preceding sibilant, with which it was assimilated.

Examples are: šač 'dog'; šiš 'louse'; yaš 'horse'; yīšn 'iron'. and probably  $p \tilde{s} \tilde{n}$  Sh. 'patch' (cf. Yd.  $pasp\tilde{o}n$ , etc.). Burushaski  $\tilde{s} \Delta n di$  'cut crops lying on the ground' might possibly be a lw. from a lost Wkh. word connected with Saka  $\tilde{s} \tilde{s} and aa$ - 'earth' (< \* $swantak\bar{a}$ -).

70. Wkh. wūč 'very high' may go back to usča. But the same form si is also found in Ishk.

Initial str is retained in  $s^2trei$  'female', cf. Or.  $s^ttrej$ . But in str intervocalic position the group was simplified into sr, from which  $\tilde{s}$ . Thus:  $wi\tilde{s}$  'straw' (<\*wastra-). Cf.  $\gamma a\tilde{s}$  'mouth'  $<*ga\tilde{s}tra-$ . eitr 'spinning-wheel' with early dissimilation  $<\tilde{c}a(s)tra-$ , or, probably, borr, from IA.3

71. Assimilation of  $sr > \S$  is common to many Ir. languages. Wkh. sr examples are:  $\S \ni u$  'horn';  $\S \bar{\imath} n$  'anus';  $\S \bar{\imath} n j$  'hip' (\*srauni- $\check{c} \bar{\imath}$ ?); \* $ya\S k$  'tear';  $\check{x} a\S$  'mother-in-law';  $\S i\S$ ,  $\S i\check{x} n$  'near' (\*sri $\S na$ - 'clinging to'?). The etymology of  $w \ni \S i y$ - 'to fear': Orm.  $\gamma^w a\S^r$ - is uncertain.  $\S ir\bar{a} w$ -Sh. 'to tell one's beads' ( $\langle sr\bar{a} v a y a \rangle$ ) must be a lw.

Note the metathesis of secondary sr in  $\check{x}urs$  'father-in-law'. Cf.  $\check{pirz}$  'evening' (Voc. s.v.).

Ir. sn was assimilated into the surd group sn, from which st in sn sitox 'daughter-in-law'. Cf. also sn > st in post 'heel' (lw.), yist Be. 'iron', and Langar Kisht (Curzon) = Kis(i)n. Internal sn, on the other hand, was sonorized into zn ( $y\bar{a}zn$  'inflated  $skin' < *\bar{a}-sn\bar{a}$ ), from which zd (wuzdi- 'to wash'  $< *awa-sn\bar{a}ya$ -).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Saka  $\acute{s}\acute{s}$  (=  $\acute{s}$ ).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. Bailey, BSOS, VII, 294.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. § 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> But why  $\bar{u} < au$ ?

Possibly a lw.

72. Assimilation of sy > s has taken place in dis-'to know' (\*han-sy disya- or \*han-dissa-?); nās-'to be lost'; wosk 'calf'. I heard s in k-aš 'boy': Sk., etc. kās (Av. kasyah-), and in regiš 'beard': Sk., etc. roγīš (\*fra-gaisya-); L. gives š in pεδεmεs-'to swell' (\*pati-dmasya-?) and in tēš/s 'empty': Sk, Sh. tos. All sources have s in šiu 'black' (\*syāva-?). I am unable to explain this interchange between s and s.

Cf., however.  $ma\mathring{z}$  'me' (if < mazyu);  $\mathring{z}_{\partial}$  'my' (if < az-yu-), zy and  $r_{\Delta}\mathring{z}_{\partial}$ ,  $r_{\Delta}\mathring{z}_{\partial}\mathring{z}_{\partial}$  'sitting dais';  $y\mathring{o}\mathring{z}_{\partial}$  'to bear' ( $< \tilde{a}$ -zaya-??). V. § 55 regarding \* $\grave{c}y$ .

Ir. zg possibly in magż Be. 'brain'

Ir. zd is found in nezd- 'to sit down' wast W 'fat' is an Ishk. zd word.

Ir. zb remains, through differentiation, in  $ziibe\delta$  to burst (v. s.v. zb zvbiit) < \*uz-bid. But note  $zw\bar{a}y$  to roll up'  $< uz-w\bar{a}y$ , without change of the semivowel into a fricative. This may, however, be due to influence from the uncompounded verb. The word for tongue' does not go back to a form in \*zv < zw The etymology of  $pizv\bar{a}ni$  'morning meal' is unknown.

Ir. zm possibly in rizom, rizm 'soot', cf. rezg 'saline efflorescence' zm + rizaka-).

Ir. zr only in the compound zərend- 'to scrape' (< \*uz-rand-). zr

Wkh. sk < šk in wəsk 'dry' is unexplained. pəšk 'dung' is a lw. šk

We find, however, also st < št in məst 'fist',² and possibly in št

pöst 'parched grain', Shgh. pišt, Ishk. put, Par. pišt (but Prs. pišt).

Preterites of the type nöst 'lost' (nis- tr.) are secondary, and so is

nāšt 'was lost' (nāš- intr.). But wāšt 'fell', nēšt 'went out' and

vīšt '(the sun) set' (vāz-, niviz-, wīz-) have the appearance of being

ancient forms. əštār, etc. 'camel' is probably a lw. A third development

of št is into t: Thus (h)āt 'eight' (poss. an Ishk. lw.); dētk 'brick'

< dištik < dišti-ka-, cf. the early Wkh. lw. in Shina listik). A

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v. zik.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But  $mi\check{c}$  Sh. 'double handful' <  $mu\check{s}tyah$  pl.?', cf. § 67. Sh. gives both most and  $mi\check{c}$  as corresponding to Sar. mut. Cf. Bur.  $m\bar{u}\check{c}i$ , mosti 'plough-handle' from IA.

derivation of büt Be. 'clothes' from \*ham-pušti- is of course extremely uncertain.

I am unable to explain the diversity of the development of Ir. It will be noticed that  $m \ni st$ ,  $p \ni st$  (and  $u \ni sk$  'dry') have IE s, while  $u \bar{a} \ni t$ , etc. contain an ancient palatal. It would, however, be unsafe to assume that Wkh. should have retained dental s in the groups  $u \mid ist$ ,  $u \mid isk$ .  $u \mid isk$ .  $u \mid isk$  'eight' might be an Ishk. lw. But Shina  $l \mid st \mid isk$  which can, for geographical reasons, scarcely have been borrowed from an early Ishk. form, shows that the change from st > t must have taken place also in Wkh. Cf. also  $p \in rt$  'animal's back'  $st \mid st \mid st$ .

74. Ir. šp is possibly contained in wəšp 'plough-pole', v. Voc. s.v. sp
As to šn v. above, § 71. šm is sonorized in ĉažm 'eye'; cf. žəmak šn, šm
'moon' (v. Voc. s.v.). I am unable to explain Sk. taxm 'thirsty'.
As to šy in pεξ- 'to ripen'; pišεw- 'to return' cf. § 46.
We find Ir. ż, in nežγar- 'to swallow', neždun 'weeding'. żg, žd

### First Component a Nasal.

75. Although Wkh. has retained ancient intervocalic tenues, we find that sonorization has taken place after a nasal. At any rate there is no certain instance of *nt* in the scanty material available to me.<sup>2</sup>

Examples of nt are: dendik 'tooth';  $m\bar{a}nd$ - Y 'to rub'  $(mant \cdot ?)$ ; nt  $\tilde{\epsilon}iim\bar{a}nd$ - 'to wring';  $w\bar{u}ndr$  'field' (Av. avantara-); tond Be. 'thread' (\*tantu-);  $k\epsilon nd$  'woman, wife' (Skt.  $k\bar{a}nt\bar{a}\cdot ?$ ).  $w\bar{u}nd$  'saw' is a secondary formation.  $\tilde{\gamma}id\bar{u}m$  'wheat' probably goes back to a form \* $\gamma(n)d\bar{u}m$  < \* $\gamma(a)nt\bar{u}m$ . In  $witri\vartheta t$  'shies' (witrin-)  $\vartheta t < nt$  is of secondary origin.—Final -nt is reduced in the verbal ending 3 pl. - $\vartheta n$ .

76. A possible example of mp is büt- 'to overthrow' (Sar. imbat-) < mp \*ham-pataya-. Cf. büt Be. 'clothes' < \*ham-pušti-(?) and bak\(\delta\) 'husband's brother' (< \*ham-pax\(\delta\)aka-?). kampal 'blanket' is of IA origin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As for i, u, i, s, s. Note also  $sk > \tilde{s}k$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Antərč L. 'sister-in-law' is of unknown origin.

No certain instance of nk occurs. Secondary n + k results in nk ng in the suffix -ung, etc. Cf. § 29.

It is possible that giz- 'to rise' goes back to \* $\eta giz$ - < \* $\eta kiz$ - < \*han-xaiz-.

The numeral  $p\bar{a}nz$ ,  $p\bar{a}nj$  'five' is probably a genuine Wkh. form.  $n\bar{c}$  may also be contained in some verbs in nj/z: vardenz- 'to press down',  $\tilde{x}enj$ - 'to fill'. But cf.  $n\epsilon m\epsilon nj$ - L. 'to dance' (\*ni-maneya-??). Secondary  $n + \bar{c}$  results in nj, cf. § 79.

77. Examples of ng, nd and nj are: yāngəl 'finger'; kānd- 'to laugh'; ng, nd, n) vānd- 'to bind'; škəndiv- 'to break'; ranjk Sh. 'fast, light'.

 $r\bar{a}rand$ - 'to abuse' is of unknown origin, and  $r\bar{a}nd$ - 'to give',  $n\bar{u}nd$ - 'to plant', etc. may have a secondary nasal in the present base.

Initial \*nd- resulted in d-: dis- 'to know' < \*handisya-, cf. ng- > g-, and mb/p- > b-. Cf.  $d \ni g \in r$  'finger' < \*n(d) $g \in r$  (§ 47). Note tüngur Sh. 'thunder' (v. s.v.  $tand \bar{u}r$ ) with dissimilation.

Ir. mb apparently was less resistant than nd, ng, and was assimilated mb into m. Thus: vizam- Sh. 'to rub into powder' (Sar.  $viz\bar{a}mb$ -);  $x\bar{a}m$ - 'to descend' (Prs.  $xamb\bar{i}dan$ ); cf.  $p\ddot{u}tr\ddot{u}m(b)$ - Sh. 'to scare away, arrest'.

But in secondary initial position mb- may have resulted in b-, just as mp-, etc. There is, however, no certain example,  $b\acute{a}i$  Sh. 'cave' (Ishk. ambi) might have original mp.

78. It is possible that \*and developed through \*ad into ad > at. nd Cf. ramd 'chewing the cud' < \*raumanda-, and mutr 'augury'. which may, however, be a lw. But note mand-, żümand-. The derivation of yīxūn 'bridle' from \*anxuna- is extremely doubtful. Cf. also § 42, about Khow. auzetu.

At any rate n appears to have been lost before a sibilant: δus ns 'wasp' (<\*dansa-); pεδεmεṣ- 'to swell' (\*pati-dmansya-), and possibly also was 'roof-beam' <\*wansa-.

79. Ir. nm was dissimilated into rm: carm 'watercourse' (< \*can-man-); nm pütxårm 'wooden trough' (< \*pati-hwān-man-?). Regarding sūrm 'dung', v. Voc. s.v.

In secondary contact we find  $w\bar{o}z\bar{o}nd$  and  $waz\bar{a}md$  from wuzem-m+d 'to bring', etc.

As for m + k, c v. §§ 29, 33, and cf. som) Be. 'hoof'.

m+k, è

# First Component a Liquid.

80. Ir. rk is probably preserved in kerk 'fowl', and yark 'work'. In rk secondary contact we find rk in purk 'mouse';  $w\bar{u}rk$  'lamb', etc.

But note pārg 'ashes' (Sgl. park).

Ir. rt is retained in  $\tilde{v}\ddot{a}rt$ - Sh. 'to collect, to tuck up one's sleeves' rt (\*gart-);  $w\varepsilon rt$ - 'to knead';  $w\ddot{a}rt$  'mill-stone';  $\partial \sigma rt$  'manure';  $t\bar{o}rt$  'the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow' (cf.  $t\partial tv\bar{a}rt$  'the year before last' < \*trta-); tvrt 'ford' (Khow. lw.?), and in the past stems naspart- Sh. 'tread down';  $was\bar{e}rt$ - 'cooled' ( $was\bar{e}r$ -);  $m\bar{\sigma}rt$  'died' ( $mar\bar{t}$ -);  $k\bar{\sigma}rt$  'did' ( $c\bar{a}r$ -). The etymology of sangurt L. 'beetle', and of avart 'span' is unknown.

In a number of past stems, most of which have exact counterparts in Sar., we find rd. Thus wōdŏrd 'held' (wīdðr); škūrd 'sought', etc. Influence from Sar. is not excluded. But cf. also derd L'carved'; wirdān L. 'mill-wheel' (lw.?).—skōrd 'bridge'; nikerd 'central part of a room'; kard Sh. 'crooked' (Sar. èerd) are of unknown origin. As for pārd 'last year' v. § 30.

wolč 'quail' prob.  $< *wolt\`c < *warti\~c\~i$ , cf. Ishk. wõrc. Prs. lexxwalč must be a dialect form. We find a change of rt > lt also in waltk (welk L., etc.) 'kidney', cf. Sgl. wolk. Cf. the Saka development of rt > l before a consonant, and v. § 48.

 $k \ni \mathring{z}$  'knife' is very strange, but might perhaps be an early adaptation of Ishk. \* $k \bar{e} r (> k \bar{\iota} l)$ , with substitution of  $\mathring{z}$  for r, a sound unknown to Wkh.

There is no example of ancient  $r\dot{c}$ .  $p \partial r \dot{c} \partial d$  'girl' may go back to  $r\dot{c}$  \* $pari-\dot{c}$ ', v. Voc. s.v.—Cf. also  $\dot{s}k\bar{o}r\dot{c}$  'coal';  $y\bar{o}r\dot{c}$  'part of floor'.

81. If car Sh. 'kite' (Sar.  $car\gamma$ ) is a correct and genuine form  $\gamma$  has  $r\gamma$  been dropped. In  $spr\partial \gamma$  'flower' (cf. Av.  $spar\partial \gamma a$ -) the r has been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I do not know what sounds Bi.'s 'kurcj' is intended to express.

• transposed.—merg L., marg Sh. 'female Ovis Poli' and mingas, etc. 'sparrow' are probably lw.s.'

Ir. rd occurs in wuserd 'this year';  $s\bar{e}rding\bar{a}$  'belonging to this rd year'; word 'tripe' (Av.  $var\partial dva$ - 'soft');  $p\epsilon t\epsilon i\delta$  'to spring from one seed'; and possibly in  $s^3p\partial r\delta\bar{a}n$ ) 'flea' (v. Voc). Regarding d for  $\delta$  cf. § 37.  $ger\delta\bar{a}n$  'neck' is a Prs. lw. and  $var\delta cnz$ - 'to press down' probably goes back to a root in d-. Some of the words mentioned under rt may contain ancient rd.

Wkh.  $d^3r \varepsilon v$ - 'to sew' goes back to \* $d_r b$ -.

rb

Wkh.  $\gamma af$  'much' probably corresponds to Sogd.  $\gamma arf$ , with loss rf of r in an accessory word. skurf Y 'rough' is of unknown origin. As to  $\gamma \epsilon rf$  'fireplace' v. § 63.

82. Ir. rs remains unassimilated as in Yd.—Mj. Thus: purs 'to rs ask'; purs 'rib'; dirs 'goat's hair'.

Also rz remains: cārzņ 'awl'; furz 'birch'; durz- 'to seize'; lamərz rz 'sloping down of a field'; mərz 'hungry'; namurzy 'rake'; vərz 'long'; vōrz 'pillow'. Cf. also xərz, rhyming with and probably identical in meaning to Prs. carz 'bustard'. From \*hwarza/uka-we should expect Wkh. \*xurzg,² and xūzg 'sweet' is probably of Ishk. origin.—Note mōrz L. 'dew', and yārs/z, etc. 'juniper'.

But r's appears to have been assimilated. The examples are, r's however, not clear. Thus: tax (tāx Sh., taxm Sk.) 'thirsty'; yoš 'male' (lw.?); wušeng 'uncastrated bull' (\*wṛsanaka-, but note s). xaṣ- 'to pull' is common to most Pamir dialects, and ramuṣ- 'to forget' may contain ancient -uṣ-.3

The only example of  $r\hat{s}t$  is  $p\hat{s}rt$  L. 'back of an animal'. purst  $r\hat{s}t$  'asked' is a secondary formation, and  $k\hat{o}\hat{s}t$  Sh. 'cultivated'  $(k\ddot{u}r)$  is probably influenced by Prs.

But  $r \dot{z} d$  has been assimilated in  $de \dot{z} d$  'seized' (durz). Uf. the treatment of  $\dot{z} d$ .

83. Before an m Ir. r has been retained in yurm 'forearm'. But from rm, rn

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From Kafiri? V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62. Also Psht. distinguishes between \*rš, \*ršt >  $\check{z}$ ,  $\check{s}$  and \*rs, \*rst >  $\check{s}t$ .

<sup>8</sup> Cf. § 46.

rn, which has been assimilated into n in most neighbouring Ir. languages, we find r in mur 'apple' (Sar. man, etc.). The derivation of span 'to fill up (of a river)' from "us-pṛna- is very uncertain (note pret. spat). The retention of the n of the present suffix would, however, be possible, even if rn became r(r) in other positions. Cf. the parallel development in Saka.  $p\bar{u}n$  'palm of the hand' has Ir. n, not rn. pale 'leaf' possibly from "parè '< \*parnaè $\bar{i}$ .

In secondary contact r + n appears to have resulted in ndr (<\*nr), if  $s^{o}p\bar{u}ndr$  'ploughshare' is to be derived from  $*sp\bar{u}rana$ -

#### Assimilation.

84. Numerous cases of assimilation of various kinds have been brought to notice in the preceding paragraphs. Others will be mentioned in connection with the reduction of hard groups of consonants, which takes place before the k- suffix of perfect stems and before t in pres. 3 sg. Cf. also welk < waltk 'kidney';  $\check{x}at$  'did'  $< *g(\vartheta)\check{x}at$ ;  $s\vartheta m b \delta nak$  'pellet-bow'  $< sanb \delta nak$ .

# Dissimilation and Differentiation.

S5. Dissimilation of nasals occurs in lamerz L. slope of a field' (if <\\*ni-marza-); lamerzg L. < namurzg Sh. 'rake', san dāl 'anvil' < sin dōn. Cf. also yamān Kl. 'one another' (\*(y)an-an?). and siven 'rope' < Khow. šimenī.

Loss of r through dissimilation is probably found in  $t \partial t v \bar{a} r t$  'the year before last' ( $< *t \partial r t$ ), and possibly in  $p \partial r c \bar{o} d$ ,  $p \bar{u} r c \bar{o} d$  'girl'. if from  $*p a r c \bar{a} r$ , cf. Skr.  $p a r c \bar{a} r i k \bar{a}$ .

Note also  $de\delta i\dot{\gamma}$ - 'to look at' < \* $\delta e\delta i\dot{\gamma}$ -. But  $l\partial \delta \delta w(ak)$  Kl. 'to give' < \* $\delta a\delta a$ -?

A clear case of differentiation is the change of  $\partial r$ , xr > tr, kr.<sup>3</sup> In dr- the differentiation has perhaps been preventive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But Saka rr < rn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. wolč, § 80.

<sup>3</sup> V. §§ 62, 64.—Ir. \*pāni- 'palm of the hand < IA?

### Metathesis and Interversion.

86. Examples of metathesis are: tapk L., Be., etc.  $< p\bar{a}tk$  'eyelashes':  $ri\gamma u\delta$  L.  $< d\partial g\partial r$ ,  $d\partial \gamma\partial r$  'finger'.— $v\partial c\bar{e}r$  W. 'eyebrow' is merely a mispronounced form of Ishk.  $v^{\partial}ric$ .

Interversion in groups of consonants occurs in:  $\check{xurs}$  'father-in-law';  $spr\check{\check{\gamma}}$  'flower';  $s^*p\bar{u}ndr$  'plough-share' ( $< *sp\bar{a}rana-?$ ). and possibly in  $p\bar{v}rz$  'evening' (< \*upa-azara-?). Regarding druk§ 'bull'. etc., cf. § 60.

### Vowels.

87. For reasons briefly indicated Yd.—Mj. § 138 it is much more difficult to follow the development of Ir. vowels in a modern Pamir dialect than it is to give an outline of the changes of consonants and consonant groups.

The exact phonetical value of many ancient Ir. vowels is unknown, and as no older stage of these dialects is accessible to us, it is in most cases a hopeless task to trace, with any degree of certainty, the actions and counteractions exerted by accent, assimilation and other factors.

In the case of Wkh. we are also handicapped by the fact that no recorder of the language has been in a position to devote to this work sufficient time for arriving at absolutely certain results as regards the exact vocalization of a great number of words, or for determining the undoubtedly considerable individual latitude of pronunciation. Nor do we know much about the dialectical distribution of vowel variations.

And, last not least, it is frequently impossible to ascertain whether a word is genuine Wkh. or not. In the case of Wkh. the definition of the terms 'genuine' and 'borrowed' presents problems of more than usual complexity, and many loan-words have passed through some of the more recent Wkh. sound-changes.

All we can do is therefore to make an attempt to indicate a few main lines in the development of Wkh. vocalism. But in many cases we are restricted to give a mere statement of complex and bewildering facts.

#### Ir. a.

- 88. Ir.  $\alpha$  remains as  $\alpha$  ( $\hat{\alpha}$ ) in Wkh.:
  - a. Before an ancient group of consonants. Thus: andag 'slave': andav 'fever'; ˇpāṣ' 'mouth'; hāt 'eight'; kānd- 'to laugh'; kāṣ' 'boy'; mānd- 'to shampoo'; nəðavn- 'to clasp'; naṛd 'night'; pānz 'five'; rand- 'to give'; rānjk 'light'; spraṛ, sprəˇy 'flower'; šǎnd- 'to mix'; sārdingā 'of this year'; vāṛd 'night-mare'; vǎnd-: vǎst 'to bind'; yāng(ə)l 'finger'; yark 'work'; yaṣè 'bone'; yāzn 'mussuek'. In maks 'fly'; pārd 'last year'; pārg 'ashes' (but purk 'mouse'); wān) 'belly'; zārt 'yellow'; żārṣ 'milk' the group of consonants is of secondary origin.
  - b. After or before palatal consonants:  $yaš\check{c}$  'bone';  $ya\check{s}$  'horse';  $ya\check{x}$  'twig';  $y\bar{a}ngil$  'finger';  $\check{\gamma}\bar{a}r$  'stone';  $\check{\gamma}at$  'to arrive';  $\check{x}\bar{a}m$  'to descend';  $\check{x}\bar{a}n$  'to speak';  $\check{x}at$  'own';  $\check{s}\bar{a}p$  'to suck';  $\check{s}apt$  ( $\check{s}$ -?) 'wolf' (lw.);  $c\check{a}r$  'to do' ( $<\check{c}$ -?);  $ta\check{c}$  'to go';  $p\check{n}c$  'to cook';  $n\check{a}\check{s}$  'to be lost'.
  - c. After or before  $\delta$  (d)? Thus:  $\delta ai$  'man';  $\delta as$  'ten';  $m\bar{a}d$  'waist';  $\dot{s}\bar{a}d$  'six';  $p\bar{a}\delta$  'ligature';  $w_{\Delta}\delta$  'handle'. But  $w\hat{a}\delta$ ,  $w\bar{a}\delta$ , etc. 'watercourse';  $\delta us$  'mosquito' (<\*-a-);  $\check{\gamma}\bar{u}\delta$  'thief'.

Other, unexplained, examples of a are:  $w\bar{a}r$  'male oorial';  $w\bar{a}s$  'roofbeam';  $w\bar{a}z$ - 'to fall';  $t^3p\bar{a}r$  'axe';  $b\bar{a}r$  'door';  $s\bar{a}r$  'head' (lw.?), and yurm 'forearm' ( $\langle ar \cdot \langle *_{?} \cdot \rangle$ );  $\check{\gamma}\bar{u}z$  'firewood';  $w\partial \hat{k}$  'calf';  $\check{c}\Delta\check{z}m$ ,  $\check{c}\partial \cdot$ ,  $\check{c}\partial \circ$  'eye'.

89. Ir. a results in u (or Sh. ii) not only in the neighbourhood of labials, but also in other positions, the nature of which I am not able to define.

Thus, e.g.: būn- (bün-): bōnd 'to winnow'; kūt 'roof'; xūr 'ass'; wūrk 'lamb' (wār 'oorial'); režup-, rīžüp- 'to sleep'; Wuž 'Wakhan';

 $x\bar{u}f$  'foam';  $p\bar{u}s$  'ram';  $p\bar{u}rk$  'mouse';  $p\bar{u}p$  'father'; wunuk 'willow'. In  $h\bar{u}b$ , etc. 'seven' and in  $m\bar{u}r$  'apple' there may have taken place an early lengthening of  $a > \bar{u}$ .

I can only register the varying developments of a in dendik,  $d\bar{u}nd\ddot{u}k$ , etc. 'tooth';  $k \in nd$ ,  $k\ddot{o}nd$  ( $<*k\tilde{u}nt\tilde{i}\cdot?$ ) 'woman';  $r \ni d$ -,  $r\ddot{o}d$ - 'to flee'; wuz 'I';  $p \ni r\dot{o}d$  'maid';  $w\ddot{o}l\ddot{c}$  'quail';  $d\ddot{o}r$  L. 'valley';  $m\ddot{o}d$ -L. 'to curdle'. In many words the vowel appears to vary considerably in different villages, v Voc. passim.

Unstressed a results in  $\partial$  in:  $n\partial p\bar{u}s$  'grandson';  $t'p\bar{u}r$  'axe';  $c\partial b\bar{u}r$  'four';  $r\partial g\bar{u}m$  'calf';  $m\partial d\bar{u}r$  'noon';  $m\partial lung$  'middle';  $pez\bar{u}n$ ,  $p\bar{u}z\partial n$  'udder';  $s\partial g\bar{u}n$  'dung'. But, with assimilation to the following vowel: sigin Sh. 'dung';  $kib\bar{u}t$  'pigeon';  $\gamma id\bar{u}m$  'wheat'; regis 'beard',  $p\bar{u}tm\bar{u}i$ -Sh. 'to mimie'.

Regarding loss of unstressed a. cf. § 104.

### Ir. a.

90. Ir. ā apparently resulted in early Wkh. u. This stage of development is preserved before nasals. Thus: γ²rūng 'heavy'; mūm 'grand-mother'; nūnd- 'to plant'; nūng, nong 'name'; pūn 'palm of the hand'; rəgūm 'heifer'; s²pūndr 'plough-share'; wūndr 'field'; xūn 'house'; yūm) 'flour'; kəbūn 'wooden bowl'; spūn, spun, spün Sh. 'shepherd'. Sh. gives ü also in rün 'shelf'; nadün 'scabbard' (= L. nadun 'quiver'); cf. nεždun L. 'weeding'.

Before or after a labial we find  $\bar{u}$  in:  $\bar{u}f$ , wuf- 'to weave' (pret.  $\hat{u}ft$ -,  $w\tilde{o}ft$ - with early shortening?):  $b\bar{u}i$  'two'; yupk 'water';  $y\bar{u}m$ ' flour';  $np\bar{u}s$  'grandson';  $\check{\gamma}\bar{u}v$  'cornbin';  $cpb\bar{u}r$  (Kl.  $cpb\bar{u}r$ , etc.) 'four';  $p\bar{u}z$  'breast'; purs,  $p\bar{v}rs$  'breast';  $w\bar{u}r$  'rain';  $\check{x}\bar{u}i$  'sister' (<\*xw-);  $p\bar{u}'d$ ,  $p\bar{u}d$ , etc. 'foot' (but v. Voc. s.v.);  $p\bar{u}y$ - 'to putrify'; purs 'evening' (v. Voc. s.v.).

But cf. also  $z\bar{u}\gamma$  'fat';  $pi\bar{u}k$  'onion',  $yuk\tilde{s}$  'male ibex':  $y\bar{u}\gamma\partial n\varepsilon$   $\gamma\partial r$  'anvil', if these words contain ancient  $\bar{a}$ .

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 92

91. A delabialization, which affects also lw.s with  $\bar{u}$ , has taken place in other positions. Thus:  $s\bar{v}$  'cold';  $m\partial\bar{dv}$  'moon';  $\partial\bar{v}$  'sickle' (with secondary shortening before a group of consonants);  $k\bar{v}k$ ,  $k\bar{v}k$  'fountain';  $t\bar{v}k$  'willow';  $s\bar{v}t\bar{v}$  'to send';  $\gamma\bar{v}v$  'coire';  $v\bar{v}t$  Sk. (but  $v\bar{v}t$  Y,  $v\bar{v}\bar{u}t$  Kl., etc.) 'brother'; ruv-L. 'to bay';  $\partial uv$ -i L. 'stack'. Also before a labial:  $\gamma\bar{v}u$  'cow';  $p\partial z\bar{v}v$  'heart'.  $s\bar{v}v$  Sk.,  $s\bar{v}u$  Y 'horn', cf.  $n\bar{v}u$  Y (= \* $n\bar{v}u$ ?) 'mill-race'.

Note  $\hat{s}k\bar{u}r(g)$ - 'to seek';  $t\hat{s}$ - Y 'to shave',  $t\hat{u}\hat{s}$ - L. 'to fashion with an axe', etc.

92. After initial y- a palatalization into  $\bar{\imath}$  has taken place <sup>2</sup> Thus yîsn 'iron'; yīrzn 'millet'; yīng 'raw'; yīxūn 'bridle' (< \*āxāna-??), yīsp 'shoulder' (< \*ā-spā-?).

Dubious cases are:  $y\bar{o}\dot{c}$  'duck' (<\* $\bar{a}\vartheta i\dot{c}i$ -?);  $y\mathring{a}\vartheta$ - 'to pile up' (\* $\bar{a}$ - $d\bar{a}$ -?);  $y\bar{o}st$  'fowl-house' (\* $\bar{a}$ - $st\bar{a}$ -?);  $y\bar{o}st$  'agreement' ( $\bar{a}x\dot{s}ti$ -?);  $y\bar{o}\vartheta$ . etc. 'nest' (\* $\bar{a}$ -tada-tada-?);  $y\bar{o}st$  'to bear' (\* $\bar{a}$ -tada-?).

In  $s\ddot{i}i$  Y 'hare' (\* $s\ddot{a}$ - < \*saha-);  $h\ddot{u}b$ , etc. 'seven';  $u\ddot{i}i$ ,  $\ddot{u}i$ ' 'grass', etc., a has probably been lengthened into  $\ddot{a}$  at an early date.

In Prs. lw.s we frequently find  $\bar{o}$  or  $\hat{a} < \bar{a}$ , representing the local Tajiki pronounciation. Also  $s\bar{a}t$  'slate':  $t\bar{o}r$  'neck'. 'back of the head' must probably be lw.s.

#### Ir. i

93. Ancient i is preserved in the neighbourhood of a palatal sound in  $\dot{s}i\dot{s}$  'louse';  $di\dot{s}$ - 'to know';  $de\delta i\ddot{r}$ -, etc. 'to look';  $\dot{c}ip$ - 'to pick'. Possibly, with lengthening, in  $b\partial r\bar{t}n$  'knee' (v. Voc. s.v.).

The relaxation of the high-front articulation common to many E.Ir. languages appears in: zem, zam 'snow'; (a)yem, yəm 'this'; yez 'yesterday'; tεγd, taγd 'sharp'; δεtk 'brick'; bət 'again'; δεt 'given' (\*dita-). raseδ-, rasüδ- Sh. 'to break, cut'—pöst Sh. 'parched grain' may have 'ə' or a labialized vowel, cf. pōv-, pūv- 'to drink' (\*piba-), with i surrounded by labials.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E.g. nir Sk. 'light', brit 'moustache', angir 'grape', pil 'money'; but  $amb\bar{u}r$  'tong';  $jan\bar{u}b$  'south' (prob. of more recent origin), and  $g\bar{v}$  'excrement' (ancient lw.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Except before a remaining labial. Cf. yūmj, yupk above.

In the originally unstressed prefixes ni-, abi-, wi- the development of i is apparently partly regulated by vowel-harmony. The result, however, varies a good deal according to the informant or recorder. Cf. Voc. s.vv.  $n\partial b\partial s$  ( $ni^\circ$ ,  $na^\circ$ ) 'comb';  $n\partial davn$ - ( $na\partial evs$ -) 'to stick'; nadun 'quiver'; nimil- ( $na^\circ$ ) 'to hem'; namurzg 'rake'; nesi- 'to lie down';  $n\partial vi\check{s}$ - ( $ni^\circ$ ,  $ne^\circ$ ) 'to write'; nezd- ( $n\ddot{v}$ ) 'to sit down', etc.;  $vi\partial \bar{a}w$ - 'to ride';  $vi\check{s}iv$ - 'to sweep'; vizam- 'to rub', etc.;  $w\partial r\partial fs$ - ( $wa^\circ$ ) 'to stand';  $w\partial r\partial \check{c}$ - 'to remain';  $wu\check{s}\bar{u}y$ - 'to untie';  $w\partial \check{s}iy$ - 'to be afraid'; witrin- 'to shy', etc.

### Ir i.

94. Ir.  $\bar{\imath}$  remains: pitt- 'drank';  $p\bar{\imath}tk$  'drunk';  $w\bar{\imath}s$ - 'to set (about the sun)';  $w\bar{\imath}st$  'twenty';  $var\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to shear';  $x\bar{\imath}k$  'Wakhi' (\* $wax\bar{\imath}ka$ -?).  $y\bar{\imath}sak$  'plough-handle' probably has ancient ai-.

#### Ir. u.

95. Also u shows a tendency to lose its specific articulation  $^1$  and become a neutral, unrounded vowel, written  $\theta$  (Y, Sk., and Kl.),  $\ddot{i}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$ , etc. My not very reliable informants X and W pronounced e in several words. There is probably much variation according to dialect-

But  $y_{\Delta}/\varepsilon \tilde{s}k$  L. ( $y_{\varepsilon}\tilde{s}k$  Sh.) 'taught';  $s_{\varepsilon}\tilde{e}rv$  Sh. 'hole';  $s_{\varepsilon}\tilde{i}c$  'needle' (with i-umlaut).

Sh.  $s\ddot{u}m$  'hoof' (W  $\vartheta$ );  $ang\ddot{u}\dot{s}t$  'live coal';  $b\ddot{u}\dot{c}$  'he-goat' (Y u) are lw.s. Cf. also  $k\ddot{v}rpa$  Sk. 'bed-clothes' and other examples of Prs.  $u > \ddot{v}$ .

An early lengthening has probably taken place in  $y\bar{i}n\bar{o}t$  'dream'  $<*hufna\vartheta\bar{a}$ .

<sup>1</sup> V. § 93, and cf. Yd.-Mj. § 149.

### $Ir. \bar{u}.$

96. Ir.  $\bar{u}$  results in  $\bar{i}$ :  $\delta \bar{i}r$  'distant';  $\delta \bar{i}t$  'smoke';  $\check{r}id\bar{i}m$  'wheat';  $n\bar{i}v$  'now';  $p\bar{i}tk$  'rotten'; 'st $\bar{i}n$  'post';  $v\bar{i}t$  'was';  $y\bar{i}r$  'sun';  $z\bar{i}k$  'tongue' (\*hiz $\bar{u}ka$ -). Cf.  $\dot{s}tik$  'play'  $\sim$  Khow.  $i\dot{s}tuk$ , etc.

tu 'thou' goes back to a form with ancient shortening of  $\bar{u}$  (later, however, than the change of u towards  $\partial$ ).

Regarding the development of  $\bar{u}$  in lw.s cf. § 91.

### Ir. r.

97. Ir. γ is represented by Y ər, er. Sk. ər, Sh. ör, etc, in kərt Sk., Kl. 'did'; kərk Sk., kerk Y 'done'; γə̄ş Y 'male'; kərk Sk., kerk Y, X, körk Sh. 'fowl'; mərt Y, Sk., Kl., mɛrt X, mörtt Sh. 'died' (mərī- Sk.); vərz Y 'long'; possibly in mərz Y, Sk., merz X, marz Sh. 'hungry'. After p, f and w we find a rounded vowel in purs-Y, pörs- Kl, Sh., pərs- Sk. 'to ask'; furz Y, Sh. 'birch'; wurzg L. 'right'. Cf. also δərt L. 'manure'; δɪrs Y, Z, δürs Sh. 'goat's hair'; sprəγ Y 'flower' (if < \*spṛga-). Also wuserd Y 'this year' may contain ancient γ (v. Voc. s.v.).

But note  $t\bar{o}rt$  'the day before yesterday' (if < \*trta-, cf.  $t\partial tv\bar{a}rt$ );  $t\partial tu\bar{d}t$ , etc. 'thirsty':  $w\Delta ltk$ , etc. 'kidney'. The derivation of  $d^u ruk$  'bull'  $< *dr^2 daka$  is for several reasons very dubious, cf.  $d\partial /e\bar{z}d$  'seized' (durz-).

purs, etc. 'rib, breast' probably goes back to Av. pərəsu-, not to \* $p\bar{a}rswa$ -.

### Ir. ai.

98. Ir. ai is monophthongized into  $\bar{\imath}$ . Thus:  $\bar{\imath}u$  'one';  $w\bar{\imath}n$ - 'to see';  $\delta\bar{\imath}z$  'wall';  $\delta\bar{\imath}siv$ - 'to show';  $m\bar{\imath}zg$  'urine';  $na\gamma d\bar{\imath}n$  'dawn'; nesi-,  $n\bar{\imath}s\bar{\imath}$ - 'to lie down' (< - $\bar{\imath}$ - or -aya-?);  $l\bar{\imath}v$ - 'to slip' (IE. \*sleib-, or \*sleub-). With shortening into i:  $yi\check{x}$  'ice';  $\check{x}il$  'perspiration' (lw.?);  $li\check{x}$ - 'to liek';  $r\epsilon\check{s}ip$  'whip'(?).

<sup>31 -</sup> Kulturforskning.

Note  $y \ni t$  K1., (ac-)et, etc. 'this', possibly with vowel influenced by  $y \ni m$ .

The development of  $i > \ddot{o} \ (= \ddot{o}?)$  in  $p\ddot{o}s$  Sh. 'white leopard' (Sar.  $p\ddot{i}s$ , v. Voc. s.v.) is unparalleled.  $ma\dot{i}$  'sheep' is a lw.

### Ir. au.

99. Ir. au developed through ū into ī. Thus: δῖc- 'to milk'; δῖγ 'thick milk'; γ̃iš (γ̃iš Sk.) 'ear'; kik 'lynx, wild dog(?)'; kibīt 'pigeon'; pīst 'skin'; rīcn 'smoke-hole'; rīp 'hair on the body' (\*raupi-?); rīz- 'to rip up a seam' (Sar. raoz-); skīd 'skull-cap'; šīn 'anus'. Cf. also mīr-p²rīċ 'ant', if < \*maur- < \*marwi-.</p>

 $v\bar{u}l$  'smell' is probably borrowed from Yd.—Mj., and also  $r\bar{u}\gamma n$  'grease, ghee' and  $\tilde{s}u\bar{u}n$ ) 'hip' may be lw s.

In  $t \Delta \gamma u m$ , etc. 'seed' au has probably been shortened. If  $r \Delta m \epsilon t$  'chewing the cud' goes back to \* $r a u m a \partial a / i$ - a shortening may also have taken place in unstressed syllable.

I am unable to explain the e of  $d^3rep\tilde{e}$  'broom';  $\delta\epsilon\tilde{s}$  L. ( $\delta\tilde{o}\tilde{s}$  Sh.) 'late' ( $\langle dau\tilde{s}\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^2\rangle$ ); repk 'refuse';  $p\bar{u}mec$  'to dress', and the a of kap Sh. 'hump'.  $\tilde{e}k\tilde{e}r$  'partridge' is borrowed from IA.

# Umlaut and Vowel Harmony.

100. The palatalizing influence of a following y or i is less evident in Wkh, than in most other Ir. languages.

On the one hand we find an apparent palatalization of the vowel in sprež- 'to blossom' (\*spr)ya-); müš- 'to steal' (\*mušya-); peš- 'to ripen' (\*pašya-); wasēr- 'to become cold' (\*awa-sūrya-); nis- 'to lose' (\*nasaya-); teš 'steam' (\*tafšya-); sie 'needle' (\*suči-); wužen 'blood' (\*wahwani-); haret 'ell' (\*araðni-?); kend 'woman, wife' (\*kāntī-?); büt 'clothes' (\*ham-pušti-); \*-en) fem. of the adj. suffix -ung (\*-ānaēī).

<sup>1</sup> In L. pert 'back' and  $\delta \epsilon rd$  care 'to carve wood'  $< pršti-, *drti-, \epsilon r$  may be the regular outcome of r in the Hunza dialect of Wkh.

But, on the other hand, we find  $m\bar{a}\delta$  'waist', and  $w\hat{a}\delta$  'irrigation-channel', without any trace of umlaut. Note that both words have  $\delta$ .\(^1\) Cf. also  $n\bar{a}\dot{s}$ - 'to be lost' < \*nasya-, where the palatalizing force of y may, however, have been absorbed into  $\dot{s}$ .

The only possible instances of *u*-umlaut are purk 'mouse' and  $w\bar{u}rk$  'lamb', as compared with e.g. parg 'ashes'.

101. There is a marked tendency in Wkh. to assimilate unstressed vowels to following stressed ones. Cf., e.g., režup- (rüžüp- Sh.) 'to sleep', but pret. rožopt; pütrüz- Sh. 'to lean against', but pret. påtråz-; dəviy- Sk. 'to steal', but pret. dovoid; wīdər- 'to hold', but pret. wōdōrd, etc.3

### Final Vowels and Consonants.

102. All final consonants are lost, with the possible exception of -d in  $\frac{\partial}{\partial a}d$  'six'. Note the secondary loss of a final consonant in the personal suffix 3 pl.  $-\partial n$ , and in the dative suffix  $-\partial r$  (<\*arda-). Cf. also  $n\partial b\partial s$  'comb' <\*nipesn (v. Voc. s.v.).

Final vowels remain only in original monosyllables, with the possible exception of  $\dot{z}\partial$ ,  $\dot{z}u$  'my', if <\*azya.

### Stress and Contraction.

103. The principles of accentuation underlying the development in Wkh. appear to have been of the ordinary middle-Ir. type.

A long penultima was stressed. Thus:  $c \partial b \bar{u} r$  'four';  $\check{\gamma} i' d \bar{\imath} m$  'wheat' (\*gantuma-);  $ki b \bar{\imath} t$  'dove';  $n \partial p \bar{u} s$  'grandson';  $r \partial g \bar{u} m$  'calf';  $\check{c} k \partial r$  'partridge' (\* $\check{c}(i)k \bar{o} r$ , lw.);  $b \partial r \hat{\imath} n$  'knee' (\* $dwari \partial n a$ -?);  $d\bar{u} r$  'belly' (\* $ant \bar{u} r a$ -?).

Before a short penultima the antepenultima, whether long or short, was stressed: wist 'twenty'; nūng 'name'; mīzg 'urine'; rīcn 'smoke-hole'; yupk 'water'; yīšn 'iron'; wəšk 'calf' (\*wasyaka); nezdəm 'I sit down' (\*nihazdami); zart 'yellow'; šapt 'wolf' (lw.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Also in Saka d prevents umlaut of the preceding vowel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Shgh.  $w\bar{a}rg$ , with g < uka, and Yd.—Mj.  $par\gamma$ , etc. (§ 175).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 93. about \*ni-, \*abi- and \*wi-, and v. Geiger, § 60, 2.

< \*šapið); s³pūndr 'plough' (\*spārana-); pīt 'he drinks' (\*pibati);
ċīt 'he goes' (\*čaut < \*čyawati), etc.</pre>

104. Before the accent a vowel is elided in: čkər 'partridge'; ktic 'hut'; šīk 'Wakhi'; kṣuy- 'to hear' (\*guṣaya-?); strənj 'carpet' (\*staranacī); wīr 'single-handed (in a family)' (\*a-wīra-): vi-ðūw- 'to ride' (abi'); wa-sēr- 'to become cold' (\*awa'). pəwəz 'drift-wood' (\*upa-waza-); and cf. the words with initial b-, d-, y- < ham + p-/b-, etc.¹ Regarding the development of pati- v. § 30.

There appears to be no trace in Wkh. of ancient accentuation of the fourth syllable from the end. Therefore we find, from nəsi-to lie down', Sk. pret. nəst-əm (\*ni-sita-), but perf. nə sətk (\*ni-sitaka-).

The dialectical elision of a vowel in Sh.  $r\ddot{u}\check{x}p$ - (: Y  $re\check{x}up$ -) 'to sleep';  $r\partial t\partial v$ - Y  $(rase\partial av$ - Sh.) 'to cut');  $p\bar{\iota}cer$ - Y  $(p\bar{\iota}\partial\bar{\iota}sv$ - L.) 'to light a fire';  $\check{x}at$  'made'  $<*g(\partial)\check{x}at$   $(go\check{x}$ -);  $cpr\bar{e}m\partial r$   $(c\partial br\bar{e}m)$  'three days hence' are probably of more recent origin than that which has taken place in the words mentioned above.

The infinitive suffix -ak is stressed (e.g. corak 'to do',  $do'y\bar{a}k$  'to beat'), except after a nasal ( $d\bar{e}ng$  'to beat',  $b\ddot{u}ny$  'to winnow', etc.).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> V. § 76 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 107.

### MORPHOLOGY

#### Nouns.

### Stem-Formation.

105. The very limited material which I was able to collect consists mainly of lists of words, and adds little to our knowledge of the morphology of Wkh. In all main points it confirms, however, the information given by Shaw and Klimchitskiy. Also Sköld's material is mainly of a lexicographical character, although it contains a number of valuable verbal paradigms.

In these circumstances I shall abstain from trying to give a complete survey of Wkh. morphology and its historical development.

- 106. The distinction between ancient stems in a,  $\bar{a}$ , i, u, n, etc. has been completely obliterated. Along with this development Wkh. has also lost the category of grammatical gender. The ancient suffix \*- $\bar{a}nac\bar{i}$ , corresponding to a masc. \*- $\bar{a}naka$  (>- $\bar{u}ng$ , - $\bar{u}ng$ ), still denotes a female being, e.g. in indigun) Sh. 'female slave' (: andag 'male slave'), and varen) 'pregnant', but it is without any grammatical significance. The same is the case with the words containing an ancient suffix - $\bar{c}i$ , e.g.  $f\partial r\gamma\partial m\dot{c}$  'female calf';  $y\bar{o}\dot{c}$  'duck';  $\Delta nt\partial r\dot{c}$  'sister-in-law';  $y\bar{u}m$ ) 'flour';  $\dot{s}\bar{u}n$ ) 'hip', etc.¹
- 107. The Ir. ka- suffix results in -k (-g) in a large number of words. Thus, e.g., δεtk 'brick'; purk 'mouse'; waltk 'kidney'; yupk 'water'; yağk 'tear'; mīzg 'urine'; wurzg 'right'; γ²rūng 'heavy'; yīng 'raw'; nūng 'name'; kīk 'spring'; zīk 'tongue'. This suffix is no more productive, except in the formation of the pf.²

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V. § 155.

But there is a productive, stressed suffix -ak, -ək, -ik, used largely in the formation of deminutives. Thus ât' sak 'lightning'; šaupa rak 'bat'; badxa rak 'n. of a bird'; bu cak 'small he-goat'; ustō dək 'spider'; saxək 'hail'; sendik L. 'vine'; sendik L. 'gum'; winek 'marmot', etc. In some cases I have noted stress on the root-syllable, e.g. dendik (but Sk., etc. dən dək) 'tooth'; 'fīak 'shoulder-biade'. This suffix is partly of Prs. origin (many of the words in -ak are Prs. lw.s), but in some cases it may go back to an oblique case \*-a kahya-Cf. the infinitives in -ak, but -ny.2

As for words in  $\gamma$  ( $\gamma a r \bar{a} \gamma$  'collar';  $mad \bar{a} \dot{\gamma}_{i} \dot{x}$  'mare';  $r i \dot{c} a \gamma$  'fast';  $su \delta \gamma$  'smooth') v. § 29.

108. A suffix -t is used to form abstract nouns in Sk. γū d-i 'theft'; sundr-ī 'heat'; sü'r-ī 'cold'. It may be of Prs. origin. Cf. Kl. -ēγ (šundr-ēγ, sūr-ēγ) of unknown origin.

Of Prs. origin is also the adjective suffix -i in )igar -i 'brown';  $x\bar{o}k - i$  'grey', etc. But in  $s\bar{e}rd - ing - i$ , pard - ing - i 'belonging to this, to last year' at any rate the first part of the suffix is genuine (< \*-(a)inaka -). Cf. Kl.  $s\bar{o}l$  i  $\bar{s}ax - sk - in$  'belonging to last year'.

I have not come across the adjective suffix  $-\bar{e}$ , or the suffix forming nomina agentis  $-ak\bar{u}zg^3$  mentioned by Kl., p. 92.

# Noun Inflexion.

### The Article.

109. Wkh. has differentiated the indefinite article  $\bar{i}$  from the numeral iu.

### Case and Number.

110. The only ancient Ir. case-forms preserved in nouns in Wkh. are the abl., instr., etc., sg. in -en, -an,<sup>4</sup> and the corresponding pl. form in -\partial v.<sup>5</sup> These forms have been treated by Tedesco, ZII, IV, 154 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Kl., p. 91.

<sup>3 §§ 104, 157.</sup> 

<sup>3 &</sup>lt; \*-akzūg < \*-aka-zāka- 'son of' > 'connected with'?"

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Yd.-Mj. § 199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Kl., p. 94. Acc. to Kl. the sg. suffix -on is sometimes added to (o)v.

- 111. The accusative has usually the same form as the nominative (e.g.  $\bar{\imath}yam$  xalg yupk  $p\bar{\imath}t$  Y 'this man drinks water'; wuz tar  $kit\hat{\imath}b$  random Y 'I give you a book'). But a form corresponding to Shaw's acc. in -a and Kl.'s in -i appears in tu mārek kitâbe đetäi Y 'you gave me a book'; rəxnīgi pīcevəm Y 'I kindle the (or: a) fire'; sungi škəndivəm X 'I break the (or: a) stick'; żə pətrei pūmecevum Y 'I dress my son'.' The origin of this form is uncertain, but it might be derived from \*-ē < -ahya-.
- 112. The dative ends in -ar,  $-\epsilon r$ ,  $-\partial r$  sometimes with the addition of a particle ke (Kl., Hj.  $-r\partial k$ , Sk.  $-\partial k$ , e.g. in  $yurm\partial k$ , besides  $yurm\partial r$ ). This suffix may be derived from  $*-ar\delta < *ar\delta ai$ ,  $*ar\delta am$ .

As for the prepositions ce, pu, da, etc., cf. § 132.

113. As stated by Shaw 2 "the noun in the genitive is merely placed before the governing noun without any sign." Thus, e.g., ½0 yāk mād Sk. 'the back of my horse'; draxt pīst Sk. 'bark' (but pist-i diraxt X). Sometimes the Prs. construction is used by X in the tale, 3 e.g., dast-i istex 'the daughter-in-law's hand', etc.

The -e which appears in  $ye\bar{u}$  tate nong X 'his father's name' is scarcely an ancient oblique case suffix, but merely the euphonic vowel employed by X after a final consonant, e.g. in niwde 'he wept': i degde  $t\bar{u}et$  'there was a daughter', etc. But note the Wkh. phrase  $y_{\dot{A}\dot{S}\dot{e}}$   $y_{\bar{u}}rk$  'horse's grain' in Lorimer's Bur. Vocabulary.

Kl., p. 95, mentions a predicative genitive in  $-\partial n$  (yi  $\delta \bar{a}y\partial n$  tu yi  $p\partial rn\partial c$  'a man had a churn'). Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 214.

114. The nom. pl. is formed by the addition of  $-i\hat{s}t$ , as stated by Shaw, e.g. in  $xalgi\hat{s}t$  Y 'people', or  $-i\hat{s}$  Sk., Kl., e.g.  $k \ni ndi\hat{s}$  Sk. 'women';  $sk\bar{s}di\hat{s}$  'caps'. This form is evidently borrowed from the Prs. collective-abstract in  $-i\hat{s}(t) < -i\hat{s}n$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ayou ' $p\hat{a}d\hat{s}\hat{a}ra$  sa' $l\hat{a}m$  goxt X 'he saluted the king' may either contain a Prs. dative in -ra, or a form a-sal $\hat{a}m$ , with the prefixed acc. a- mentioned by Shaw.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> And also by Kl.

## Composition.

115. Compounds of genuine Wkh. origin do not appear to be very numerous, and they conform to the ordinary Prs. types. Thus, e.g., bəĕ δογd 'female cousin (: uncle's daughter)'; draxt-pīst 'bark of a tree' (but cf. also § 113); gidim-xeĕ 'wheaten bread'; γοξί-yāngəl 'thumb', hīb-v³rīt 'Charles' Wain (: The Seven Brothers); δαs-īu 'eleven'; naydīn-yunk 'dew'.

Ancient compounds are, e.g., \*\*xasirz 'wife's sister' (< \*hwasura-zā); noyordum 'bear', and sangurt 'beetle'.

As for ancient nominal and verbal compounds with abi-, ā-, us-, fra-, ham-, ni-, ni-, pati-, pari-, wi-, etc., v. Voc.

### Numerals.

- 116. 1.  $\bar{\imath}u$  ( $\bar{\imath}$ ) Y, X, N,  $(h)\bar{\imath}$  W;  $y\bar{\imath}w$  Sk.
  - 2. būi Y, X, N, W, Sk.
  - 3. trūi Y, X, N. Sk.; trūi W.
  - 4. cobūr Y, X, N, W; ci būr, cr Sk,
  - 5 pānz Y, X; p'ānts N; pāns W; pāndz Sk.
  - 6. \$\dialand{a}\dialand{a}, \$\dialand{a}\dialand{A} \text{ Y, X, N, Sk.; } \$\dialand{a}\dialand{A} \text{ Y, W.}
  - 7.  $h\bar{u}b$ ,  $h\bar{o}^{3}b$  Y;  $h\bar{u}b$  X;  $\bar{u}b$  N;  $h\bar{t}b^{3}\delta$  (!) W;  $\bar{u}b$ ,  $\bar{u}b$ ,  $\bar{u}b$  Sk.
  - 8. hat Y, hat X, W, at N, at Sk.
  - 9. nau Y; nau X; nau N, nab W, nau Sk.
  - 10. das Y, N, Sk.; das X, W.
  - 11. das-īu N, Sk.; das-īu X; das-hī W.
  - 19 das-nab W.
  - 20 wist Y; bīst N, Sk.; bist W.
  - 30. sī N; trūdas Sk.

The vigesimal system prevails as in other Pamir and Hindukush languages. Thus, e.g., Kl. cəbiir bist '80' (but bist ət cəbiir '24'); trūbīst Sk. '60', but trūđas '30'.

The numerals from 11—19 agree in their formation with the Shghn. group and with Khowar, not with Ishk.—Sgl. and Yd.—Mj.  $b\bar{u}i$  has probably got its diphthong from  $tr\bar{u}i$  (< Av.  $\vartheta r\bar{a}y\bar{o}$ , with long  $\bar{a}$ ?), cf. the adaptation of the numeral '3' to '2' in Kurdish. Regarding  $\tilde{s}\bar{a}\delta$  v. § 46.

117. Ancient ordinals are apparently preserved in bət, tört and cəbrēm,
v. Voc. s.vv. Regarding modern ordinals in -ūŋg, v. Kl. p. 92.
Note the distributive ūgōn ūgōn 'one each'.

### Pronouns.

### Personal Pronouns.

	1st Prs. Sg.			
118.		$\mathbf{Y}$	$\mathbf{X}$	Sk.
	Nom.	wuz = N	wuz	wuz
	Acc. (Obl.)	maž	maž	maž
	Gen.	$\dot{z}\partial$ (= N)	żи	żә
	Predic. Gen		żunan	tənən
	Dat.	mar, mār-ek	mar, mar-k/g	$mar{a}r$ - $ eg k$
	Agent		wuz-um	

	2nd	Prs. Sg.	
	$\mathbf{Y}$	$\mathbf{X}$	$\mathbf{S}\mathbf{k}$
Nom.	$tu \ (= N)$	tu	tu
Acc. (Obl.)	tau	tau (ti)	
Gen.	ti	tŤ	tə
Predic. Gen.	tînen	tĭnen, -∆n	$tar{\imath}n eg n$
Dat.	tar, tār-ek	tawar(-ke)	$tar{a}r$ -ə $k$
Loc.			tər-tau

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gärrūsī so, with  $\theta$  from  $d\dot{\theta}$ , acc. to communication from Barr.

	1st P	rs. Pl.			
	Y	${f X}$	Sk.		
Nom.	sak (= N)	sak	$sar{a}k$		
Gen.	spa	ispa	spõ		
Predic. Gen.		ispacan			
Dat.		sakar	sākək		
2nd Prs. Pl.					
	Y	$\mathbf{X}$	$\mathbf{Sk}.$		
Nom.	$sar{a}i\dot{s}(t)$	saš	$s ilde{a}yi$ $\grave{\cdot}$		
Acc. (Obl.)	$sar{a}v$	sab			
Predic. Gen.	sāvan	sab/fan	$sar{a}v$ - $\jmath k$		
Dat.		sabar			

W gave the purely Sgl. forms aze 'I'; təfak 'thee'; tumux 'you'.

For reasons unknown to us the system of Personal Pronouns in Wkh. has been much more thoroughly refashioned than those of most other Ir. languages. The stems mana, ahma- and (yu)sma-, which play such an important rôle elsewhere, have disappeared, and have been replaced by others of uncertain derivation. Any attempt to trace the origin of these forms must necessarily be hazardous.

An archaism of Wkh. is the preservation of four different stems in the paradigms of the sg. (wuz, ma-, maż, żə, and tu, ta-, tau, tī).

120. The acc. maż 'me', which according to Shaw is also used as the base for the loc., instr. and abl., and according to Kl. (maž) as an agent, may phonetically be derived from \*mazya.\frac{1}{2} This form would correspond to Skr. mahyam and lend support to the theory that  $h < \hat{g}h$  is original in this word, Gathic maibyā having got its b from taibyā. Probably, at the time when the dative and the genitive were confounded in Ir., Wkh. \*man was supplanted by maž, while, on the other hand, taw prevailed upon \*tav. Thus, e.g., Kl.\frac{2}{2} māž

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. § 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. 98.

xatt-əi 'I said' < \*mazya hwatam, but tāu ... \deltati 'thou gavest' \cdot \\*tawa ditam.

- 121. The dat.  $m\tilde{a}r\text{-}ek$  contains the base  $m\tilde{a}$ , after which has been formed  $t\tilde{a}$  in  $t\tilde{a}r\text{-}ek$ .<sup>1</sup> Kl. gives  $m\tilde{a}$  and  $t\tilde{a}$  as separate obl. forms. X tawar(ke) is a secondary formation.
- 122. Gen. 2nd prs. sg.  $t\bar{\imath}^2$  may go back to enclitic \*tai. But the corresponding 1st prs. form  $\dot{z}\partial$ ,  $\dot{z}u$  (Kl.  $\dot{z}\partial$ ) appears to be derived from a possessive adjective \*azya-, and it is possible that  $t\bar{\imath}$  represents ancient \*tuya. But no parallell formations are known from any other Indo-Ir language, and the derivation here suggested remains quite uncertain.

The predic gen. forms in -nen, -nan  $^3$  remind us of Sgl.  $m \ni nen$ ,  $t \ni n \ni nen$ ,  $t \ni n \ni nen$ ,  $t \ni nen$ . But in these dialects the first n has been transferred to the 2nd prs. from  $m \ni n$ , while no such explanation is possible in Wkh. Most probably  $*\dot{z}u$ -n,  $t \ni n$  were formed with the same suffix as  $\delta ay$ - $\partial n$  mentioned above, and then the full suffix -en was added. Kl. gives taw- $\partial n$  besides the older form tin- $\partial n$ .

123. The pl. forms are still more difficult to explain.

As for the gen. 1st pl.  $sp\Bar{a}$  (Sk. and Kl.  $sp\Bar{o}$ ) borrowing from Khow. has been suggested.<sup>5</sup> And, in spite of the objections which may on principle be raised against the assumption of borrowing of personal pronouns, it seems impossible to reject this explanation.  $sp\Bar{a}$  would be the expected older form of modern Khow. ispa ( $<*sp\Bar{a}$   $<*asp\Bar{a} < asm\Bar{a}$ -), which must originally have been an oblique form, and no Ir. derivation can be found for the Wkh. form.

It is, perhaps, also possible to take  $s\bar{u}(-i\bar{s}t)$  to be a lw. from ancient Khow. \* $vs\bar{a}$  (from which \*bsa > bisa, pisa).

But sak 'we' is not likely to be borr. from Shina obl. asn'o (<\*asaka-?).

X predic. gen. ispacan is confirmed by Kl. spocon, but the origin

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. tā, which has been formed after the analogy of mā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Ishk. ti.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw has zùi-an 'mine'.

<sup>4</sup> V. § 113, and cf. p. 486, note 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> V. Shaw, p. 49, Tomaschek, Centralas, Stud., 95 (< IA sva-!), and Rep. Afgh. p. 79.

of -c is unknown. A transfer from a lost form \*ahmāċa-> \*māc- is not probable.

The 2nd pl. obl. and gen. sav has been formed with the ordinary suffix  $-\partial v$ . sab X may be a Hunza-Wkh. form, cf.  $sab\varepsilon$  in a Wkh. sentence in a Bur. text.<sup>1</sup>

There are no enclitic possessive pronouns in Wkh. But -am. -at -an. -av are used to express the subject in the past tenses.<sup>2</sup>

### Demonstrative Pronouns.

## 124. The following forms occur in our material:

	"THIS"			
Sg. $Y$	X	Sk.		
Nom. yem, iyem, iyam	yem. $(h)a-yem$			
Acc. $yim\bar{e}^{\ 3}$				
Loc. $(a-)d^{\beta}r-\partial m$		də r-əm		
Obl.	a-yēman			
Abl.	c-eman	c-əm		
Pl.				
Nom.	a-1 <b>yemi</b> š			
"THAT"				
Sg. $Y$	X	$\mathbf{S}\mathbf{k}.$		
Nom. yau, a-yāu	yau, ye, a-yau	yau		
Gen.	$yau, year{u}(?)$			
Loc. dr-a				
Dat.	yowar, yswark	yā və k		
Obl.	yõwan			
Pl.				
Nom.	yāwi <sup>;</sup>	yāwiš, ušt		
		•		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lorimer, Bur. Langu., II, p. 340.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. § 154.

<sup>3</sup> yime detem tarek 'I gave thee this'.

125. These two pronouns go back to Ir. ima- and awa-, while Y acet . from this '1 contains a stem \*ita-, from Ir. aita-, influenced by ima-.

Kl. gives complete paradigms for all three pronouns  $y \ni m$ ,  $y \ni t$ , and ya(u), cf. Yd.—Mj. § 208 mo, yo, wo. But while the stems  $(y) \ni m$ ,  $(y) \ni t$  remain through all cases, yau forms an ablative c-an- $\ni n$ , corresponding to  $c - \ni m - (\ni n)$ ,  $c - \ni t - (\ni n)$ , and a locative d - am, sk - a(m) (corresponding to  $d - \ni m$ ,  $d - \ni t$ , and  $sk - \ni m$ . Sk- $\ni t$ ). These caseforms probably go back to Ir. ana- and ahmi.

A prefixed (h)a-, corresponding in use to Prs. ham- in ham-in, emphasises the demonstrative force of the pronouns.

When used as adjectives the demonstratives are usually uninflected V. Voc. s.vv.

## Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

126. kūi, kui Y, X, Sk., ko-i Sh. 'who?', 'somebody'.—Probably < kahya.

kūm X, kum Sh. 'which?'.—Probably < \*kāma- cf. Psht. kūm èis, èi X, èiz Y, Sk., èiz Sh. 'what?'.—Prs.—V. Voc.

cām X, Sk., Sh. 'how much?', 'how many?', 'some'.—Cf. Kl. tum 'so much', etc.

čīzī Y, X 'something'.—Prs.

žat X, Sk. 'self, own'.—From Av. x atō. žūnen, an X 'own'.—Cf. žunen, etc.

'cerak Y,  $c \ni rek$  Sk. 'why?';  $c \ni -waxt$  Sk. 'when?' contains an ancient interrogative  $c \ni < \dot{c}it$ .

yan 'other'.— < anya.

yamān Kl. 'one another' is possibly derived from \*(y)anān < \*anya-anya. Ct. § 85. (h)alamān L. id. < \*anyam-anya-?

<sup>1</sup> wuz acet xunen niestem 'I went out of this house'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. cān L. 'from there'.

## Use of the Cases and Prepositions.

- 127. The subject of a transitive verb in a past tense is put in the nominative in my texts. Thus: you nān xat X 'his mother said'; wuz xee-em yitkem Y 'I have eaten bread'; ayou nāgde nikā kerk X 'he arranged the wedding at night'. But note uz-um xinak X 'I have said'. Acc. to Kl., p. 98, a pronominal subject is put in the obl. case in such phrases: māž xattəi 'I said'. etc.
- 128. Regarding the special accusative form of nouns v. § 111. The object, when a personal pronoun, is usually put in the accord. Thus: tu čīzir maž dī? Y 'why dost thou beat me?'; sak sāv dīnen Y 'we beat you'; sāis čizir maž dīef? Y 'why do you beat me?'; wuz tau (or tī?!) dīməm X 'I beat thee'; wuz sab dīmim X 'I beat you'.—čīzəv sāyiš wīndəv? Sk. 'what (things) do you see?' is an example of the obl. pl. of an interrogative pronoun.

The "accusative" is used in a local or temporal sense in yupk piōla kaṭum X 'I pour water into the cup' (: wuz yupk ar pīl kaṭem Y); żāu yūndəm xədōrg Y 'I carry grain to the mill', and wūd nāyd Y 'to-night'.

129. Examples of the use of the dative are: mark 'mālum 'ne vit X 'it was not known to me'; you nānar žat X 'he said to his mother'; yāwər nikā kerk X 'he made a wedding for her'; tu mar ki tâb rand Y 'give me a book'; wuz tawar ī rūpīā rāndəm X 'I give thee one rupee'; wuz tar kitâb randəm X 'I give thee a book'; wuz sabar ... rāndəm X 'I give you'; sakar īgōn īgōn rūpīa rande X 'give us one rupee each'; tu mārek kitâbe đetäi Y 'thou gavest me a book'; yimē đetem tārek Y 'I give this to thee'; mārək ... nə fort Sk. 'I will not' (: 'it doesn't please me'). Note also: tu ciz yarkər wəzd X 'what work didst thou come out for?'; uz kend cilgakar wəzdim X 'I came out to seek a wife', and cizər 'why?', 'what for?'.

A personal object is put in the dat.—probably through the influence of Prs.—in wuz tary disum X 'I know thee' (but wuz aya xalg disem Y 'I know that man'); tu cizir-ke mary ding? X 'why dost

thou beat me?' (but tu  $\tilde{c}izir$  maz di Y):  $yas\bar{e}r$  peden gux X 'saddle the horse' (but yas 'peden guxt).

The dative denotes temporal or local relations in purzer X in the evening; torter X in the day after to-morrow (but tort Y); subir halak Sh. to pass the night; xōnar riệ X igo home; rest xōnar-ke X ihe went home; i manziler-ke rest X ihe came to a halting-place.

130. Examples of the genitive of pronouns are: you nān X 'his mother'; yem żə xān Y 'this is my house': żu xōnan ti xōn lup X 'thy house is bigger than my house'; ispa xōn lup X 'our house is big'; tə(?) nāng Sk. 'thy name'.

The predicative genitive is used e.g. in: hayem  $x\bar{o}n$  'zūnan X 'this house is mine'; yau  $x\bar{o}n$  tinan X 'that house is thine'; tinan řis yark tu? X 'hast thou any work?'; ayem  $x\bar{o}n$  ispacan X 'this house is ours'; yem  $x\bar{u}n$  sāvan Y 'this house is yours';  $\bar{i}$  deyd saban tūet Y 'you had a daughter'; yem  $x\bar{u}n$  zõ xūnen Y 'this house is my own'.

131. The ablative, with or without ce 'from', is found in: (ce) xōnen niešk X 'he went out of the house'; wuz ce xūnen niṣten Y 'I went out of the house'; uz a'yem xōnan X 'I am from this house'; wuz a'yēman rū'pīā durzəm X 'I take a rupee from this one'. In žau ce wuṣ niṣtəm Y 'yalla az kå barūwurdam' ce is used without the abl. ending.

Note the comparative meaning in *iu xōnan ti xōn lup* X 'thy house is larger than mine', etc.

az ayou jinīban X 'for this sake, az barā-i  $\bar{u}$ ' is a semi-Prs. expression.

132. The instrumental, which acc. to Shaw is formed with  $da \dots an$ , appears in pu cakuwen rostovom Y'I cut with a knife'. Kl., p. 94, gives singaron 'dagger' used as an instrumental, but cf. also poleone. -on (p. 100).

On the other hand da denotes the locative in peden da  $d\hat{a}$   $l\hat{a}n$   $t\bar{u}$  X 'the saddle is on the veranda'; da ami  $x\bar{o}n$  'in this house'

(semi-Prs.). Cf. the purely Prs. expression: dar huzūr-i pûdšâ X 'in the presence of the king'.

But dr- in  $d^{3}r\partial m$  'in this, here', dra 'in that, there' appears to be genuine Wkh.

### Adverbs.

- 133. 1. Local: dərəm 'here'; dra 'there'; tərəm 'thither'; tərət Sk. 'there'; kumjei 'where?'; ce-kūman 'whence?', 'where?'; dīr 'at a distance'; šiš (šišn), qarīb 'near'; wūċ 'up'; baūr, tar-vīč Sh 'outside'; tar sibās Sh. 'behind'; prüt Sh. 'forward, first'.
  - 2. Temporal:  $n\bar{\imath}v$  'now';  $w\bar{u}dg$  'to day'; yez 'yesterday'; tort 'the day after to-morrow, or before yesterday'; tort 'three days hence'; wu serd, tort 'this year' (cf. the adj. tort 'belonging to this year', tort 'belonging to last year');  $totv\bar{u}rt$  'the year before last'; tort 'yearly'; tort 'when?';  $totv\bar{u}rt$  'the year before last';  $totv\bar{u}rt$  'yearly';  $totv\bar{u}rt$  'when?';  $totv\bar{u}rt$  'the year before 'solution';  $totv\bar{u}rt$  'further, again';  $totv\bar{u}rt$  'when?';  $totv\bar{u}rt$  'further, again';  $totv\bar{u}rt$  'and 'formerly':  $totv\bar{u}rt$  'further, again';  $totv\bar{u}rt$  'once'.
  - 3. Modal, etc.:  $\gamma af$  'very';  $\partial z ir$ , 'cerak 'why?';  $\partial z ir$ , 'cerak 'why?';  $\partial z ir$ , 'om-jo z ir 'either—or':  $\partial z ir$  'yes';  $\partial z ir$  'well'; albatt 'perhaps';  $\partial z ir$  'and'.

For particulars v. Voc. s.vv.

### The Verb.

#### Stems.

134. According to Shaw ' "every Verb appears, in its various tenses, under four *forms*, which require to be known, in each case, before it can be conjugated. These are: The Infinitive form. The Present form. The Past form. The Perfect form."

To these four 'forms' must be added the 3rd sg. pres., wherever its stem differs from that of the 1st Sg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. 14.

### The Verb Substantive.

135. The nominal construction is very common in Wkh. Thus, e.g.: hayem xōn żunan X 'this house is mine'; nz ayem xōnan X 'I am from this house'; żu xōnan ti xōn lup X 'thy house is bigger than mine'; sak Waxi xalge X 'we are Wakhis'; sāišt kūi? Y 'who are you?'; yem xūn żə xūn(ən) Y 'this house is my own'.

Among the few examples of the auxiliary noted by Sk. and myself are: wuz- $\partial m$  murz vitk Sk. 'I have become hungry', and, in the present, tu-t  $k\bar{u}i$ ? Y 'who art thou?'; sak- $\partial n$   $\check{X}\bar{\imath}k$ - $\partial n$  Y 'we are Wakhis'.

tei- is used in:  $s\bar{a}k$ -ən  $t\bar{u}$  Sk. 'we were';  $sa\check{s}$   $k\bar{u}i$   $t\bar{u}et$  X 'who were (?) you',  $\check{c}is$  xabar  $t\check{e}i$ ? X 'what is the matter?'. Note  $t\bar{u}et$  X =  $t\bar{u}$  'he, she was' in the Tale.

Regarding vit and woc- v. Voc. s.vv

### The Present Stem.

- 136. The only productive Present formation is the Causative in -ev-, -əv-, etc.¹ Thus: pūmecev- 'to dress somebody else' from pūmec-; nezdəv- 'to make to sit down' from nezd-. Wkh. -v- cannot go back to Ir. -p-, and the suffix must be of IA origin.²—pšū- Sh., causative of pšin-, pšēw- 'to return' and werxiiv- (from werxar- 'to flood') are irregular formations. Of nīv- 'to extinguish' and some other causatives no simple forms are known.
- 137. A number of verbs have 1 sg. pres. in -t̄(y)əm, -t̄m, and 3 sg. in -t̄t (-t̄d). Thus: Sk. 'ðəviyəm (ðəvt̄d) 'I steal'; kəmiəm (kt̄mt̄t) 'I will'; 'mərt̄m ('mt̄rt̄d) 'I die'; 'nəst̄m, Y nesiam ('nt̄st̄d) 'I lie down'; 'uəšt̄m, Y wəṣt̄yəm (wt̄st̄d) 'I am afraid'; 'uəzt̄m, Y wəzt̄əm (wt̄zt̄t, Y wizit) 'I come'; Sh. ramiam (rt̄mit) 'I command'; Kl. pörviyəm (pērvit) 'I attain'. These forms must go back to ancient presents in -t̄ya-,-iya-: \*dabaya-, \*kamaya-, \*m²riya-, \*ni-saya-, \*wi-sriya-(??), \*uz-aya-(??),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sk. *pīcəwəm* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. also Yd.—Mj. § 229 and the corresponding Psht, and Par. forms.

<sup>32 -</sup> Kulturforskning

\*fra-māya-, \*pari-apaya- (anc. lw.?). Also Sk. ỹiyəm (ỹiyd) 'I copulate': jōyəm (ỹoyd) 'I read': sədūyd 'it appears'; sətūyəm (sətiyd) 'I send'; sīyəm (sīyd) 'I rub'. Cf. also: Sh. wusūyam 'I untie': ¹ pütmüiam 'I mimie'; zwāyam 'I roll up': wüzdiam. Y wuzdiem 'I wash': ² ksüiam, Y ksüyəm 'I hear' (< \*gusaya-?), and. probably, Sk. sāyəm. Y šāyəm (sītt³) 'I kill' belong to this group. Wkh. -ïy-, -ūy-, -üy-goes back to \*-āya-, but the distribution between forms in -āya- and -aya- has apparently in some cases been troubled

But cf. also  $p\bar{u}mec$ - 'to dress' and nis- 'to lose', with apparent loss of -aya-.

- 138. Presents in -ya- are preserved in dis- 'to know'; pör- 'to cook' (intr.); tös- 'to empty out' (denom.); nās- 'to be lost'; pöδmös- 'to ferment' (if < \*pati-dmasya-); tas- 'to go, move' (?); mus- 'to conceal'; ramuṣ- 'to forget', and wasēr- 'to become cold'.
- 139. Ancient Presents in -sa- are chiefly found in connection with f, v, e.g., warafs- 'to stand'; gafs- 'to run'; nadefs- 'to stick' (Sh. nadevs- 'to affect, stain'), etc. Cf. also Naxs- 'to pass through'. In purs- 'to ask' the suffix is of pre-Ir. date. The derivation of  $k\bar{a}s$  'to thresh' < \*xad + sa- is uncertain.
- 140. Ancient Presents in -nā- are: varin- 'to shear'; pazdan- 'to recognize'; vitrin- 'to sky', and, possibly, pšin- (= pšēv-) 'to return'.

An infixed -n- probably appears in  $r\bar{u}nd$ - 'to give' (cf. also  $p\bar{u}vind$ - 'to sell',  $v\bar{u}rand$ - 'to abuse'?);  $y\bar{u}nd$ - 'to carry away';  $n\bar{u}nd$ - 'to plant'; xk + nd(iv)- 'to break', and in some other verbs in nd-.

141. Remains of other Present formations are: nezd 'to sit down' (\*ni-hazda-); pôv- 'to drink' (\*piba-); car- 'to do' (Aor. cara-?). In wôc- 'to become', and caw- 'to go' the Presents differ from the Past Stems (vit. tāyd 4).

Irregular are dim- (and de-) 'to beat'; ziibiit- Sh., trans. of ziibed-

<sup>1</sup> But note Sh. wiišam 'I loose'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> With inflexion influenced by de-, v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>3</sup> With secondary 3rd sg.

<sup>4</sup> Sh. has cau-: tayd 'to go', but toc-: toct 'to move'. V. Voc. s.vv.

'to burst'. piòing is probably the perf. of \*piòin- 'to flame up' (< \*pati-dagna-?), cf. picev- Y, piòisev- L. 'to kindle a fire' (< \*pati-daxsa-??). V. Voc. s.vv.

			Present.		
142.	Y 'I eat'	Y 'I drink'	Y 'I beat'	X 'I eat'	
	1 Sg. yāwum 2 • 3 » yīt	põvən põvī pīt	dīməm d <b>ī</b>	yawum yawi(-â) yawet	
	1 Pl. yāwan 2 > yāwov 3 > yāwan	pōυΔn pòυ≥υ pōυΔ <b>n</b>	dīnen dīef	yawan yawit yawan	
	Sk. ' I drink'	Sk. 'I put'	Sk 'I die'	Sk. 'I steal'	Kl.
	1 Sg. <sub>1-</sub> ūvəm	$kar{a}$ $t$ ə $m$	m  agrid m	δ∍viyəm	-0111
	2 » pūvī	kāṭī		$oldsymbol{\delta} \partial viy oldsymbol{i}$	
	$3  imes p ilde{\imath}t$	kārt	mirid	$\pmb{\delta}$ ə $v$ i $d$	-t, $-d$
	1 Pl. $p\bar{u}von$	$kar{a}$ $ eq a$	mərin	$\delta$ ə $^{\circ}viy$ ə $n$	-ən
	$2  o p ar{u} vav$	kārtəv (!)	m riv		-it, -∂¢
	$3 \sim \rho \bar{u}v \sigma n$	kāṭ∍n	$(m \partial r in?)$		-ən

143. As mentioned above 1 the 2nd pl. ends in -t in Eastern Wakhan, but in -v in Western Wakhan. This latter form is probably borrowed from Ishk., as -dwam would not result in Wkh. -v.

Owing to early contractions the 3rd sg. presents some irregularities. The secondary contact between the final consonant of the root and the suffix results in various assimilations. Thus: wōst 'becomes' (wōcəm); rəṣt 'goes' (raṭəm); wərəṣt 'remains' (wərəṭəm); witriət Sh. 'shies' (witrinam); rasaət Sh. 'breaks' (raseðam); kārt 'puts' (kāṭəm); wūzənd 'brings' (wūzəməm). But rapact Sh. 'loses the way', pāct Sk. 'cooks'. Verbs ending in nd have no visible suffix. Thus: vand 'binds', kānd 'laughs', nānd 'plants', with -nd < \*nd-d.

<sup>1 § 16.</sup> 

Quite irregular is the inflexion of  $d\bar{\imath}m \ni m$  Y (v. above);  $d\bar{e}m$ , 3 sg.  $d\bar{e}it$  Sk.;  $d\bar{e}m \ni m$ , 3 sg.  $d\bar{\imath}it$ , 1, 3 pl.  $d\bar{e}n \ni m$  Kl.;  $deh \ni m \ni m$ , de, det,  $dehen \ni m$ ,  $dehen \ni m$  Hj. This verb has to some extent influenced the inflexion of wuzdi- 'to wash'.  $t\bar{\imath}i$  'is' (1 sg.  $t\bar{\imath}y \ni m$  Sk.) is perhaps of pronominal origin, cf. Psht. dai.

Regarding the 3rd sg. in  $\bar{\imath}t$  cf. above § 137. In a number of verbs, chiefly in  $-\bar{a}w$ - and  $-\bar{a}y$ -, the vocalism is changed into  $-\bar{\imath}$ - in the 3rd sg.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g.,  $y\bar{\imath}t$  'eats'  $(y\bar{a}w)$ ;  $\check{\epsilon}it$  'goes'  $(\check{\epsilon}aw)$ ;  $dr\bar{\imath}t$  'reaps'  $(dr\bar{a}w)$ ;  $\partial \bar{\imath}t$  'burns'  $(\partial \bar{a}w)$ ;  $\check{\imath}it$  'kills'  $(\check{\imath}ay)$ . Note also  $p\bar{\imath}t$  'drinks' (\*pivt < \*pibati?).

The 1st pl. in -n agrees with some dialects of Sgl.—Ishk., etc.<sup>2</sup> In some cases Sk. gives a compound form in the 3rd sg. Thus, e.g.  $v\bar{u}l$  cart 'smells', but  $v\bar{u}l \sigma m$  (abstract),  $v\bar{u}l$ - $car\sigma m$  (concrete);  $q\bar{e}w$  cart 'calls'  $(q\bar{e}wem)$ .

# Imperative.

144. The Imper. 2 sg. is identical with the Present Stem. Thus, e.g., Sk.  $u\bar{\imath}n$  'see';  $p\bar{a}c$  'cook';  $t \ni i$  'be';  $\check{x}\bar{a}n$  'say';  $xa\dot{s}$  'pull';  $u \ni r \ni \dot{c}$  'remain', etc. V. Voc. passim.

### The Past Stem.

145. The formation of the Past Stem has been subject to numerous levelling innovations, and only a comparatively small number of verbs or root-types have preserved preterites which may go back direct to Old Ir. forms.

Thus we find \*-āta- in ramatt Sh. 'commanded' (rami-), statt Sh., statt Sk. 'sent' ( $s^2\bar{tiy}$ -); \*-ata- in  $\check{x}\bar{a}t(t)$  'said' ( $\check{x}\bar{a}n$ -), sat 'rose' (san-), kott 'drew a sword' ( $k\bar{u}n$ -),  $\check{\gamma}\bar{a}t(t)$  'arrived' ( $\check{\gamma}\bar{a}t$ -); \*- $\check{t}ta$ - in  $p\bar{t}t(t)$  'drank' ( $p\bar{o}v$ -), varitt 'shore' (varin-),  $\check{s}\bar{i}t$ ,  $\check{s}\bar{i}tt$  'killed' ( $\check{s}\bar{a}y$ -), zwett 'wound' ( $zw\bar{a}y$ -), nst 'lay down' ( $ns\bar{s}$ -), \* possibly also in bott 'over-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Sgl.—Ishk., § 124, and 132.

<sup>3</sup> With syncope in a disyllabic stem.

threw' ( $b\ddot{u}t$ -) from \*ham-patita-(?),  $n\bar{u}tt$  'planted' ( $n\bar{u}nd$ -) from \*ni- \* $h\bar{u}dita$ -(?); and in det(t) 'gave' ( $r\bar{u}nd$ -) from \*dita-; \*- $\bar{u}ta$ - in  $v\bar{u}t$ , vit(t) 'became',  $y\bar{u}t$ ,  $y\bar{e}t$  'ate' ( $y\bar{u}w$ -).

I always heard Y -t (e.g.  $\check{x}at$ , but X  $\check{x}att$ ). L. has  $p\bar{\imath}t$  and  $p\grave{s}et$  (Sh.  $p\bar{\imath}tt$ ,  $p\check{s}ett$ ). Sh. and Sk. in most cases have tt, but note Sh.  $y\bar{\imath}t$ , parvet (Z  $p\ddot{o}rv\ddot{o}tt$ , but Kl.  $p\ddot{o}rv\dot{o}t\dot{z}i$ ),  $v\bar{a}r\bar{a}t$  (Sk.  $v\bar{a}ratt$ ), and Sk.  $y\bar{\imath}t$ ,  $v\bar{\imath}t$ ,  $\vartheta et$  (Sh.  $y\bar{\imath}t$ , vitt,  $\vartheta ett$ ). Kl. regularly gives pit,  $\check{x}at$ , but  $pitt\dot{z}i$ ,  $\check{x}att\dot{z}i$ . Note, however, Kl.  $\check{\gamma}at\dot{z}i$ ,  $p\grave{s}\dot{z}t\dot{z}i$ ,  $p\ddot{o}r\ddot{o}t\dot{z}i$ ,  $yit\dot{z}i$  (but  $yitt\ddot{u}u$ ).—The variation between tt and t does not appear to have any phonological significance and may partly be due to inexact observation, partly to difference of dialect. It is, perhaps, possible that tt originally belongs to stems of the type  $n\bar{u}tt < *nih\bar{u}dita$ , and has been generalized.

146. Ir. \*-rta- is represented by kert 'did' (car-) and mort 'died' (morī-);

\*-ržda- by dežd 'held' (durz-); -asta- by vāst 'bound' (vānd-) and xorōst Kl. 'snored' (xorūv-); 1 \*-ašta-, -išta- by wāšt 'fell' (wāz-), nāšt 'lost' (nāš-), tûšt 'shaved' (tüš-), 2 and wišt '(the sun) set' (wīs-). 3

Ir. \*-afta-, \*-ifta- occur in `cavd `gathered' (cip-); nadevd `stuck' (nadefs-); \*-axta- in tayd, royd `went' (čāw-, roc-).\*

Also rasen- 'broke' (raseδ-); nein- 'sat down'; zübön 'burst' (zübeδ-); wərəγn 'remained' (wərəċ-), and xögn 'filled' (xönz-) may be of Ir. origin and go back to forms in \*-idna-, \*-ixna-, etc. Cf. Skr., nisanna-, bhinna-, bhagna-, b etc.

147. Considered from the point of view of the modern Wkh. system the Past Stems may be arranged in the following groups:

# Regular Past Stems.

To this group belong verbs whose final consonant is not changed before the suffix t, d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> If not a recent formation with  $\vartheta t > st$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> More probably a secondary formations in  $\delta + t$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. § 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. infin. tukan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Sgl.—Ishk. § 138, VI.

. .

In some cases it seems doubtful whether an assimilative change is phonological or merely phonetical. It may be that  $witri\vartheta t$  (witrin),  $m\vartheta\vartheta t$  ( $m\vartheta \delta$ -),  $w\bar{\upsilon}z\bar{\upsilon}nd$  (wuzem-),  $\epsilon\bar{a}ld$ - ( $\epsilon\bar{u}lg$ -), and  $\epsilon\bar{k}\bar{u}rd$  ( $\epsilon\bar{k}\bar{u}rg$ -) ought to be considered as regular forms. But it is of course impossible to try to solve this point without possessing more than a superficial knowledge of the language.

148. I. Regular Past Stems in t.

From roots in a vowel: ramatt 'commanded' (rami-); kəmətt 'agreed' (kəmi-); tanet 'folded sheep'; neit 'went out' (niii-); parvet 'attained' (parve(y)-), etc. (v. above).

From roots in t:  $g\ddot{o}tt$  'found';  $\ddot{\gamma}\ddot{a}tt$  'arrived':  $z\ddot{u}bott$  'burst'  $(z\ddot{u}b\ddot{u}t-)$ ; bott 'overthrew'  $(b\ddot{u}t-)$ ;  $\gamma ortt$  'collected'. From roots in  $\delta$ :  $\gamma d\delta t$  'piled up';  $\ddot{z}\ddot{u}\delta t$  'sowed';  $lo\delta t$  'rammed in'  $(l\ddot{u}\delta-)$ ;  $m\bar{z}\vartheta t$  'curdled'  $(*m\bar{z}\delta-)$ . Cf.  $witri\vartheta t$  'shied' (witrin-).

From roots in p, k, č, c: roxopt 'slept' (rexup-); dropt 'scratched' (drüp-); tapt 'quaked'; šilāpt 'splashed'; cərōpt Kl. 'pinched' (cərüp-); čukt 'beat'; čākt 'dripped'; wāqt 'barked'; tött 'moved'; čött 'pinched'; gāčt 'tottered'; pāct (pacd) 'cooked', etc.

From roots in f, x,  $\check{x}$ :  $\hat{a}ft$ , woft 'plaited'  $(\bar{u}f\cdot)$ ;  $parw\bar{a}ft$  'netted'  $(parwuf\cdot)$ ;  $\dot{s}tr\ddot{o}ft$  'sneezed';  $sk_{\Delta}ft$  'tripped';  $pa\breve{c}raxt$  'arrested'; ferxt 'sneezed'. Note the secondary formation  $w\ddot{o}r\ddot{o}xt$  'remained'  $(w\ddot{o}r\gamma\cdot)$  L.;  $so\breve{x}t$  'smeared'  $(su\breve{x}\cdot)$ ;  $go\breve{x}t$  'did';  $\delta \ddot{o}\breve{x}t$  'crushed'  $(\delta i\breve{x}\cdot)$ ;  $\dot{c}\ddot{o}\breve{x}t$  'killed', etc.

From roots in s, s: kāst 'threshed'; nōst 'lost' (nis-); strāst 'splashed'; nəst 'lay down' (nəsī-); gafst 'ran'; naðefst 'stuck'; wərəfst 'stood'; xöfst 'felt sleepy'; purst 'asked'; bārst 'closed the eyes'; šöxst 'passed'; dīšt 'knew'; mōšt 'concealed' (müš-); nāšt 'was lost'; niwišt 'wrote'; pöðmöšt 'fermented'; töšt 'emptied'; tâšt 'cut' (tiš-); xāšt 'pulled'; varešt 'fried'; yākšt 'boiled'.

From roots in r: kert, (secondary form:  $c\bar{a}rt$ ) 'did' (car-); mart 'died' ( $mar\bar{i}$ -);  $was\bar{e}rt$  'cooled'; naspart 'tread down'; werxart 'flooded'. Cf. also kart 'threw into' (kat), with tt > rt.

<sup>1</sup> The Present Stem is only given wherever it differs in vocalism from the Past Stem.

149. II. Regular Past Stems in d. Most roots in voiced consonants and semivowels belong to this class. But the existence of preterites of the type  $2\ddot{v}dt$  and  $m\partial rt$  shows that d is not a mere phonetic variant of t.

From roots in i, y:  $s arrow d \bar{o} id$  'appeared' ( $s arrow d \bar{u} y$ -);  $\delta ovoid$  'stole' ( $\delta v i y$ -);  $) \bar{o} id$  'read' ( $) \bar{o} y$ -);  $voz d \bar{o} id$  Sk. (but  $v \bar{o} z do \bar{s} t$  Y) 'washed' ( $v \bar{v} z d e y$ -, v u z d i-).

From roots in u, w:  $n\bar{o}wd$  'wept'  $(n\bar{i}w$ -);  $por\bar{o}d$  'rinsed' (puru-); stod Sh. (staudi- L.) 'praised' (sto-, sitao-);  $w\bar{o}r\bar{o}d$  L. 'irrigated'  $(w\bar{o}r\bar{o}w$ -).

From roots in v:  $l\bar{\imath}vd$  'slipped'; tovd 'twisted';  $v\bar{\imath}sovd$  'swept'  $(v\bar{\imath}sov)$ ;  $d^{\imath}revd$  'sewed', and the numerous causatives of the type  $rost\bar{\imath}vd$  'broke' (rostov);  $p\bar{\imath}covd$  (but Sk.  $p\bar{\imath}c\bar{\imath}vdd$ ) 'kindled a fire'  $(p\bar{\imath}cev-, p\bar{\imath}cove)$ ;  $d\bar{\imath}s\bar{\imath}vd$  Sk. 'showed'  $(d\bar{\imath}sov-, v. s.v. \delta\bar{\imath}siv-)$ ;  $n\bar{\imath}ovd$  'extinguished'  $(n\bar{\imath}v-)$ , etc. Note gofsovt Sk. 'galloped'. With Sk.  $p\bar{\imath}c\bar{\imath}vd$  cf. Sh  $vi\bar{\imath}sivd$  'swept'  $(vi\bar{\imath}si\bar{\imath}uv-)$ ;  $p\bar{\imath}sud$  'turned'  $(p\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}u-)$ . In these cases w is probably due to inexact notation.

From roots in  $\check{\gamma}$ :  $de\delta i\check{\gamma}d$  'looked'; degd 'brought up'. Note  $\check{c}\bar{a}ld$  'wished'  $(\check{c}\bar{a}lg)$ ;  $\check{s}k\bar{u}rd$  'sought'  $(\check{s}k\bar{u}r)$ .

From roots in z, ž, j: rözd 'ripped up' (rīz-); rəwəzd 'flew' (but wāšt from wāz-); wozd 'came' (wəzī-); nawāzd 'sounded'; gəzd 'rose' (gīz-): yāžd 'bore'; rīžd 'felt pain'; trānjd 'tightened'. Note påtråz Sh. 'leant' (putrüz-), with -z for -zd?

From roots in r, l:  $w\bar{o}d\bar{o}rd$  'grasped' ( $w\bar{i}d\bar{o}r$ -);  $\gamma\bar{i}rd$  'turned round';  $ne\bar{z}\gamma ard$  'swallowed';  $s\bar{a}rd$  'slandered';  $s\bar{k}\bar{u}rd$  Sh. 'sought'; yaward 'chose' (yawer-);  $\bar{a}ld$  'stayed';  $fr\bar{i}ld$  'crumbled';  $nam\bar{i}ld$  'hemmed', etc. The Past stems in rd are of a more recent date than those in rt.

From roots in n, m: bond 'winnowed' (bon-); wind 'saw'; pazdand 'recognized'; tond 'kneaded' (twn-); škönd 'quenched the thirst' (v. s.v. škondiv-); brānd 'babbled'; patramd, potrombd 'arrested' (pütrüm(b)-); vizamd 'rubbed'; wīzomd Sk. 'brought'; xāmd 'descended'.

## 150. III. Irregular Past Stems in t.

From roots in n: xātt 'said'; varitt 'shore'; sat 'rose'; spat 'filled (a river)'; kott 'drew a sword' (kīn-); pšett- 'returned' (pšin-).

From roots in nd: vāttt 'carried' (vānd-): nātt 'planted' (vānd-):

From roots in nd: yūt(t) 'carried' (yūnd-); nūtt 'planted' (nūnd-); pūrüt 'sold' (pūrind-); ratt 'gave' (rand-); vāratt 'scolded'; škött 'broke'; nižit 'expelled' (nižind-). As for the origin of this formation cf. § 145. But vāst 'bound' (vānd-); zirest 'turned in a lathe' (zirānd-). Note xərōst Kl. (xərüð-)

From roots in w:  $\Im i/et$  'burned'  $(\Im \bar{a}w)$ ;  $y\bar{i}/\bar{e}t$  'ate'  $(y\bar{a}w)$ ; drott 'reaped'  $(dr\bar{a}w)$ ;  $vi\delta \varepsilon tt$  'rode'  $(vi\delta \bar{a}w)$ ;  $g\ddot{o}tt$  'covered' (gaw);  $p\dot{\varepsilon}et$  'returned'  $(pi\dot{\varepsilon}\varepsilon w)$ ;  $\check{c}it$  X 'went'  $(\check{c}\bar{a}w)$ . The origin of this type are participles in -uta, e.g. \* $y\bar{u}ta$ -, \*druta-.

From pov- 'to drink': pitt.

From some roots in z:  $w\bar{a}\dot{s}t$  'fell';  $n\bar{e}\dot{s}t$  'went out' (niwiz). Cf.  $wi\dot{s}t$  '(the sun) set'  $(w\bar{i}\dot{s}-)$ ;  $p\ddot{o}\dot{s}t$  'cooked'  $(p\ddot{v}\dot{e}-)$ ;  $k\ddot{v}\dot{s}t$  'cultivated'  $(k\ddot{u}r-)$ ;  $u\ddot{o}\dot{s}t$  'feared'  $(w\ddot{o}\dot{s}iy-)$ ;  $d\bar{e}\dot{x}t$  'beat'  $(d\bar{e}-)$ ;  $u\ddot{o}zdo\dot{s}t$  'washed' (wuzdi-).

151. IV. Irregular Past Stems in d.

From roots in k,  $\check{c}$ :  $t\bar{a}\check{\gamma}d$  'went' ( $\check{c}\bar{a}w$ -, cf. inf. tukan);  $r\sigma_{i'}u^{i}$  'went' ( $r\sigma_{i'}e^{-i}$ ). From roots in p:  $\check{z}\check{v}u^{i}$  'span' ( $\check{z}\check{u}p$ -);  $\check{c}avd$  'picked' ( $\check{c}ip$ -). Cf.  $na\delta evd$  'affected', etc. ( $na\delta evs$ -,  $na\delta efs$ -). But, acc. to Y,  $no\delta afst$  'embraced' ( $no\delta avn$ -).

Quite irregular are: sevd L. 'beat wool' (sem-); coremd 'pinched' (cerev-); sirānd Sh. 'told beads' (sirānv-).

As for dežd 'seized' (durz-), cf. § 82.

According to Sh. some roots in nd have Past Stems in nd(d)i: kandi- (but Sk.  $k\bar{a}nd$ ) 'laughed' ( $k\bar{a}nd$ );  $s\bar{a}nddi$ - 'rubbed up';  $m\bar{a}ndd\bar{i}$ - 'shampoed';  $s\bar{a}m\bar{a}ndd\bar{i}$ - 'wrung'. I am unable to explain the derivation of this form. Cf. staudi- L. 'praised' (stau-).— $s\bar{a}ndid$  Sh. 'compounded' ( $s\bar{a}nd$ -) is influenced by Prs.

4:30 c

<sup>1</sup> Prs. lw.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kl. dēm·: dəit.

<sup>\*</sup> Kl. corup-: coropt.

<sup>\* -</sup>nddi < \*-ndid?

152. V. Past Stems in n.

153.

From roots in  $\delta$ : ne-in- 'sat down' (nezd-); rənn 'fled' (rəd-); rasen 'broke' (rase $\delta$ -, v. s.v. rəstəv-); zübən 'burst' (zübe $\delta$ -); petərnə 'sprung from one seed' (petər $\delta$ -).

From roots in an ancient velar: pamagn 'dressed' (pamec-); rapagn 'lost the way' (rapic-);  $\delta \ddot{o}g(\partial)n$  'milked'  $(\delta ic-)$ ;  $w\partial r\partial \gamma n$  'stayed'  $(w\partial r\partial \check{c}-)$ ;  $\check{x}\ddot{o}gn$  'filled into'  $(\check{x}\ddot{o}nz-)$ ;  $var\delta eyn$  'pressed down'  $(rar\delta enz-)$ ;  $\check{z}ir\ddot{o}gn$  'hung from a peg'  $(\check{z}ir\dot{o}v-)$ . Cf. also s.v.  $pi\delta n$ - Kl. 'caught fire'  $(pi\delta ic-)$ , v. s.v.  $pi\delta igg$ .

From some roots in y: wasan Sh. 'untied' (wusūy-);  $^3$  pin L. 'guarded'  $(p\bar{u}y-)$ ,  $k\bar{s}\partial n$  'heard'  $(k\bar{s}\bar{u}y-)$ .

Note Sh. (and Kl.) *dern* 'entered' (*derm*-), but Sk. *darama* (*daram*-). VI. Suppletive Past Stems.

The Past Stems of  $\check{c}\bar{a}w$ - 'to go';  $w\bar{o}c$ - 'to become'; car- 'to do'; rand- 'to give' are:  $t\bar{a}\check{\gamma}d$ ,  $ta\gamma d$  Sk., Sh.  $(r\bar{v}\check{\gamma}d$  Kl.);  $v\check{i}t$ ;  $k\partial t$ ;  $\delta et$ . From the point of view of Wkh. also  $\check{x}at$ ,  $x(\check{s})et$  L. 'did' from  $go\check{x}$ - (cf. perf.  $(g(o)\check{x}etk$  Sk.) is a suppletive formation. X gave the regular forms  $\dot{c}it$  'went', and  $gu\check{x}t$  besides  $\check{x}at$ ; cf. also Sk. ratt 'gave', and Sh.  $r\bar{a}tt$ , Kl.  $r\partial tt$ , besides  $\partial ett$ ,  $\partial \partial tt$ .

Note also tu 'was' (tei-)

#### Preterite.

154. The material at my disposal is not sufficient for establishing a complete paradigm, but in the main the personal suffixes agree with those given by Sh. and Kl.<sup>5</sup>

1st Sg.  $\delta et$ -em Y 'I gave'; roxopt-əm Y 'I slept';  $t\bar{a}\dot{\gamma}d\vartheta m$  Sk. 'I went';  $t\bar{u}(m)$  Sk. 'I was'.

The transitive ending \*mai, and the intransitive ahmi have coalesced.

<sup>1</sup> From wordyn L. has formed a new present wory, with Past Stem worext.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sh., but cf. also Kl. žərov- (žərəyak inf.). žəroyn 'to be stuck'.

<sup>3</sup> And wašin- 'loosed' (wuš-.

<sup>4</sup> As for variants of this verb, v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Kl.: -∂m, -∂t, —, -∂n, -∂v, -∂n.

In the Perfect I heard Y -on. X -in in: aletk-on 'I am standing'; nietk-on 'I have gone out'; munetk-on 'I have seen'; mieng-on 'I have seen'; mieng-on 'I am sitting'; But Y nieng-om 'I am sitting'; yith-em 'I have eaten'; munutsatk-om 'I am standing'; X vandetk-im 'I have bound'.

The suffix is still detachable from the root. Thus Y: wuz-um roxopt-ei 'I slept' (= roxopt-om); yez-om royd-ei 'I went yesterday'; yūm)-um goxt-ei 'I prepared flour'; nīn-um ne in-ei 'now I sat down'; Sk. yark-m krt-ī 'I worked'; yurpk-om dērt-ī 'I poured out water'; wuz-om murz vitk 'I have become hungry' (cf Y morz-om vit-ei.—No suffix occurs in Y muz i ralg sīt-äi 'I killed a man'.

The particle -ei,  $-\ddot{a}i$  probably originally belonged to the 3rd Sg. of trans. verbs (<\*hai).

2nd Sg. I heard X yitk-et 'thou hast eaten', (or 'you have eaten?'), but also tu det-di 'thou gavest'; X nivdi 'thou didst weep'; tu  $w\partial zd$  'thou camest'; Sk. tu-t na  $w\partial zdi$  'thou didst not come';  $t\bar{u}(t)$  'thou wast'.

3rd Sg. Y rəxnīg vət-ei 'the fire burned'; roxupt 'he fell asleep'; nəðafst-ei 'he embraced', etc. without any distinctive personal suffix.—Note X tūet 'he, she was'.

1st Pl. The only example available is Sk. sāk-ən tu 'we were'. 2nd Pl. Sk. rīz-əv sāyis wīnd-əv? 'what have you seen?' But X sas kūi tūet? 'who are (were?) you?'.

3rd Pl. Acc. to Sk.  $t\bar{a}\dot{\gamma}d\bar{\tau}$  means 'they went'. but it appears to be a sg. form.

Note the extensive use of the Perfect for the Preterite in the tale told by X.

The Perfect Stem.

### 155. The Perfect Stem is formed:

I. By adding -k (<\*-aka-) to the Past Stem. Before this k preceding groups of consonants are usually simplified. This formation is used with Past Stems in t(t), n, vd (causatives excepted), with some roots in z, and a few other veros.

Zon .

<sup>1</sup> Or 'is ?

Thus: Sh., Sk.  $\rho \bar{\iota} tk$  'drunk'; vitk 'been; X. Kl. yitk 'eaten'; Kl.  $\delta \iota tk$  'given'; Sk., Kl.  $\delta \iota tk$  'killed'; yntk 'carried'; Sk. dvitk 'reaped'; Kl.  $puv\bar{\iota} tk$  'sold'; vatk 'given'; Sh.  $v\bar{\iota} tk$  'picked';  $\delta \iota tk$  'spun';  $g\bar{\iota} zg$ , X.  $g\bar{\iota} zge$  'risen';  $v\bar{\iota} zk$ , Kl. vazk 'fallen'; vazk, Kl. vazk 'gone';  $d\bar{\iota} zg$ , X.  $de\bar{\iota} zg$ , Kl.  $d\bar{\iota} zg$  'seized'; uezk, Y. X. uezk, Kl. uoyzk 'gone out'; vazy, X. vuzy, Kl. vozy 'come'; tazk 'gone'; tzk 'gone'; tzk 'eultivated'; tzk, X. tzk, Sk., Kl. tzk 'done'; Sk. tzk 'done'; tzk 'been'; Kl. tzk 'sevn'; Sh. tzk 'done'. These forms have arisen from "tzk 'vaztk, "tzk 'kertk, "tzk 'doratk, etc.

From Past Stems in n we find: Kl.  $k \hat{s}ong$ . X  $k \hat{s}\hat{s}ing$  'heard'; Sh., Y. X  $n \hat{s}eng$ . Kl.  $n \hat{s}eng$  'sat down'; Sh.  $r \hat{o}ng$  'fled';  $r \hat{s}eng$  'broken'; Kl.  $\hat{c}eng$  'entered';  $p \hat{s}\hat{o}ing$ , X  $p \hat{s}eng$  'lighted';  $\hat{s}\hat{k}\hat{o}ng$  'broken' (Past Stem  $\hat{s}\hat{k}\hat{o}nd$ ); Sh.  $p \hat{s}eng$ , Kl.  $p \hat{s}eng$  'dressed'; Sh.  $\hat{o}\hat{o}\hat{s}\hat{k}$  'milked'  $\sim *p \hat{s}eng$  ' $n \hat{s}\hat{k}$ ',  $n \hat{s}\hat{o}\hat{e}\hat{c}'(n)\hat{k}$ ; Kl.  $\hat{c}eng\hat{s}\hat{k}$  'hung'.

Sh. witring 'shied' has been formed from the Present Stem.

II. By adding the stressed suffix -etk, -ətk to the Infinitive Stem. This is the more regular, "weak", formation, and in Sk.s dialect it has largely encroached upon the ancient group of "strong" Perfects. Thus, e.g., Sk. səyətk 'killed', besides sitk; yōwətk 'eaten'; rattətk 'given'; gīzətk 'risen'; wəzətk 'fallen'; dürzətk 'seized'; niwizətk 'gone out'; dərəvətk 'sewn'; g(o)xetk 'done'; kəsənətk 'heard'. Besides tūtk Sk gives təyətk 'been', cf. Kl. tūwətk. Sk. rəydətk 'gone' and wərəynətk 'remained' are based upon the Past Stem. I do not know whether X čitətk 'gone' is a correct Wkh. form.

This form of the Perfect Stem is used with all causatives, and with a great number of other verbs. Thus, e.g., Sk. škəndə vətk 'broken', Sh. gizüvetk 'aroused'; Y aletk, wurufsatk 'standing'; nietk 'gone out'; X wunetk 'seen'; vandetk 'bound'; kitetk, Sh. řatetk 'arrived'; Sk. řažetk 'slaughtered'; čəl'yətk 'sought for'; žə'nətk 'said'; ² pə cətk 'boiled'; Sh. südüyetk 'appeared' (but Sk. sədōi dətk from the Past Stem). With syncope: Sk. rətk 'fled' (<\*rədətk).

<sup>1</sup> X wazget < \*wazdek'

<sup>2</sup> X ži nak?

This formation goes back to \*-itaka-.1 cf. Sk. kəndətk 'laughed': Psht. xandəlai.2

Regarding the inflexion of the Perfect, v. § 154

### Infinitive.

157. In the dialect described by Sk. the infinitive is always formed from the Present Stem by the addition of -āk (< \*-āka-). An ā or ī of the root is usually shortened into δ, ū. Thus, e.g., yī zak 'to rise'; vən dak 'to bind' (vand-); čəl gak 'to ask for' (ċālq-); θο wāk 'to burn' (θāw-); pō cāk 'to cook' (pāc-), dr wak and dərə vak?) 'to reap' (drāw-); ² räžü pāk 'to fall asleep' (ržžüp-); yo wak (!) 'to eat' (yāw-), etc. Note kšō'yak 'to hear', from the original Present Stem, besides kšō'nak (k³ṣōn-). With contraction dēng (and d'yak) 'to beat', but wīnak 'to see'.

Also Kl. has -āk in most verbs. But in Sh.'s dialect -āk is found only in a limited number of verbs. Among those are most stems in nd and t: kandāk 'to laugh'; maṇḍāk 'to shampoo'; vandāk 'to bind'; varendāk 'to abuse'; yōndak 'to take away'; yotāk 'to find'; ȳatāk 'to arrive'; katāk 'to pound'. But ½iimāndan 'to wring'; biitan 'to throw down'; ziibiit-iiv-n(!) 'to burst'. Other examples are: ∂auāk 'to burn'; cerāk, xāk 'to do'; x̄amāk 'to descend'; x̄asāk 'to cut'; cilgāk 'to desire'; naṣāk 'to be lost'; x̄anāk 'to say'; hālāk 'to stay'; wuzduk 'to wash'.

According to Sh. the majority of verbs in n have contracted Infinitives in ng (< \*'-aka). Thus, wing 'to see'; ding 'to beat' (from Pres. Stem  $d\bar{e}m$ ); varing 'to shear';  $ni\check{x}ing$  'to expel';  $k\ddot{u}ng$  'to draw a sword';  $pi\delta ing$  'to flame';  $p\ddot{u}r\ddot{u}n(g)$  'to sell'.

158. But by far the most common infinitive ending in Sh.'s list is -(a)n, which is absorbed into the final root-consonant in pazdan 'to know': witrin 'to sky'. Thus, e.g., trànjan 'to press'; dröwn 'to sew', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geiger, Pamir Dial. § 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 238. But Yd. xadī 'laughed' < \*·īta·, v. § 235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. dərə vak 'to sew'.

<sup>4</sup> For exceptions v. below.

After a Present Stem ending in a vowel the suffix is -in, e.g. rame-in 'to command': mara-in 'to die'; kšü-in 'to hear'.

Irregular formations are:  $dr\bar{u}n$  'to reap'  $(dr\bar{u}r^{2})$ ,  $g\bar{u}n$  'to cover'  $(gaw^{2})$ ;  $vi\delta e^{i}n$  'to ride'  $(vi\delta\bar{u}w^{2})$ ; zirii-in 'to turn in a lathe'  $(zir\bar{u}nd^{2})$ :  $wa\hat{s}uk$ -an 'to fear'  $(wa\hat{s}i^{2})$ ;  $y\bar{u}tn$  'to eat' and  $p\bar{u}tn$  'to drink'  $(y\bar{u}w^{2}-p\bar{v}v^{2})$  are formed from the Past Base, cf. Kl. yitn, pitn, but Sk.  $y\bar{v}wak$ . pivvak.  $nii\delta n$  'to sit' is derived from 'ni-hadana-  $(nezd^{2})$ .  $rad\hat{u}n$  'to give' scarcely goes back to 'fra-dana- (v. Voc. s.v.). himiin 'to be'  $(tei^{2})$  and tukn 'to go'  $(rau^{2})$  are formed from special stems, but note Sk., Kl.  $t\partial yuk$ . Kl.  $t\partial wak$   $(c\bar{u}w^{2})$ .

159. An Infinitive suffix in -k is common to many Ir. dialects, but -n < \*-anai, is peculiar to Wkh.<sup>2</sup> Kl., p. 92, mentions the infinitives  $3\delta t \tilde{o}r - \delta r$  (in order) to kill, and  $l\delta \delta - o\mu$  to give. The first form is a dative of some verbal noun which may in itself originally be a dative. The second cannot, with Kl. be compared direct with the Shgh. form in  $-t \cdot d\tilde{o}u$ , but it may also go back to a case-form of an ancient base in -(t)u-.<sup>3</sup>

Note the use of the Dative in uz kend čilgakar wəzdim X 'I came to seek a wife'.4

# Interrogative Particle.

160. Wkh. possesses an interrogative particle -a, related to that found in the neighbouring languages.<sup>5</sup> For examples v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>1</sup> But rəğn, rə çak, tukn from rəğ

<sup>2</sup> V. Benveniste, Les infinitifs avestiques p. 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Benveniste's derivation of the Shgh, infinitive from a k-suffix, is phonetically impossible.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kl. p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Yd.-Mj. \$ 258

## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

X.

1. A wal Sultân-i Māmūd ži nak pâdšà tu et. 2. Dar wâda-i Sultân Māmūd yeū tate nong Subukta gin tu 3. Wâda-i yayōr¹ pâdšâ 'digar tū. 4. Waxtī (a you) pâdšâ sail ni ešk. 5. A'you pâdšâra sa lâm gužt.² 6. Pâdšâ 'yawark pur sān-um³ kerk: "Sultân-i Māmūd, tu 'čis 'yarkər wəzd?" 7. "Uz k'end čilgakar wəzdim." 8. Sultân-i Māmūd 'žat ki: "Tinan 'čis yark tu?" 9. "A'yem ju wâb mark mālum ne vit." 10. "Žūnen ju wâb: Tinen i 'degde tūet.4 Az a'you ji nīban wuz-um wəzget.5 I deγd 'saban 6 tūet.

<sup>1.</sup> Once there was a king called Sultau Mahmud. 2. In Sultan Mahmud's time his father's name was Sabuktagiu. 3. In his(?) time there was another king. 4. Ouce (that) king weut out for a walk. 5. He <sup>7</sup> salamed that king. 6. The king asked him: "Sultan Mahmud, what work have you come for?" <sup>8</sup> 7. (He answered:) "I have come to seek a wife." 8. Sultan Mahmud (went on and) said: "What is <sup>9</sup> your work?" 9. (The other king said?): "The answer to this <sup>10</sup> has not become known to me." 10. (Sultan Mahmud said): "My answer is: You have a daughter. I have arrived for her sake. <sup>11</sup> (You have a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Uncertain case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Or *xat*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The meaning of -um is unknown to me.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For \*\*ve>zdek (Perf.) '

<sup>6</sup> Note the pl.

<sup>7</sup> Sultan Mahmud?

<sup>8</sup> Barā i čī kār āmadī?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Literally "was" (tu)

<sup>10</sup> Lit. "this answer".

<sup>11</sup> Juwābi mā : yak duxtar šumā hast. Az barā-i duxtar āmadam.

Akram pâdšâ šat kē: Yem yark ce bas reč. uz tawar-ke rux sat gužum.
 Xōnar rič, ce bas wəze.
 Yān, tark ce bas kâγaz gožum Yān wəze

14. Ce bas yowan kâγaz reşt. 15. Sultân-i Māmūd kâγaz dast-i xat dexide, 1 jōide, bis yâr niwde. 16 "Af sōs" xat (ki), you nānar xat. 17. Nān a yomɛn pur sân-um kerk: "Či(s) sa bab ke nivdī?" 18. "Ēi nān," xat kē: "Žu pi zū tīwde." 19. You nān xāt: "Yān, ne re'čā."

20. You mīrâ xūr tū, 21. Yowar xatt: "Yašēr peden gux." 22. Ce xōnen mīrâ xūr ni ešk 23. Peden da dâ lân tū. 24. Dast-e xatt dežge, ni ešk. 25. Yaš peden guxt, ce bas rext. 26. Sul tân-i Mā mūdar xat. 27. Sul tân-i Mā mūd kipči xōnen ni ešk, sa wâr vīt. 28. Ī manziler ke rext pàdšā ke šingat. 29. Xalg pīšiwāzar-ke

daughter)." 11. King Aqram<sup>2</sup> said: "Go back to<sup>3</sup> this work, I give you leave. 12. Go home, and come back. 13. Indeed, I shall send you a letter back (or: later). (Then) come, indeed."

14. A letter went back from him (to S. M.). 15. Sultan Mahmud seized it with his own hand, read it, and wept much. 16. "Alas," he said, to his mother he said (so). 17. His mother asked him: "What is the reason that you were weeping?" 18. "O mother," he said, "my heart burned." 19. His mother said: "Don't go, indeed."

20. There was a horse-groom. 21. He <sup>7</sup> said to him: "Saddle a horse." 22. The groom went out of the house. 23. The saddle was in the veranda. 24. He seized it with his hands and went out. 25. He saddled the horse and went back. 26. He told Sultan Mahmud. 27. (The groom and) Sultan Mahmud both of them <sup>8</sup> went out of the house and mounted. 28. When they had gone one stage, the (other) king heard (about their departure). 29. People were sent <sup>9</sup> to the presence (of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prob. =  $de\check{z}d$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The other king.

 $<sup>^{</sup>s}$  Or: "go after, follow"?  $\bar{I}$   $k\bar{a}r$  pas buru.

<sup>\*</sup> Ba mådar-i xud guft.

<sup>5</sup> For longing.

<sup>6</sup> Or: "do you not go?' na-mērawy-a.

Sultan Mahmud.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>  $har \cdot d\bar{u} \cdot \dot{s}$ .

<sup>9</sup> Lit. "went".—ādam pīsiwāz-1 S. M. raftan.

rext. 30. Purjar Sultân-i Māmūd ki tetk. 31. Mīmân xâna-i pâdšā xalg xa bar bīt. 32. Īu xalg dar hu zūr-i pádšā rešt. 33. Pâdšā pur sân-um kerk: "Jū ma rām. čis xabar tēi?" 34. Ma ram xatt ke: "Sultân-i Māmūd wezge." 35. "Xūb," xatt ke: "Purzer yawər yark guxum." 36. Purjer yâwer ni kā kerk. 37. Sultân-i Māmūd gezge, dast-i pâdšā bâm kerk. 38. A you nāgde ni kā kerk. 39. Γafči xuš waxt bit. 40. Sub damid pâdšā yawer rux sat kerk. 41. Ce būr yaš yōwer ta wīl vīt." 42. Sultân-i Māmūd γa(f) xos bīt. 43. Sultân-i Māmūd pādšân du ā dežge, rux sat vīt. 44. Rešt xōnar ke. 45. Yōwə nān xōnan ni ešk ba ār. 46. Dast-i is tex dežge. Mūbarak bōm kerk.²

S. M.). 30. Sultan Mahmud arrived in the evening. 31. In the king's gnest-house people became aware of it. 32. One man went before the king. 33. The king asked him: "My servant, what is the matter?" 34. The servant answered: "Sultan Mahmud has arrived." 35. "Well," (the king) said, "to-night I shall arrange his affair." 36. In the evening he made his wedding. 37. Sultan Mahmud rose, and kissed the king's hand. 38. That night he arranged the wedding. 39. He was very happy. 40. The next morning the king gave him leave. 41. Four horses became his stable. 42. Sultan Mahmud was very pleased. 43. Sultan Mahmud made a prayer for the king, and took leave. 44. He went home. 45. His mother came out of the house. 46. She seized her danghter-in-law's hand, and kissed it for good luck.

<sup>1</sup> Or bit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I am giving this tale, which was the only one which I was able to get hold of, as an example of the broken Wkh. of which X was certainly not the only speaker. Note his preference for the perfect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Kār·i ūra mēkunim.

<sup>4</sup> King Aqram.

<sup>5</sup> Sultan Mahmud.

# VOCABULARY

Abbreviations: As for Y, X, W. N, v. § 2—Be(llew': Bi(ddulph); Cap(us), H(ayward); Hj uler); Kl(imchitskiy); L(orimer'; Ol.ufsen'; Sh(aw'; Sk(old); St(ein'; Z'arubin')

All words given by my informants are included, although a large number of those given by X, W and N are either doubtful, or evident lws. They give, however, some impression of the lability of vocabulary in Wakhan. Verbal forms taken from Sk. are usually arranged in the following way: Pres. 1 sg., 3 sg; Imper. 2 sg.; Preter. 1 sg.; Infin.; Perf.

## Voivels.

-a Y interrogative particle. - a yen xon safan-a? is this house yours? sas xeč yawit-a? do you eat bread? -Cf. Yd. -a, v. § 160. ēi X, O!. — ēi nān O, mother. — Prs. i X izafet. - Prs. V. \$ 113. īu Y, X, X, ī Y, X, h,ī W, (y) īw Sk., etc. one, a(n). - wuz ī xālg šāyem | Y I kill a man. — Cf. Yd. yū. V. §§ 109, 116. ve Y, in ve püid-kaf instep. ab là 'à Sk. stupid. - Ar. Pis. abr X, N cloud. — Prs. ab rīšum Y, bri jum X, ab rē im Sk., vrīšum Zar., varšum Sh. silk. -Prs., but borr, at different periods. obi-sə noc X inflated skin for crossing a river, mussuck. - \*Prs. Cf. Shgh. 33 - Kulturforskning

zenåc 'sanàc', Lentz عمرة يسناچ. Taj. (Semenov)  $san(q)\bar{o}c$ . V.  $y\bar{a}zn$ . acet Y from this .-- wuz a wunen niestem I went out of this house (here). Cf. § 125 sa h icuaxt Sk never. - Ar.-Prs. a do Sk. torn. — spō skīdiš a° tū our caps are toru. — (h)adab Sk. courtesy. - Ar. Prs. ādl Sk. justice. - Ar. Prs. ōdil Sk. just. - Ar. Prs.  $\bar{u}f$   $\hat{a}ft$ - Y, wof:  $w\bar{o}ft$  Z, to weave, wuf- woft Sh. to plait. - ūfəm, âftəm. — Cf. Yd. wāf-, Sgl. if-. af sös X alas. — Prs. af tōb N sun. — Prs. V. yīr. igon igon X, iyan iyan Sh. one each. wuz sabar io io rūpiā rūndem I give

 $r\bar{u}p\bar{i}a$  rande give us one rupee each. a vel X cow-house, avil B conrt Turk -Prs. ah maq Sk. stupid. - Ar. Prs. u qōb X, a Sk, eagle. - Ar.-Pis. ao să Sv. sneezing. — Ar. Prs. āl-: āld Sk. to wait; a letk Y standing. - wūd nā; d adərəm ale'tkən this night I am staving here. - āləm, āld. āl! āldəm. ă lak. ă lətk Sk. -Cf. Sgl. al. al batt Sk. perhaps. - Ar.-Prs. al'qum Y, Sh., halq X, alq Sk. throat, halkūm Be. gullet. - Ar.-Prs. halq, hulaūm. allo Sk. O! allo nei Sk. but. ala laš cār Sk. to mix. — Cf. Ishk. id. almas'te Sk. demon. — Cf. Ishk. almas'ti. ala ša X, ayla žo W, ala x šā St. chin, jaw. - Cf. Sgl. ala še. a mī X, homīn Bi. this. — wuz da ac xon nien'gin I am living in this house. - Prs. im N snow. - Scarcely correct, cf. Khow. hīm. - V. zem.  $am'b\bar{o}_{\gamma} Y$ ,  $\circ \bar{a}_{\gamma} W$  cowife. — Prs. am bur Sk. tongs - Prs. a mēd Sk. hope. - Prs. amēd vor Sk. hopeful. - Prs. ammā (or 202) Sk. but. — Ar.-Prs. əmr Sk. I.fe. - Ar.-Prs. im'sol Sk. this year. - Prs. âīn. v. yīšn. aina X mirror. - Prs. andag m., indigunj f. Sh. slave. - Cf. Yd. hade, ida, aud Kharoshti amtag'i. Burrow, ESOS, VII, 779?). andak X little, kam. - Prs. andav Sh. fever. - Cf. Yd. idou.

vou one rupee each; sakar i- it in sof Sk. justice - Ar. Prs. anterč L sister-in-law. - It is tempting to derive this word from \*yantr- < \*ienətr-, but the loss of u- would be irregular. There are, however, many phonetic irregularities to be found in the development of the various IE words denoting brotherand sister-in-law. angür Y. X. N. B or Sk. grape. - Prs. an aišt N. -ušt Sk. live coal. - Pis angušta ra X finger-ring. - Prs. ap cũn X winnowing fork, kūcī, -- Cf. Sgl. id. ar Y. Iu: wuz yupk ar pil katem I pour water into the cup. Or unpkar. with dative for acc.? irra li Y. X felt rolls placed under the saddle. - Cf. Or. yuryā lā (Lentz - Turk. ariga Sk. back between the shoulders. - Turki. a raq Y, N, X, W, Sk, perspiration. -Ar.-Prs. ō'rīni N elbow. - Prs. a'rār Y a tall tree with round leaves. ō'ris Sk. bride. — Ar.-Prs. ar sol Sk. yearly. -- Prs. 'ar xel Sk. multicoloured. - Prs. 'of every kind'. ar'zan X, on N millet. - Prs ar zon Sk. cheap. - Prs. a sōi Y, ā Sh. walking stick. — Ar. Prs. i sâb Y calculation - i carem I reckon. - Ar. Pis. a sad X n. of a month. — Ar. Prs. " $usd\hat{u}n$ " (=  $uzd\bar{u}n^2$ ) Olufsen, Through the Unknown Pamirs, p. 83, loopholed tower. < \*uzdāna-?

iska cusk Y, X top of the shoulder.

bālā-i šāna.

 $iska^{\dagger}kut$  X root. — Cf. Yazgh.  $s^{2}k\bar{a}d$ , Yd.  $i\check{s}\check{c}\check{t}\gamma$ , etc., Av.  $usk\bar{a}\underline{t}$  above + Wkh.  $k\bar{u}t$  (q.v.).

a sal X, Sk., <sup>2</sup>āl X honey. — Ar. Prs. os mān Y. as mōn X, ŏs mōn Sk. sky. — Prs.

ispa. v. sak.

usto dək Sk. spider. — Prs, cf. Yd. ustada

1stin, v. (1)st-.

istind- L to yawn. — Pres. istīn- < \*us-(s`tanya-?

ustuxon N bone. - Prs.

ōš Sk. porridge. - Prs.

iškamba-i-pâ N, əžkamba W calf of the leg. — Prs., cf. Par. iškam'bek-i-pāi. əš'tīr Y, 'štūr X, šitər W, štīr Sk., uštur Sh., šətor Z, etc. camel. — Prs., cf. Yd. Iškīrō.

uš'yor Sk. wise. — Prs.

 $\ni t$ , et K1. and. - < uta.

âtə šak Y, āta šī X, ōta šək Sk. lightning.

- Prs., cf. Shgh., etc. (Sk.).

ət Sk., hot Sh. open. — Cf. Sgl. hət. ət.kər kin Sk. honest.

a'vārt Y, ^art Sh., Gr. span. — Tomaschek compares Prs. āward 'collatio, congresses' (??).

awal X formerly; awwal Sk. beginning
— Ar.-Prs.

ai won Sk. animal. - Ar. Prs.

i'war X husband's brother. — Badakhshi-Prs.

ö aer Sk. end. - Ar. Prs.

axta xāna X stable. - Prs.

a yau Y. ayou X, ha ya Sh. that (emphatic).

— Y a yau xun that very house;

wuz aya xalg dišem I know that very) man; X az ayou jinīban (v. s.v. az); a'you pâdšāra salām gužt he saluted that king; ayou nāgde

nikā kerk he arranged for the wedding that very night. — Cf. yau. V. § 124 sq.

iyam, iyem Y, (h)ayem X this very).—
Y iyam xalg yupk pit this man drinks water; iyəm xalg niv rəxupt this man fell asleep; X (h)a yem xön xunan this house is mine: a yem yu uâb mark mālum ne vit this answer was not known to me; ayem xalg this man, these men; uz ayem xönan I am from this house; ayem is con their house: wuz a yēman rū pīa durzəm I take a rupee from him; nān a yömen pursân um kerk his mother asked him. — Cf. yem. V. § 124 sq.

a'yōs Sk autumn- or winter-wind.

az X from. Only in: az ayou jiniban for that reason. — Prs.

a'zīz Sk. frieud. — Ar.-Prs.

 $u \tilde{z} \tilde{a} k$  Y (E. Wkh.),  $\tilde{u}^{\circ}$  Be.,  $wa^{\circ}$  Sh. adze. — Cf. Khow.  $w\tilde{a}\tilde{z}$ .

### B

bā Sk., bhah Ol. kiss. — tu maž cārī bā! kiss me! — Cf. Yd. boh. V. bām.

be X, bo Sk a hortative verbal particle. Russ 651. — X tu be wuzum bring thou; ayem xalg be šec yawan these people shall?, eat bread; Sk. locor yau bo wīzīt let him come; wuz xō yiš cārom ki yau bo wīzīt I want him to come; tu bo xātot thi chi charan (but tu xātot ihi charan).

båi Sh. cave. — Cf. Zardibåi 'Yellow cave' in Shingshal (Cockerill). Ishk. ambi (Gr.\).

bōi Sk. rich — Turki.

būi Y, X, W, N, Sk. two. — Cf. § 116. | bāj Sk., Sh., Be., baδ Hj. thick. — Cf. būi X smell. — Prs. bēbi dī Sk. double-edged sword. — Cf. Yd. maxmudi;o. bībuk X enekoo. — Cf. Yd. bubuka. (Soane) pepūk. kepū. Kurd. kipok. Cf. Lorimer, Corr. ad Bur. Voc. 60 II. bəč Y, Sk., bůč Sk., bač Sh. paternal uncle. buč(ak) Y. buč Sk., buč Z, Sh. he goat. - Prs.  $b \partial \tilde{c} \partial \tilde{d} \partial \tilde{d}$  Sk, female cousin. — V.  $b \partial \tilde{c}$ . bič kā Y, buč khām Sk. tail, bečkam Sh. horse tail. bad Sk. then. - Ar.-Prs. bēd Y, X, W willow. - Prs. ba'dan Sk. body. - Ar Prs. bedr X edible pine, jilyöra. — Cf. Prs. bidla n, of a tree?? bəi'dög Sk. widow, bedok Be widower. buidog-om toi I am unmarried. - Cf. Ishk. baidoq, Bajui būr'dok. badxa'rak X n. of a bird. - Cf. Prs. xār stailing? baf Y. X, b'af, baf Sk, baf Sh, good; băifək Sk. nice; băfitər Sk. better. ba fikr Sk. wise. - Prs. bēfiriš tā Sk. healthy and fat person. -- Prs. id. 'without an angel (of death?)'! bēgu'nō Sk. innocent. — Prs.  $b\bar{\sigma}_{V}$  Sk. garden. — Prs. bō'yē Sk. cousin. ba'yal X, W armpit. — Prs. Lalyat Sk. a miser. — For bayal, cf. Ar.-Prs. baxīl? bəyz cār- Sk. to hate. - Ar.-Prs. baha dab Sk. corteons. — Ar.-Prs.

bēha dab Sk. discorteous. — Ar. Prs.

ba'hōr Sk. spring. - Prs.

be hišt Sk heaven. - Prs.

Sgl. vəzök? bo ja Sk. brother-in-law. — Cf. Rosh. (Sk., id., Ishk., bōja, Mj. bája. bu gă Sk. bull. - Turki. baku la Y, bag la N, bog la Sk. horsebean. - Ar.-Prs. be-'k'and Sk. widow prob 'widower . ba'kar X n. of a bird. bulbul·i āwī. --Prs. bagr lapwing, hud-hud. ha kor Sk. necessary. - mārək b I need. - Pis. baks Y husband's brother. - V. § 60. bakš kand Y husband's brother's wife. bale Sk. yes. - Prs. bâl W wing. — Prs. běl Sk. spade. - Prs. bulbul X bulbul, cuckoo. - Prs. bilfak X n. of a bird, bilfak. - \*Prs.9 bole qu Sk. hammer. - Prs. bulli X birch, buruż. - < Khow. briland Y, bl Sk. high, tall. - Prs.  $b\bar{a}m$ ,  $b\bar{o}m$  X a kiss. —  $b^{\circ}$  kerk she kissed. -- V. bā. būm X owl. - Prs. bumbə riš X thunder. - Khow. "bē'mor Sk. ill; "bēmö'rī illness. — Prs.  $b\ddot{o}in^{4})$  X main beam of a roof,  $t\bar{t}r\cdot i$ kalān - Shina bõi. bōin ²) X armlet. — IA, cf. Kshm. bāh¹, Sindhi bāhī, etc. būn Y winnowing fork. Cf.: būn-ām · bōnd-um Y. būn-: bond- Sh. to winnow and Sh. to throw away). -Cf. Yd. laban-. band-i-dast Y, X, Bc., "dest W, band N wrist. -- Prs.  $band-i p\bar{u}d \times inst_{p}$ , ankle. — Prs. + Ishk. band X walking stick. - Khow. bont round rafter?

bap Y, Sh., bāp Sk, female breast.bar W breast. — Prs.

 $ba'\bar{a}r$  X outside,  $b\bar{i}r\bar{u}n$ . —  $nie^{i}k$   $ba\bar{a}r$  she went out. — IA.

bār Y, X, Sk., Sh.. Z door. — Cf Yd. l'vor.

būr X grey. — Prs.

bur Sk. angry.

 $br\bar{g}bar n\bar{a}_1^*d$  Sk. midnight. — Prs + Wkh.

barf N snow. - Prs.

brām. Sh. to babble. — Cf. Saka bremto wail, cry? — But v. Bailey. BSOS. IX 73.

b<sup>3</sup>rīn Y, Sk., b<sup>i</sup>rinš(?) X, brīn Sh, Hj., barin Be., barīn, birin Bi, knee; brine Cap. 'jambe'. — \*dwari@na·, with dissim. < Av. dvari@ra· leg??

bo'ron X, N, Sk. rain. - Prs.

b<sup>ə</sup>'rinğ Y, X, W, b<sup>ə</sup>'rənğ Sk. rice. — Prs. birīš-cārum X I cut, mēburam. — V. rəstəv.

b<sup>3</sup>rtt Y, b<sup>u</sup>rut X, W, brut N, bri/ut Sk. moustache. — Prs.

brutča par Sk. large moustaches.

burzi't Y, b<sup>9</sup>rət Sk., böret Sh., b<sup>a</sup>rui St. elbow. — < \*ham-byšti ?? Cf. Skr. bhysti corner.

brūtiyarč Y, °ya(r.č X collarbone. — Cf. yarč, burxt.

bispur Sh, St. eagle. Unknown to Sk.'s informant. — Cf. Khow. biz'bār.

bīst N, Sk., bist W twenty. — Prs. V. wist bās·wəˈzī-m Sk. to be able. — Cf. Prs. bas āmadan. V. wəzi-,

bisyâr X much. — Prs.

báša Y, W falcon. — Prs.

bət Kl. further, again (digar, bori digar). < \*dwit,y)a-. — Cf. § 117.

bit X roof-board. - Khow.

but B clothes. -- < \*ham-pus-ti-?\* V. § 73.

but: bott-, bott- Sh, to throw down.

overthrow (a wall, etc.). — < \*hampataya-, cf. Sar. imbat-. But v. zubut-.
bai tal X mar-. — Turki.

bēwa Y, <sup>2</sup>wā Sk., bewa zan Be. widow.
 Prs.

bo wurž X faleon — Cf. Khow, sayūri ž, and Shina bayōš hawk.

bex Y, X, W. Sk. root. - Prs.

baxš cer- Sh., bax sar- Y to divide. — bax sarəm, — Prs.

buz Y female ibex, boz W, buz X goat.

-- Prs.

buz műi X goat's hair. - Prs.

### C

ca from. V. § 131.

c<sup>3</sup> būr Y, X, W. N, cĩ būr Sk., sabūr L four. — Cf. Yd, č<sup>2</sup>īr. V. § 116.

cə'brēm Y, cprēmər L three days hence, cebrimer X the day after to-morrow. ceberām Cap. week.!'. — < \*čaθ-waraima. Cf. Yd pčūrma.</p>

ce bas X, cibās Sh. back, again, then; cə bāz Sk. back; cə bas Kl. behind. — cə reç go back; cə rext; cə yowan kâşaz rext the letter went back to him; cə kâşaz yoxum. — Cf. Yd. spāc, Ishk. cpōst. V. sibās.

ce kūman X. In: safan di or c° 'deh-i šumā kudām ast'. — Originally cekūman 'from which?'.

cum X, cūm Sk., cūmèr L how many?

— saš cum nafar wezg X 'šumā
čand nafar āmadīd?' cūm pil tīnen
(tui) Sk. how much money hast thou?

— Cf. § 126.

cəm-jə'nīb Sk. therefore. — Wkh.·Prs. ce'mīs X eyebrow(?). — V. vərau. cān L from there. Cf. § 125.

car: kerk X, cār: kərt Sk. to do. — Sk. qa ror car he silent; ku'mak-car help! yark-m krti I worked, ir cə'rax-kərti the sun has risen. Cf. ısâb, bā'(m), dirau, gān, kanda, le, nikā, nivišta, pursān, taxsīm, xarīd car :; carem, cart, car! kertem, ce rak,  $k \partial r k$  Sk. - < \* $\dot{c}ara$ · (ef. Av. aor. čorat): krta. V. gož. cår Sh. kite. — Cf. § 81. cur cun X the end of a tail. cerak Y. co rek, oak Sk. why? - sāiš  $c^{\circ}$  xoč yārov Y why do you eat bread? 'eərəka tut na-'wəzdi Sk. why didst thou not come? -- Cf. § 133. corup-: coropt Kl. to pinch, cerev-: caremd L to pinch, tweak, string. co'rax Sk, spark. — Cf. s.v. ir. — Cf. Yd. co rox.

 $c\bar{a}rzn$  Sk., °zn Z, `z Sh. awl. — Cf. Shgh.  $c\bar{o}\xi j$ , Sar  $c\bar{a}rz$ . < \* $qel\cdot \tilde{g}(h)o\cdot$ . cf. WP, II. 435?

co-waxt Sk., cord L, Sh. when? — Wkh. + Ar.-Prs.

citr L, cutr Sh. spindle. — Proh. a lw. from IA., cf. Skr. cāttra. Cf. Mj. čēša, Psht. cāšai.

# Č (Č)

ἐἐθαχτ W heel(?).
ἐἰ ἐα Y, ἐư ἐα X, Sk. chicken. — Prs.
ἐἰ gắs Y (also Grammophone) collar-bone.
ἐεγ Y. ἐἔg X, ἔθỹ Sk., ἔθγ Sh., St., ἔἰγ Be. kid.
ἑūỹ Sk. multicoloured. — Properly a Shgh. form, cf. Yd. kaš, Sgl. ἐūļ.
ἑāγe lī X crow, karγā. — Khow. ἐāγlī chough.
βάkū Y, X, 'ċū° W knife. — pu ἑākuwen rəstəvəm I cut with a knife. — Prs.

čžk-: čžkt- Sk. to heat. — Cf. Sar. čak-. Sgl. čuk-, Khow. čok- to beat. 'cakka Y temples. — Taj. Prs. čkor Y, Sk., či kir X, čkor Sh. partridge. - IA., cf. Hind. čikor, etc. čawli Y, X small falcon čălg- Y, X, Sk.: čāld Sk. to search for. ask for — čalgam Y; wuz čīzī čālgəm; uz kend čilgakar wəzdim X I went out to search for a wife; Sk. čālgəm, čālgd, čālg! čāldəm, cəl gak, cəl gətk. 'čilim xaš- Sk. to smoke. — Prs. či nár W chenar. - Prs. čana Y. X claw. - Prs. čap Y, X, Sk, left (hand). - Prs. čip-am: čavd-am Y, čip-um X to pick, gather; cup-Sh, to gather one by one), but cup to cut, mince. — Cf. Yd.  $\tilde{c}\tilde{u}(v)$ . čπ̃p Y, X small hawk. čpān Sk. cloak. - Turk. Prs. či piš L young goat. - Prs. čer X rope fastening the plough-pole to the yoke. čər mñ Sk., cərm L, carm Sh. canal, small water-course. — < \*čarman-\*čanman-? But Av. kan- never has č-. če'rām Y, čə Sk., cərāmın L threshing ground; ciramn Sh. reaped corn, heaped up for threshing. — Cf. Yd. xu'rom. čərm-: čərəmd Sk., čerm-: čern-, čiramn, Sh. to enter. - coromom, coromt čərəm! cərəmdəm, etc. — \*ati-ram-? čor māyz X, N, čār W walnut. — Prs. čár påya Y bed. — Prs.

co'rīr Sk., cio Sh. thornbush.

čar'vī Y, bī X fat (noun). — Prs.

čarx Y, X, čārx Sh. spinning wheel. — Prs.

ča $r^{\dagger}xa$  X avalanche of stones, -- c

wi zīt. -- \*Prs., cf Yd. carxo.

čašma X hot spring, č<sup>3</sup>šmā Sk. spring.
— Prs.

cta-lang Sk. ankle-knuckle.

cat X, N, čăţ Sk., čaţ Sh., cat L horned cattle. — čaţ dic Sk. milk the cow. — Cf. Sar, čaţ.

cut car. Sk. to tear asunder, cot. I. to be torn. — IA. Cf. Sgl. cot.

čovki X chair. -- Prs. < IA.

cāw-um: citem X, cāv-: tāyd Sk., cāw-: röyd Kl., cau-: tayd Sh. to go, walk, raftan, caw-uw- Sh. to remove. — citetk X pret. ptc.; Sk. cāvi thou walkest, tāydəm I went, tāydi they went; Sh. cit he goes; tukan inf.. taxk pret. ptc. — < \*ēyaw. \*taxta, cf. s.vv. rəc-, tac-.</p>

čwwān Y, W, Sk.; čwwōn (not om) Sk., ćwwīn X (= Ishk.), čiwān Sh. apricot. — Cf. Sgl. ču/wēļ.

¿ðx·: ¿ðxt Sk. to kill, slaughter; ¿ðx·Sh. to skin. — Cf. Sar. kēig·: kaxt to skin. Relation with Prs. kuštan is not clear. — Possibly < \*kuš· + \*¿auš·. Cf. Yazgh. kux hide, skin.</p>

čiz Y, X, Sk., čis X what? či xabar tëi X 'či xabar ast?' tinan čis yark tu? X what work hast thou to do? tu čis yarkər wəzd? X what didst thou come for? čī[s] sabab ke nivdī X why didst thou weep? tə nūng čīzə Sk. what is thy name? čīzəv 'sāyiš windəv? Sk. what did you see? tu čīzir saker dīng X why dost thou beat us? tu čīzir maž dī Y. — Prs. čīz. cf. Sgl. čīz. V. § 126.

čizi Y, X something. - Prs.

¿Aźm Y. ćejum X. čožm N, (com W.),
¿¿zm Sk., čožm Sh., čožm Kl., čažm
Be., čozm St., kizm Bi, eye. — čejuma
yupk X tear (āb-i-dīda). — Cf. Yd. čam.

D

da X in. on. — peden da dâ'lân tu the saddle is on the veranda; wuz dΛ amī xōn niengīn I am living in this house. — Bad.-Prs.

da ī W female breast — Prs. dāya?

dē- dēxt Sk. to beat, hammer (a nail).

dī-: dixt Sh... dīst N to strike. —

Sk. dēm, dēst, dē! dēxtum, d³!yāk

(dēng), dētk; Sh. dī'a)m, dixt. —,

dixtam, dīin ding), dieth; Sk. maz

siri dētk I caught a cold; siri dēst.

yupk-əm dēxt-ī I poured out water;

X tu dīng?; N maž dēsti arak I

am sweating. — Cf. Sgl. deh-, and

v. s.v. dēm-.

duā X prayer. - Ar.-Prs.

dedi;-: dediyd Sk., dīdi-: dīdiyd Kl. to look at: dīdig Sh. to look (after).

— Sk. 'dedijom, 'lyd, 'ly. 'indom. 'ijak, 'ijotk; čīz dedijov? what do you see? mārok tortan 'no fort dodiyāk I hate thee I will not look at thee). — Cf. Av. diday- to look at?

deg : degd Sh. to bring up. dīg Y, dēg X kettle. — Prs. dig dân, v. dildung.

'dəger Y ('gēr Gramm.), do gər N, də yər Sk.,  $ri\gamma m\delta$ ,  $ri\epsilon\delta$  L,  $d\gamma \delta r$  Sh., digger Bi., hindiger Cap. finger-nail. — Khow. (lw.)  $d\sigma^i\gamma ur$ .  $<*ng\cdot <*nh\cdot <*n(a)$ . xar-?? Cf. § 47. Cf. Sgl.  $nar.v\delta k$ . Sar.  $na\delta aur$   $<*na.v\delta r$ .

digar X other, another. - Prs.

doqdoq Sk. trotting. — Cf. Sgl.  $d\partial q^{\partial} d\partial q$ . dil N heart. — Prs.

dil'dung Y, X, dildong Sk., Sh. (dig dân W) fireplace. Corrupted from Prs. dēgdān. cf. Sar. dildung a kind of fuel.

dō lōn X veranda. — Prs.

di ler Sk. courageous. - Prs.

dilővár, °va'rī Sk. courage(ous). — Prs. dām Sk. back (of human beings. — Cf.

Ishk. dam.

də ma Y, dama X. damā Sh. wind; dmā Sk. east wind. — Prs.

dīm- Y, X, dēm- Kl., dehəm- Hj. to beat.

— Y wuz tau dīməm (1 sg.), tu cīzir maž dī ? (2 sg.), sak sāv dīnen (1 pl.), saiš cīzir maž dīef? (2 pl.); Kl. pres. dēməm, —, dəit, dēnən, —, dēnən, Hj. dehəməm, de, det, dehenən, dehenəv, dehenən. Apparently dīm. dehəm (v. s.v. dē-) for some unknown reason was enlarged with a second personal ending into dēm-əm, likewise dēn into dēnən (2 pl. \*dēn-əv for \*dēv-əv). V. § 141.

domb X, domb W tail. - Prs.

dâ mâd Y, Sh., dw'måd X, N, dw'mōd Sk. son in law. — Prs.

damfāje X yawu. — do guxum. — Prs., cf. Sgl. damfāžek.

dendik Y, °uk Cap., LSI, 'dinduk X, dən'dək N, °uk Z, dun'duk Sk., Sh., °uk St. tooth. — Cf. Yaghn. dindak', Sgl. dānd.

dəng vitən Sk. to beat eachother, to fight. — dĕng wōcəm, etc. — Cf. dē-.
 dra Y there. Cf. § 124.

dar X in (in dar hawā, dar huzūr-i pâdsâ). — Prs.

då re Sk. gunpowder. — Prs.

dirau X reaping. — d° carəm. — Prs. di'or Y, X, diār Sh. village. — Prs.

dār Y, X, Sk., Sh., etc. belly, dor B abdomen (ward stomach). — Cf. Sar. daur. Sgl. dēr.

dārċ Sh., L thread of hemp or hair. — < \*darzċ\*

derf X hair of the pubes.

dir gå Y veranda, dālān: "dargha" Ol. men's room. — Prs.

 $d^u r \bar{u}_7$  Sk. lie. — Prs.

durüzgü yī Sk. liar. — Prs.

duruhš X. drukuš X, druks W. drukš N. Sk., Sh., etc. bull. — < \*društk < \*drždaka-, cf. Wan. Psht. lēžda?\* But cf. držg, dežg, s.v. durz-. Cf. § 60.

dərəm, adə rəm Y, də rəm Sk., ha)dram Sh. here. — wūd nāyd adərəm aletkən to night I am staying here; də rəm wə zäi come here Y; bai do tū Sk. the man is here. — Cf. § 124.

drup-: dropt Sh., dərup-. dəröpt Kl. to scratch. — Cf. Serb. drápati to scratch, tear, etc. (v. Walde-Pokorny, I, 801). dərepēY, drepē X, drapiē B broom. — \*repē (cf. Yaghn. röpē from raup-) + drup- ə drost Sh., drēst L sleeve.

di'rišt X rough. - Prs.

d<sup>3</sup>rev-: d<sup>3</sup>revd- Y, d<sup>3</sup>rev-: d<sup>3</sup>revd- Sh...
 drzp-(?) X, drov-: drāvd- Sh. to sew...
 Ct. Par. andarf-, Shgh. incāv-, Kurd. dirun, etc.

drāw: drətt- Sk., : drett Sh. to reap. —
drāwəm, drīt, drāw! 'drəttəm, drwak
(dərə\vak), drətk. — Cf. Prs. durūdan,
Shgh. câw.

daraxt Y, W, da'raxt X, Sh., draxt Sk. tree. — Prs.

draxt pist Sk. bark of a tree.

dər'yō Y, dar'yå X, Sk. river. — Prs. daryā·lab X bank of a river. — Prs.

durz-: dežd Y, durz-im: pf. dežg- X, durz-: dežd Sk. to take, seize. — X wuz a'yēman rū'pīa durzəm I take a rupee from them; dast-i istex dežge she (has) seized his daughter-in-law's hand; dežgem, dexide; Sk. durzəm, durzd, durz, 'deždəm, dur zak, dur-

zətk, pf. dözg. — \*han-dṛz-, Av. darəz-, cf. Par. deṛz-. Cf. § 155.

das-nab W nineteen.

dast Y, X. N. dast Sk., Sh. arm, hand. armlet Y. — Prs.

dūst Sk. friend. — dūst-turəm I love: d° δῦrdum. — Prs.

dīš- Y. X, dīš-: dīšt Sk., Sh. to know. learn. — wuz aya xalg dišem Y I know this man; wuz targ dišum X. < \*han-disya-, cf. Yd. dīš-, Av. handaēs- to instruct, teach.

dòs man Sk. enemy. - Prs.

dašt X open space, steppe;  $d\tilde{a}št$  Sk. . valley. — Prs.

dut (Cockerill) rope bridge. — Dut i-dur. Adetar Sk. memory, yād.

doț  $k\bar{\imath}$  (wušk) X calf, one year old.  $di^{\dagger}w\bar{\imath}d$  X,  $d\bar{e}^{\dagger}$  Sk. wall, — Prs.

duzd Sk. thief. - Prs.

 $d\bar{u}^{\dagger}zax$  Sk. hell. — Prs.

### $\Delta$

δάi Y, Sk. husband; δãi, δα'yək Sk., dãi W man; X youth (xũb juwān); δãi Sh. vir. hero, — Cf. Saka daha: (v. Bailey, BSOS, VI, 81).

δω i L, dui Kl. stack, dai N heap of corn. — Cf. Skr. dhāya layer, stratum, Psht. dalai 'stack of corn'.

δίε: δόgən- Y, die: X, δίε: δόgn- Sh. to milk. — για δίενη Y; čaţ die X. — Cf. Yd. lūž.

δŏck Sk., Sh. a skin used as a bag, mussuck. — Cf. Yd. laxċīo.

 $\delta \bar{t}_Y$  Y, N,  $\delta \bar{t}g$  X,  $\delta \bar{t}_Y^Y$  Sk. thick milk,  $d\bar{u}_Y$ . — Cf. Prs.  $d\bar{v}_Y$  (cf. Prs.  $pu \cdot l\bar{u}_Y$  , milking).

δ∂γd Y, N, degde X, dīγd W, dōγd Sk., δařd Sh. "zaghit" Be., "thurght" Bi., "dghogit, dzogit" Cap. daughter. — tinen i degde tüet X you had a daughter; i deşd saban tüet W you had a daughter. — Cf. Yd. luşdo.

δung Sh. springe, snare. — Cf. Mj.  $l\bar{o}mago$ . δəng Kl. seed,  $d\bar{o}na$ , tuxm. —  $<*d\bar{a}naka$ . δ $\bar{t}r$  Y, X. Sh. far, distant. — Cf. Yd.  $l\bar{u}ro$ . δ $\bar{o}r$  L valley. — Cf. Prs. darra. \* $\delta ur$ -, cf. s.v.  $d\bar{u}st$ .

δard Sh., θεrd L parti-coloured. Cf. Skr. dadrň- leprosy, etc.

δεrd cer- L to carve wood. — Cf. Prs. darridan, etc.

δirs Y, Z, θirs L, δirs Sh. goat's hair.
Cf. Yd. lirs, Sar. δors.

δərt L, δart Z, Be. manure, dust-heap. — Cf. Yd. p³skedrī. (and, e.g., O. Engl. tord dung).

δas Y. N, Sk., Sh., etc., das X, W, las (1) H ten. — Cf. Yd. los.

dis Y, L dough.

δas Y, δōs Sh. wasp. — Cf. Skr. damśa- a stinging insect, Kalasha dac mosquito: Phl. dasta (Nyberg, JA, 1929, 272).

δas- ĩu N, Sk. das-ĩu X, das-hĩ W eleven.
δĩsiv- Y, dĩsəv-: dĩsövd- Sk., visur-(!) Sh.
to show. — Av. daēs-.

δεξ L, δοξ Sh. late. — Cf. Sgl. doξ.

δũ Y, Sk., Sh., dũd X, dũt N, dũd W smoke. — Cf. Yd. lũi.

διtr Y. dit<sup>u</sup>r X, δetr N, \*δΛtr ("zutr") Be. sickle. — Cf. Yd. l<sup>3</sup>rwγus.

δəviy- δονοίd Sk., δuvi-: δονοίd- Sh. to steal. — Pres.: δəviyəm, δəviyi, ¹δəvid. δəviyən, pret. δονοίdəm: δəviyak. δəvi ətk. Cf. Oss. davın to steal, Av. dab- to deceive. Yd. lö-. V. naδəvs-.

δίx-: δοxt- Y to crush. mēšakam; δux-.
δοxt- Sh. to powder, macerate. —

Cf. δεξεη grindstone. — Cf. Skr. duşaya-??

δīz L wall. - Cf. Av. daēza-, Yd. lizo.

#### F

fi X spade. — Sgl. foi W much, many. — foi xân. — Sgl. faui Sk. army. - Ar. Prs. fīak Y, ek X. ak N, fī W blade. shoulder: fayak B scapula. -- Cf. Sgl. fi ük. fikr Sk. thought.  $-f^{\circ}$  car to think. - Ar.·Prs fuks Y, Sk., Sh., St., vuks N. fugz Hj. snake. - Cf. Sgl. woxs. falenz Sh. egg, L dove? for Sk. In marak . . . na fort I don't want to. - Prs., cf. Sgl. befåru. for yome Y female calf, one year old. fur yumč X id., two y. old. - Cf. Sgl. fəryəm, Yd. frayingo. tril: trild- Sh., foril- L to crumble. -Ishk. form with fr and  $l < \hat{s}$ . ef. Sar. war-fareig-: war-fraxt. frax Sk. a long way. - Prs. farax wide. ferx. Sh. to sneeze, snort. -- Sar. id... ef. Khow. friže to snift. frazbīz Y. faražbīz Sh. sieve. - But fraxbīz xašəm Y I winnow v. — Cf. Yd. fraybīl, etc. furz Y, Sh. birch. - Cf. Yd. zevirzo. fasl Sk. season. - Ar.-Prs. faut Sk. death. - Ar.-Prs.

### G

 $q\bar{\imath}$  Y, Z,  $g\check{\imath}$  X, W  $g\hat{\imath}$  Sh,  $g\hat{\imath}h$  Be, excrement — Prs; with adaptation in Y, etc.

gē car- Sk. to grow. — Cf. Sgl. gū kən-. gač- Sh. to totter, waver. - Cf. Sar. wakoč , Yd. voži. gafs. gafst- Y. geps. gips. X, gofs. gəfst Sk. to run, mēgurēzam; gofs. gofst Sh. to gallop intr.?', q2fs2v-:  $g \ni f s \ni v t$  Sk. to gallop caus. :  $-g \ni f s a k$ Sk. gallop, -- Cf. Sogd, vbs. to advance. But g- points to \*han-k-g-. quhrū W guts, Ishk, žangak. - \*Prs. gəl Sk. flower. — Prs. qul X clay. — Prs. gul Sk. dumb. -- Cf. Sgl. gol. glac Sk., gilic B deep; gilec Sh. a pit. gilim bof X spider. - \*Prs. gulamīrī Sk. black-pocks (черная осна - \*Prs. gi los X, as W cherry. — Prs. gān car. X to winnow. — Khow. gān 'wind'. gap Sk. word, -- Prs. gar X. in gar katum 1 throw.  $q\bar{u}r$  Sk. tomb. —  $q\bar{u}r$  car- to bury. — Prs. gurda X. N kidney. — Prs. gorj Sh. hinge, door-socket. — Cf. Sar. gar. ger đãn Y, gar đãn Sh., gar đãn X, Be., gr,  $g 
i r^4 \delta \tilde{a} n$  Sk. neck. — Prs. garm Sk. hot; garmi Sk. heat. - Prs. gəs pand N sheep. - Prs. gūša X corner. -- Prs. gušt Y, Sk., Sh., gūžt X, yīšt N meat. - Prs. (N adapted to Wkh. . , gūš wor X earring. — Prs. got- got- Y, got- X to find, obtain; göt: gött Sk. to find. — götəm Y 'mēyābam, yāftam'; pret. ptc. ki tetk

X; gōtəm, gōtt. gōt, gōttəm. qə tak

gaw- gott- Sh. to cover, close.

galtatk Sk.

gawust Be. fist — Cf. Skr. gabhasti- arm, hand??

gož- Y, X, gūž: gužt, žat X; gūž: žötk Sh. to do. — X yašēr peden gūž saddle the horse; yaš peden gužt he saddles the horse; salām gužt, žat; yūmž um gožtei I have ground the flour; Sk. žāk, gožetk; Lor. x žito had done, xžetk having done. — gožfrom 3 sg. gožt = Shgh. kišt. Sar. kašt < \*kuņati?

 $g\bar{u}y\partial k$  Y, "yak N hip, anus. Cf. guhrū,  $g\bar{i}z$ · X,  $:g\partial zd$ · Y,  $g\bar{u}z$ ·  $:g\partial zd$  Sk.,  $g\bar{i}z$ ·  $:g\partial zd$ ·,  $g\bar{o}zd$ · Sh. to rise —  $g\bar{e}zge$  X he rose;  $g\bar{v}zum$ ,  $g\bar{v}zd$ ,  $g\bar{v}z$ , " $g\partial zd\partial m$ ,  $g\bar{v}zak$ ,  $g\bar{v}z\partial k$  Sk. — < \*han-xaiz· or cf. Oss. an- $q\bar{v}zin$ . an- $q\bar{v}zun$  to yeast?

yőz Sk. meadow.—Prs.gāz, cf. Shgh. γǫz-zōr. giż dim Y, gaż dum X, W. Sk. scorpion. — Prs. Cf. Sgl. gāz ləmb.

# Γ, ř

ỹiu Y, ỹī W, gī¹ū X, yū N (Ishk., yīv Sk., ỹū L, ỹīw Zar, yū Sh., yīū St. cow. — \*gāwa·, ef. Sgl. uyūi.

yə'bâr Y, yu'bār X dustcloud, duststorm.
— Ar.-Prs.

 $\dot{\gamma}\,\bar{u}\delta$  Sk.,  $\gamma\bar{u}\delta$  Sh., Sk. thief. — Cf. Yd.  $\gamma\ddot{a}l$ .

 $\tilde{\gamma}\tilde{u}di$  Sk.,  $\gamma\tilde{u}\delta i$  Sh. theft.  $-\gamma^{+}$  car- Sk. to steal.

i'dīm Y, gi dim X, ga'dīm N, gi bīm W.
 yə'dīm Sk., yidīm Sh., yebim Zar.,
 yadīm Be.. yə'dēm Kl. wheat. —
 < \*gandūma·, cf. Yd. yādəm.
</p>

gidim-žeč X wheaten bread.

yaf X, Sh., yā(') Sk. very. - yaf .cos bit X he became very glad, yā-tyā Sk very much. - Cf. yafči.

raifāi X much.

rif L place for putting pots beside and below fireplace.

yafči, yāp\landa X much. very. yafč baftər Sk. still better. — zim yāp\landa t dēt much snow fell. yafči xu\landa waxt bit he became very happy. — Conn. with Sogd. yarf much?

;āl X sit down, bišīn?).

yalbīl X. yil bēl X. yal<sup>2</sup> Sk. sieve. — Ar.-Prs.

ralla X grain. - Ar.-Prs.

rollom Sk. servant. - Ar. Prs.

yām Sk. sorrow. — Ar. Prs.

yumančak Y serotum. - Cf. Yd. yumino anus.

γa nī W hair. γĕno goat's hair. — Prob. lw. from Ishk. cf. s.v. γe nök.

γən dāl N scorpion; "randāl" Hj. spider.
— Cf. Shgh. γan dāl spider.

yār Y, Sk., yār Sh., gār X stone, rock.
 — lup gār rock; yār kaṭum Y I
 throw a stone. — Cf. Yd. yar.

yer Y. yer X. yer Sk., yer Sh. wool. —
Possibly with ye < ve < Av. varenae?
Cf. § 50.
</p>

γ̃ir·: γ̃ird- Y, γ̃ir·. γ̃ird- Sh.. Zar. to turn round (Sh. also to cross a pass — Cf. Sar. γïrs·: γerd·.

\*70r (Cockerill ravine, kurum. — 'Ghor jerab''.

yūr N, Sk. E.Wkh. penis; X. yīr W serotum. — yūr-gāu tuy Sh. buck-goat. — Cf. Sar. yūr, Sgl. yōr penis.

 $\gamma a r \bar{\imath} b Y$ ,  $\gamma^c X$  poor. — Ar Prs.

yərəb L yak's wool. — Cf. fer.

rairā; Sh., 'yaray St., \*yirāk B collar of a garment. — Cf. Sgl. s.v. yo rōk. y³rūng Y, yurung X heavy. — Cf. Sogd. yrān. Khow. lw` yrānu pregnant.

var rå Sk. bud. - Prs. yurra new moon?

ỹurt: ỹortt Sh. to collect, to tack up
one's sleeves. — < \*gart· to roll.
</p>

γ̄μṣˇ Y, găṣˇ X, γašˇ N, St.. γāẋˇ W, γāšˇ Sk., Sh. mouth. — Cf. Yazgh. γaš < \*gaštra-, cf. EVP. s.v. γāṣˇ tooth (< \*gaštra-, not \*gastra-.</p>

γ∂š Y, γext W, γ̈́∂š, γoš Sk., γoš Sh. male. — γ∂š-pīrk. -pīš, -yaš Sk. — With γ- < w-, cf. § 50? Or ancient lw. from gušn?

γρεκ'e la Y, γρεκλο lά Sk., γρεκλαία Sh. ram. — V. k'a la.

yəşi-yāngəl Y, yòş yangl Sh. thumb. — Cf. Prs. nar-angust.

yiš Y, giš X, yiš N, yuš Sk., yiš Zar.,
yiš Sh. ear. — Cf. Yd. yū.

yīšt N meat. — V. gušt.

yat Y, yat: yatt Sh., yat. yat. Kl. to arrive. — gatəvum, ki tetkem X 'mērasam(?, rasīdam'. ki tetk (Sh. yatetk) he has arrived. — From gata-?
But cf. s v. got.

ỹũv Sk. hollow where grain is stored,
yõv Be. cornbin, store-room for food.

— Cf. Sgl. yõv.

ỹiy: ỹoid- Sk. to copulate. — ỹī əyəm,
ỹəid, ỹəil, ỹoidəm, ỹīyak, ỹīyətk Sk.
Cf. Prs. gāidan, etc.

ỹūz Y, Sk., Zar., yūz X firewood, bramble.

pūš. — Cf. ỹūz-vor Sh. a fuel-fetcher.

— Cf. Sgl. yōz.

\( \tilde{\gamma} \frac{\gamma \tilde{\gamma} rf}{\gamma} \) I fireplace. — Prob. with
\( \tilde{\gamma} \frac{\gamma}{\gamma} = \frac{\gamma}{\gamma} \) as also in other words in L's
\( \tilde{\gamma} \tilde{\gamma} rf \frac{\gamma}{\gamma} \) Av. gufradeep?
\( \tilde{\gamma} rf \frac{\gamma}{\gamma} rf \frac{\gamm

### H

hūb (hōəb Grammophone; Y, hūb X, ūb N, hīb²δ.!) W, ūb, īb Sk., hūb St., Zar., hub Sh., etc. seven. — Cf. Yd. ordō.

hib-v<sup>3</sup> rit Sk. Charles Wain (: the Seven Brothers.

halq X. v. al-qum.

hyalamān I. one another. -- < \*anyam anyah? But cf. yamān Kl. id. V § 126.

humit- Sh. to be. — humiam I may be.
 — Cf. Saka hāma: Sogd. māt was
 Gauthiot, JA. 1916, p. 254

hanjūi L pit for storing butter.

haret X span, arat St. cubit. <\*aranni-' hest X ploughpole. V. wəšp.

hat Y. Zar., KI, Be., hāt X, W, Sh., at N, āt Sk., hāt St. eight. — Cf. Yd. ašco-ha'wā X, awâ Y, o Sk. air. — Ar. Prs.

hu zūr X presence, majesty. -- Ar. Prs.

# $\check{J}$ (cf. $\check{Z}$ )

ji'dā Y separate. — j° carem. — Prs.
 ji'gār Y, Sk., Sh., °ar X, N, W liver.
 — Prs.

jīga rī X, Sk. brown, `ri Be. green. — Prs.

jao jī Sk. pieces [of felt?] placed under the saddle.

jon Sk. soul. - Prs.

juāna X male calf, two years old. — Cf. Syl. juncā'ē.

ja nūb Sk. south. — Ar.-Prs.

ji nīb X cause, reason. — az ayou jinīban for that reason. ¹cēm je'nīb Sk. therefore. — Ar. Prs.

jang Sk. war.  $-j^2$  viti there was a war. Ar. Prs.

jangal X forest. — Prs.

j∂n'wār Sk. female mountain goat. — Prs.

ji'rāb Y, je° X stockings. — Prs. jur rât W sour milk. — Turk. Prs.

je'rie Y mnd ? ..

ji rex X, jirò.c Zar., żerāž Sh. knot. — Proh. borr. from Sar. žerež. Cf. Yd. γωτεž.

jūš Sk. waterfall (in the Panj). — Prs. jūš boiling, ehullion.

ju wab X answer. — Ar. Prs.

ju wân Y, an X, je won Sk. young. — Prs. Cf. ju ana.

jöy. jöyd Sk., : jöide X, jö-in Sh. to read. — ya'wiš no'möz 'jöid Sk. they read their prayers. — Cf. NTS., VII. 116 sq.

# K, Q

ke X to, for (postposition with the dat.).

— rešt xōnar ke he went to the house; čis sabab ke nivdī for what reason didst thou weep? xalg pīši wāzar ke rešt 'ādam pīšiwāz-i ū raftan'; ī manziler ke režt 'he came to a manzil'. Cf. Hj. (p. 19) dative in rok (==-r-ok); Sk. žo 'yurm-ok (or yurm-or) for my arm. — Cf. § 112. ki X that (conj.). — Prs.

no it that (conj.). -- 11s.

 $k\bar{u}$  X, W, Sk. hill. — Prs.

kūi Y, X, Sk. somebody, who? — tu-t | kūi? Y, tu 'kui? X who art thou? saš kūi tūet? X who are you? kūi šayum X I kill somebody. — Av. kahyā. § 126.

kə būn Sk., kubūn Sh., ko² Hj. dish, wooden bowl. cnp; kobun Olnfsen flat wooden dish, kubūn L wooden bowl. < \*kumbūn < \*xumbūna-?

qābr Sk. tomb. — Ar.-Prs.

ka būt X, W blue. — Prs.

ki bit Y, Sk., °it X, Sh, kipīt L, kobīt Z pigeon. — Cf. Yd. kovio.

kūček X pnppy. — Prs.

qa dă Sk. parents-in-law.

qa dam Sk. pace, step. — Ar. Prs.

kod nok Sk. linen. - V. kənöi.

kədiw Sk. pumpkin. — Prs.

kaf Y foam, seum. - Prs.

kifé Be., kifé Kl., kipči X, har kifé Sh. both; kifčk Be. like —

kaf-i-dast Y, X, kaf W. N palm of the hand, — Ar.-Prs.

kāfš Sk. shoe. -- Prs.

kaig X flea. - Prs.

kâ;az X letter. -- tark k<sup>5</sup> gožum 1 write a letter to thee; k<sup>5</sup> dast i.x̃at dex̃ide he got the letter in hand. — Prs.

kik Sh. wild dog; kik L lynx.

kik Y, kvk X, kok Z, Hj., žkuk(!\ Sh. a spring; kik Sk. hot spring. — < \*xāka-. Cf. Sar. kauk (borr. from Wkh.\ Yd. xūyo. V. § 42.

kak Sk., Hj. eyelid (E.Wkh.).

'qakul X n. of a bird, qakul.

kāka šon Sk. the Milky Way. — Prs.

k'ala X ram, k\rho\land sk. sheep (m. and f.), kalā Sh., etc. sheep. — Cf. Khow. 'kelī'

kel- L to itch.

kalı bən Y, kalbun St., kal pipr N, kal L, kal Sh., "khál" Be., "kull" Bi. armpit. — kal would seem to be a Sgl. form of kaš, but cf. Prs. (dial.? kalk 'side under the armpit', which may, however, belong to the Sgl. group cf. "Prs." yöl 'ear'. Cf. Sgl. kaš-viš (< Prs. kaš?, Šemerzod k'ašbūn.

gala mī 8k. lined, - Ar. Prs.

kalmur; X eagle, kite(?), kalmur; Sk. kite (bald-headed eagle?). Cf. Khow. kalmur; Prs. kalmur; vulture v. Yd. s.v. war;ijin).

kalan joy X n. of a bird. — Prs. kal bald.

kulp X lock. - Ar. Prs. kə lītoq Y. ka ret (!) W, kalitok Sh. windpipe; kabitok Be. larvnx for \*kalitok?). kəl vår Sk. mussuck, — Cf. Shgh. kalyor Lentz.  $ke l\bar{i}$  Y yoke-peg. — Khow.  $k\tilde{a}ri$ . kam Y, X little. -- Prs. -- But kam5 L inferior wife < Khow. kuma. kəmi-, kəmətt- Sk. to will; kami-, kamat Sh. to agree, cousent. - kəmiəm, kimit, kəməttəm, kəmi yak, kə mətk Sk. - Cf. Sgl. kəmay-. ká mi W back. — Cf. Sgl. ka măk. gim Y, kum Sh. owl. - Cf. Sar. kum. kōm, k'ōm Y, X, k'ōum N, kám W. khom Be. palate. — Prs.  $k\bar{u}m$  which? — ce  $k\bar{u}man$  from whom? — Cf. § 126. kumjei Sk. where? - V. kūm. kai'moq X cream. — T.-Prs. ku'mak cār! Sk. help! — Prs qim mat Sk. price. — Ar.-Prs. ka mon X bow. — Prs. ka mån-i-Rusitam Y, ka mān° X, ka mon-i-Rus tom Sk. rainbow. — Prs. kampal L blanket. - Ancieut lw. from IA. kampi rak Sk. thunder. Cf. Sk. Mater., 138. kə nài X cotton; kinei Sh. bleached coarse cotton cloth; knoi Hj. linen. Cf. kodnok.  $k\bar{u}n$  W anus. — Prs. kin. kott kú'nak) Sk., kun. kott- Sh. to draw a sword, kuin-: kott L to dig out, root out. - Av. kan-. kona Y, X old (not new). - Prs.  $k\bar{\imath}^{\dagger}n\check{a}$  Sk. hate. —  $k^{\circ}$  car. — Prs. kānd- Y, kand- X, kānd-: kānd- Sk.,

 $kand \cdot : kandi \cdot Sh.$  to laugh. — kandom,

kānd, kānd!, kāndəm. (2 sg. kāndi),

kən'dak, kən dətk Sk. — Cf. Yd. xoud.

kanda X laughter. — kcarem. Adapted from Prs. xanda. kend Y. X, kund W, k'and Sk, married woman, wife. - uz k'end cilgakar wardrm X I have come to look for a wife; bāf kəndiš Sk. the women are good. - Acc. to Geiger Gr.Ir.Ph == Skr. kāntā. kind Y. kond X blunt. -- Prs. ka nek X mosquito gå nun Sk. law. — Ar.-Prs. kap Sh. camel's hump, - Sar, kiep, Or. küp, ef. Yd. kyıfo. kapč Y, Sk., Sh., kapča X spoon. --Prs. kafċ. kipči, v. kifč. kipok Y cuckoo. - (f. Ar. Prs. kabbūk, kapūk. kar Y. X, kar Sk. deaf. — Prs. qār Sk. anger. -- wuz-əm kār cārəm I become angry; 'yāwušt 'kār-n kṛtī, spāšix-n tāydī they got angry and left us. — Ar. Prs. kür Y, X, Sk. blind. - Prs. qa'rīb Y, X near. — Ar.·Prs. kar bāš Sk. lizard. — Prs.? Cf. Yd. karb∂sa. karče'yai Y kite. — Cf. Shgh. karči'yāi, etc. Turk. kard Sh. crooked. — Sar. cerd. kar yā Y, gər yā Sk. crow. — Turk. Prs. kerk Y, X, kīrk N, kərk Sk., körk Sh. fowl, hen. - Cf. Yd. krrio. kir kon X elbow. — Khow. kur kun. ka, urum (Cockerill) ravine. kirən Y, kürun X plough. — Prob. 'ploughing', cf. kur- Sh. to cultivate, Sgl. kīrūg plough, etc. ·kirpa Y bedding. — Prs. kirpa čā Y mattress. — Prs.

 $qa^{\dagger}r\bar{o}r$  Sk. silence. —  $q^{\circ}$  car be silent.

- Ar.-Prs.

kurust W bark of a tree; kurust krost Sk., karast Sh. fur-robe. — Cf Sgl. korost, Yd. karāst.

k³ roš Y, ka¹rōš N pea, patek; k³ rōš δk΄ Sk. pea, bean. — Cf. Sgl. karåš. q³ rit Sk. cheese (= tuxp). — T.-Prs.

kir žepč Y, kižipči X, karjopč Sh. korž° Z magpie, gulbeq. — Cf Yd. kyunyo.

kās: kāst (kā sak. Sk., k.is: k.ist L to thresh; kāsak vand. Y to thresh (but said to follow fraxbīz xas. and to precede būn.). — Prs. kustan to pound, kusta 'rice that has been separated from the husk by pounding, but not cleared from the chaff' have u, and are doubtful words.

kasa·e-sar W top of the head. — Prs. kāsa·i-sar.

kiš Y, kiš W. kəs X, kus N, koś (kož) Sk., kuš B vulva, vagina. — Cf. Sgl. kuš.

kšád Y, od Sk., kot X. kšáb Sh. broad, wide. Prs, cf. Shgh. kešáb, etc.

kuš'kôr X male oorial. — Cf. Sgl.  $k \ni \check{s} \cdot k \mathring{d}r$ .  $k \ni \check{t} \mid g \bar{a}$  Sk. field. — Prs.

kaš Y, kāš Sk., kaš LSI, kaš I. boy, young man; zamân·kaš B. — Av. kasyah smaller. cf. Psht. kašai only son.

kšuy-: kšən- Y, ki'sin-?): kising X, kə'sən-: kə səng- Sk., kə'suy-, kə'sen-: kə'seng- L, kšuy-: kṣön Kl., kšon-: kšong- Hj, kšui-: kšon- Sh. to hear — nīv ti zik kṣuyəm Y now I hear thy word; ti zik wuz ki ṣinum; ke'ṣingat X ·sināwīd'; kə'sənəm, kə'sənt. k(ə'süyl, kə'səngəm, ksə'yak (ksə'nak). kə'sə'nətk Sk. — \*uš-kyn- > \*skən- > ksən- (cf. Bal. uškun-): \*sruy- > \*šəy-,

contaminated with  $k\bar{s}\partial n$ - into  $k\bar{s}\partial y$ -? Or, more prob.,  $\langle *gu\bar{s}aya^{-2}|k\bar{s}\partial n$  as a pres stem is secondary, cf. Sk. inf.  $k\bar{s}\partial^{\dagger}yak$ , besides  $k\bar{s}\partial nak$ .

kūt V, Sk., Z roof; kut X ceiling. — Cf. Sh. kat·δīt soot? — < \*kāta·, cf. Av. kata·, etc.? V. iskakut.

ki tât Y book — Ar.-Prs

ktić Sk. hut, ktić Kl. hut on summerpasture. — Cf. Ishk. krić.

kūtk I. chaff.

kat: kart. Y, X, kāt. kārt. Sh. to throw, spread, pour into. andāxtan. kāt: kārt. Sk. to lay, put. — wuz yupk ar pīl katem Y, yupk piōla katum X l pour water into the cup; yār katem Y I throw a stone; kātəm. kārt. kāt! kārtəm. kə tak, kətətk Sk.

qat V mucus. kat Be. snot (li<sup>3</sup>p mucus). kat Y, Sk., kut N, kot Sh. short. — Cf. Sgl. kut.

qətb Sk. the Polar Star. -- Ar. Prs.

ku töl W dagger - IA.

qēw- Sk. to call. — qēwəm, qēwī, qēw cart. qēwən. qēw' qēw kərtəm, etc. — Cf. Sgl. qīw.

 $ku'w\epsilon nd$  L sheep tick. — Cf. Psht.  $k\bar{u}nai$  (EVP, s.v.  $k\bar{v}n$ )?

qōx Sk., kox Sh. cough. -- Cf. Shgh. kēx., Or. kux. Prs. kux kux.

kuxt Sk. every, Sh. all, whole. — °tək
Sk all. — kuxt čīz everything. —

< \*kṛṣti- the world (cf. Av. karśvar-: cf. semantically Yd ːa·hānd
much < Prs. jahān \*

 $q\dot{a}$   $z\bar{\imath}$  Sk. judge. — Ar.-Prs.

qōz Sk. goose. — T-Prs.

kūza X pitcher. - Prs.

kəğ Y, keğ X. kəž, köž Sk., köż Z, Sh., kēğ L. 'kurcj' Bi. knife. — Cf. Yd. kero. V. § 80.

## $\boldsymbol{L}$

lab W, lap N. low X lip. — Prs. V. lafc.

luδ-: loδt Sh. to ram in.

la-cer- X to leave, ləcər- Sk, to allow, la-car- Sh, to let go. — ləcər yau be wīzit let him come Sk, — Cf. Yd. la(k)-.

lafe Y, Sk., Sh. lip. — Prs. V. lab.  $lo^{\dagger}rar$  X bad. — Ar.-Prs.  $l\bar{a}rar$ . lajom Sk. bit of a horse. — Prs  $l\bar{u}q$  Sk. rag.

lamerz L sloping down of a field. — \*ni-marza-.

lând W tooth. — Mj., cf. Yd. lad. V.

landak Sk. cheese (творог не сметана), lang Sk. lame. — Prs.

ling Y, līng X, ləng Sk. calf of the leg (Sk. also of a goat). — Prs.

lunj Sk. cheek. - Prs.

lup Y, X, Sh, lūp Sk, big, large. — ispa xōn lap Y our house is big; žu xōnan ti xōn lup X thy house is bigger than mine, lup yāngļ Sk. (hip y° in Sk. Materialien. p. 141 is due to a misreading` thumb. — Cf. Tajiki lum(b) (Trudy Tadž. Bazy, III, 55)?

lipča X milk pail; cf. lupt Olufsen flat earthenware jug for milk and water? låst W hand. — Cf. Mj.-Yd. last.

láša X lean. — Prs.

lisp B mucus. — IA.

līv-: līvd Y, Sh. to slip. — Cf. IE. \*(s)leil-(Welde-Pok. II, p. 391)? Or \*sleub-? But Or. žirf slippery < \*srifra-, Psht. žwai < \*srifaka-, with Ir. s-? lu wârė Y, lə'wōrē Sk., leiwārē Sh., etc. sand. lêw Sk., lîw Sh. demon. — Cf. Sgl. lêw from \*Mj.?

'lix- Y, lix-: lisetk X, lix- lixt Sh. to lick. — Genuine, or from Prs leslist? But cf. Sgl. les-.

lazja X trembling. — l° gožt trembles.
 — Cf. Shgh. lazja. from Prs. larza.
 lov Y udder.

### M

mai Y, X, W. māi Sh., māy B sheep; mai X, māi Sk., kūr-māi L female oorial. — Cf. Yd. mūo.

mə Sk, mđi Hj. don't. — mə-pərs. pərs-məi don't ask. — Av. mā.

 $m\bar{o} \bar{\imath} \text{ Y, N, } mo^{\imath}\bar{\imath} \text{ X, } m\hat{a}he \text{ W, } m\hat{a} \bar{\imath} \text{ Sk.}$  fish. — Prs.

mūi X hair on the body. - Prs.

mei Sk., mūi, mu.i L month. — Cf. Prs. māh, etc.

mūbarak X salutation, gratulation. — Ar. Prs.

mič Sh. (double) handful. — Cf Sar. mut. V. § 73.

mâček Y, máč-šač Be. she·dog; moč L female. — Cf. Yd macīo.

mād Y. X, maδ W, Sh.. māδ L. Zar. (back of the) waist, back; mād Sk. back (of an animal). — žə yāš mād zāxη-vitk Sk. the back of my horse was wounded. — Cf. Sgl. mēδ. V. § 100.

mâda N female. — Prs.

mai den X plain. - T. Prs.

mə dir Y, Sk., m.dür L, maδur Sh.. məδər Z noon. — Cf. Sar., Shgh. maδör. — Av. maiδya- + ayara (cf. frayara- fore-noon).

 $m\ddot{a}^{\dagger}d\ddot{a}\overset{*}{x}$  Y,  $m\partial^{\dagger}d\ddot{a}\overset{*}{\gamma}$  Sk.,  $ma\delta\ddot{a}\gamma$  Sh. mare.

— From Phl.(?) \* $m\ddot{a}dag$ .

(\*mōδ·): mɔθt (mōδεtk) L to curdle (milk).
— 3 sg. mɔθt. — Cf. Bal. madag, etc., Sar. mâd buttermilk (Be.).

mūg Hj. stupid, muq Sh. blunt. Unknown to Sk.'s informant. — Cf. Yd. mxky.

mēy W cloud. — Prs.

may'rib Sk. west. - Ar.-Prs.

mayz Y, X, N, W marrow. — Prs. magž Be. 'brain' may be genuine (cf. Be. sirk, Sh. serk marrow).

maγ'zī Y, X, N, maγ'zεk W arm above the elbow. — Cf. Sgl. asta-maγzək, Yd. mižiste.

mi jāš X eyelashes. — Ar.-Prs.

māk' Sk. neck. - Cf. Shgh. id.

mök Sk. hen. — Cf. Sgl. māk≥k.

mukuduk Y, 'muydok X, 'mōk'dək W, 'muklok N, mukt Sk., Sh., mukt L, moxt Be, frog. — Cf. Ishk. mukuduk, Sgl. moydōk, Yazgh. ma'qûd.

maks Y, X, Sk., L, Sh., etc. fly. — Cf. Yd. moyuso.

maks L. ripple.

mū lā Sk. donkey-saddle.

mul X stirring-pin. - Cf. Yd. mūl.

mālum X known. mark mo ne vīt it was not known to me. — Ar. Prs. mā lūm dōr Sk. honest. — Ar. Prs.

mula im X soft. - Ar. Prs.

m³lung Sk., malung L, malung Sh. middle, waist. — Cf. Yd. malane. m²lung-yaič Sk. shinbone; malung-yāič Sh. thigh; "malúngerch" Be. arm. — Cf. yašć.

məl'teq Y, mil'tiq X, ml'teq Sk. gun. — Turk.

mə'lax Y, mi° Sh. grasshopper. — Prs.
mūm Y, Sk., Z, mum Sh. grandmother.
— Cf. Yd. 'māmo.

mīmân xâna X guest-house. — Prs. 34 — Kulturforskning.

mo'no car- Sk. to resemble. — Prs. mān resembling.

mānd- Y. māṇḍ- X, mʌnd- L, mānd- (maṇḍāk) Sh. to rub, shampoo. — Cf. Yd. magʰ-, Sgl. māṇḍ-, V. manditk. mōnda X tired. — Prs.

mande lie Y butterfly (?', bird ? : mendelie L swallow.

manditk Be. leather. — Perf. of mand-"rubbed. tanned"?).

manja X bed. — IA, cf. Yd. mānjo.

mingas Y. Sk., St., in yas X, winyās Sh. sparrow. — Genuine (v. § 47. or from Kati mongece, mr'onec?

min'qor Y, ar W, ol X beak. — Ar.-Prs.

man'zil X a day's journey, halting-place.

— Ar.-Prs.

 $m \partial \eta \bar{u}$  W apple. — Prob. Sgl.  $m \bar{\tilde{e}} / l$ . V.

mön W male oorial.

māra L store-room on a roof.

mer L knuckle, joint. — Cf. Skr. marman.?

'mərī: mərt Sk., : mert X, mari: mortt Sh. to die. — mərt Y dead. — 'mərīm, 'mərī, mīrīd, 'mərīn, 'mərīv; mərtəm, məri yāk, mərtk; mərtk) death Sk. — < \*məriya-, cf. Yd. mər. mör X, mâr W suake. — Prs.

mur Y, mūr X, N, Be., mīr Sk., mur Sh. apple. — Cf. Yd. āmuno.

mūr Y, Sk., Sh., Z, mõr Be. cloud. — < \*ham-abra-?

mūr X locust (?). — Cf. Sgl. mūr centipede. mēra bon Sk. friend. — Prs.

murča X, W ant. - Prs.

'mərdik W pupil of the eye. — Cf Sgl. čām-mərdikōg.

mər'dīna Y, ma° Y man. — \*Prs., ef. Shgh. mardīna.

merg L female ibex; marg Sh. fem. Ovis Poli; Be. wild goat. — Av. mərəγa·; cf. Kafiri mr'oŋ, mraŋ, etc. fem. ibex.

margilam Sh. goat's down. — Cf. Yd. muryu'lum.

mo'rīk Y, ma° Sh., B, mrik' Sk. sweet cream. — Cf. Shgh. marōb, Sar. marēb, prob. < Ar.-Prs. murawwab (v. Shgh. Voc., s.v., and Lentz s.v.), but the Wkh. form is difficult to explain.

ma'răm X servant. — jũ ma rām my servant. — Ar. Prs. mahrām friend. mīr-prīč Y, mīr-prīč Sk., Sh. ant. — mīr- prob. < \*marwi- (cf. Yd. mor'γο), but associated with Ar. Prs. (a)mīr, e.g in Shgh. mīr-mōčūn (Sk.) 'Rattenkönig'.</p>

marsī Hj. hip. Denied by Sk. mī'rōs Sk. inheritance. — Ar. Prs. mīrā'xūr X stable-boy. — Prs.

mərz Y, merz X, morz Sh., marz Sh. hungry. — mərz-əm vitei Y I have become hungry; merz-em X; 'wuz-əm murz vitk Sk. — Cf. Shgh. Voc. s.v. mazjānj 'hungry' (Old Engl. murc gnawing hunger, etc.).

mörž L. dew. — < \*morgh-s-, ef. Russ. morox 'drizzle' etc. (v. W.-P. s.v. meregh-).

mis Y, X, Sk., Sh., etc. nose; Sh. also: point, formerly. — Cf. Sgl.—Ishk. mis. mis Sk. brass. — Prs.

mas-dig Y brass-pot. - Prs.

mūi sa fēd X old (not young). — Prs. maska Y, X, Be. (ru;n Sh.) butter. — Prs. mau sim Sk. season. — Ar.-Prs.

most Y, Sk., mušt X, mušt N, mut W, most Sh., Z, etc. fist. — mušt Prs., mut Sgl., reg. must (with st < št, v. § 73) ef. Yd. mršč, Kurd. must, etc. — V. mušt.

məš Y, mə sū W ankle barīkband Be.. — Cf. mašīn Sh. leg below knee (Sar. mišīnlang).

mūš X mouse. - Prs.

muš-: mošt Sk. to conceal; moš- L to conceal, steal? — < \*mušya-, cf. Skr. mus-.

mēšak Y female oorial. — Prs. Cf. Sgl. mēš i kiškor.

mešen L along with.

maš riq Sk. east. - Ar. Prs.

mušt X fist, plough-handle (gūšek). — Prs. V. most.

mō'tōb X moon — Prs.

mutr Sh. augury, omen. - Genuine, < madra, cf. Psht. maraī charm?

me wā Sk. fruit. — Prs.

mīx Y, X, mēx Sk. nail. - Prs.

ma'ynv X starling(?). — Hind. mainā\* mi yōn X waist. — Prs.

maza X taste. - Prs.

miz X table. - Prs.

mīzg Y, Sk., mizg<sup>2</sup> X, mīzk Be. urine. -mīzg car. Sk. to make water. -- Cf. Yd. mīz-.

mu'žek X bail. - Cf. Sgl. mu'žīk.

## N

nãu Y, nãu X, Sk., nau N, Sh., nāb (!) W, não Sh. nine. — Cf. Yd. nau. ne X, no Sk. not. — mālum ne vit it was not known; ne reçā 'na mēraua' X, no—no Sk. neither—nor. — Av. na. noi Sk. no.

'nīu Y, niuw Sh., nāī X mill-race. — X from Prs. Cf. Yd. nawo'yo.
nō'band Y young calf; nāband Sh. yearling bull calf. — Cf. Shgh. nōbānd, Or.

noband, etc. Original meaning 'newly bound' (newborn calves are allowed to move about). Cf. Or. navzod, etc. yearling female calf (: 'just having born, or going to bear').

nə bəs Y, ni pes X, na pesan L, naposan Sh., etc. comb. — Cf. Oss. sär-vasän, etc.; Yd. nuvās. The derivation of Prs. fasan, sar-fāhan is doubtful. na būt Sk. plant. — Ar.-Prs.

nûčk Sk., Sh. beak. — Cf. Sar. nusk, Khow. Iw. n.18k.

nA bun L quiver; nabün Sh. scabbard.
 Cf. Skr. nidhāna place for depositing anything, receptacle; Prs. nihān hidden.

nodavn: nodafst. Y to embrace, clasp, mēčaspam; Sh. nadevs.: nadevd to affect, stain, profit, nadefs.: nadavd to he compressed, dented, nadefs. nadefst to stick together; nedev. L to stick to. — Two pres. formations, one in .n. and one in .s. — Cf. Shgh. nidemb to stick (trans.); v. Yd. nailō. nōf Y, N, Sk., nāf X, nâf W navel. —

nafar X person. — cum nº 'čand nafar'. — Ar.-Prs.

naṛḍ Y, naṛḍ X, N, Sh., nāṛḍ Sk., Kl. night. — wūd nāṛḍ Y to-night; nāgde nikā kerk X. — Av. naxtar (cf. Geiger, Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2, 303).

 $na_{\gamma}$ 'din Y, °in(ak) Sh. dawn. — < \*nax-taina-.

nayd yupk Sk. dew.

no rordum Y, não Sh., nao St. no ridum Sk. bear. — It is tempting to compare this noa-name with Yaghn. rūbj-dum horse (: broom-tail, v. Junker, Yaghn. Stud. I, 125); Or. šu'tum, Shgh. šitum hare (< \*xšita-duma-

with lopped tail, cf. Bal. ἔταγ to shear, rub away) — But noγor-(\*noγor-?)? Cf. also Prs dum-burrīda bear.

ni kā X marriage, wedding. — Ar. Prs. naql car- Sk. to tell. — Ar. Prs.

nək'ra Y, 'nokura X, nəq ră Sk. silver. — Prs.

nau'kar Sk. servant. — Prs.

nālėsk W reed. — \*Prs.

nə¹lād Y jar, kūza.

nam X wet. - Prs.

nīm Sk. half. — 'žə-nīm 'əmy vit bār bōd half my life was spoiled. — Prs.

no mok Y, o k Sk.. na mak X salt. — Prs.

ni mil- L, na mīl- Sh. to hem. < \*lamīn- < \*dāmanaya-??

nemenj. L to dance.

nim'rūz X noon. - Prs.

namurzy Sh., lamurzy L hnsh-harrow, rake. — Cf. Av. nī·marəz- to sweep down; Sar. namüžy, Kashan dial. Gaz nimer'zūn rake.

nə¹mōz Sk. prayer. — Prs.

nān Y, X, Sk., nân W, Sh. mother. —
žū nān: you nānar žat: ēi nān X
he said to his mother: oh, mother.
— Cf. Yd. nīno.

nūnd: nữtt Sk. to plant. — Cf. Ishk. nēnd: < \*ni-hāndaya:, Sar. nālenbān-< \*ni-śăndaya: v. Tedesco, BSL, 24, 200).

nong X, nūng Sk., nung Sh. name. — < \*nāmaka-, cf. Sgl nīm.

nə pūs Y, cus X, napus Sh. grandchild.
— Early lw.? Cf. Yd. nowoso. V.
nəvəs.

nar X, N male. — Prs.

 $n\epsilon'rau$  L rainbow.

nir Sk. light 'adj. and noun'. - Ar.-Prs.

nar<sup>3</sup>m X soft, crushed. — n° gožum I thresh. — Prs.

 $nar-t\bar{u}_{\gamma}$  N he-goat.

nesi-(am) Y, nesi-(m) X, 'nəsī-: 'nəst- Sk.,
nāsī-: nast- Sh. to lie down. —
'nəsīm, 'nīsīd, 'nəsī. 'nəstum, nəsī yak,
nə'sətk Sk. — Av. sāy- to lie down,
cf. Skr. nis'ītha- night.

nis: nost Sk., nus: nast Sh. to lose; nas: nast Sh. to be lost. — Av. \*nasaya., nasya.

naspar- Sh. to tread down. — \*ni-spar-, cf. Sar. naxpor-: naxpog-; Av. spar-to tread, spuin; Prs. naspār place where grapes are pressed.

nišon X showing. — n° randəm I show. — Prs.

náš pátí W pear. - Prs.

niširm Y, crum X the shady side of a valley. — Cf. Sgl. nišorm.

nå tuån Sk. poor. - Prs.

nev Y. 'niw-: niwd, nivd X. niw-: nowd Sk., niw-: nāwd Sh. to weep; now L to soak. — cis sabab ke nivdī? X why dids't thou weep? bisyâr niwde X he wept much; niwəm, niwd, nūw, nōwdəm, niwāk, nu wətk Sk. — Cf. Shgh. nav- (or naw-) to weep, Yd. nov-.

nv Y, Sh., anib X now.— nv ti zik ki uyem now I hear thy word; iyem xalg nv rəxupt this man fell asleep now.
— Av. nū, with secondary fricative?
nv: nvovd- Y, niuv: noyvvd Sh. to extinguish (a fire).— rəxnīgi nvom.
— Cf. niu-: neit- Sh. to go out (fire), nietkən Y I have gone out. nv- < \*ni-i+ caus. v-. Cf. Yd. wuzw.
nvur L herd's bread.— \*ni bhāraprovision, cf. Av. ni-bərəva store-

room?

nəvəs W grandson. — Prs. V. nə püs. nəviš. V, ni wiš. niwist. Sk., neviš. Sh. noviš. Z, nivišta car. X to write. — Prs.

ni waq Sk. breeze arising when the sun warms up the water.

 $n\partial^4 w \bar{a} s t$  Sk. it can't be done. Cf.  $w \bar{o} c \cdot$ .

'niwiz: nēšt Sk., niuz: niešt Sh., :niešt; nieštem Y; pf. niěšk Y, X to go out (Sh. also 'to go, come up'); cf. nawūz Sh. to mount?

— wuz cex ūnan nieštem Y I went out of the house; niēšk Y 'barāmad'; pâdšā sail niešk X the king went out for a walk; (ce) xūnen niešk X he went out of the house; žau ce wuš ništom Y I took (?? the grain away from the straw; 'niwizom, 'niwīzd, niwīz! wuzomnīšt' (= nēštom), niwīzak, niwizotk Sk. — Cf. Sgl. nēz-, Yd. ni-.

nux W female (??). — Prob. due to some misunderstanding.

nax<sup>i</sup>cir Y, X, Sk., Sh. fox. — Prs. (with specialized meaning in Wkh.). no<sup>i</sup>xūn X nail. — Prs.

nixind: nixit Sh., nixn-: nixt- Kl. to expel, bring out; nxind- L to extract.

nezd: ne·in· Y, nezd· X, nazd: ne·in· (inf. nuôn) Sh., nôzd-: nôyn· Z to sit down. — niˈengəm Y I have sat down; uuz da amī xōn niengīn X I(?) am living in this house; wuz tawar nezd xānum X I tell thee to sit down. — \*ni·hazd-: \*ni·haôna- (inf. \*ni·haôna-).

"nezdov: 'nezdovd Sk. (reg.) to place, put; to sit(??); niiδūv- Sh. to canse to sit down.

nežγar-: nežγard- Sk. to swallow. — \*niž-gar-.

nažaxt Sh. ill-advi-ed. — Cf. Sar.  $n\bar{a}$ ; $u\check{x}t$ .  $n\epsilon\check{z}dwn$  L weeding. —  $<*ni\check{z}$ - $dh\bar{a}$ na-, but Psht.  $lal\bar{u}n<*ni^\circ$ ?.

#### $\boldsymbol{P}$

pāi Y, Sk., Sh. curds, māst. — Cf. Yd. poya.

 $p\bar{e}i$  Sh. paddle, shovel. — Genuine Wkh. form of  $f\bar{i}$  (q.v.), cf. Yd. fiyo, Par.  $ph\bar{i}$ . — Burush.  $b\bar{u}i$  ( $<*p\bar{u}i$ ) 'shovel, blade' is borr. from early Wkh. (cf. Lorimer, Bur. Gramm., § 10).

pu Y with. — pu čâkuwen rəstəvəm I cut with a knife. — Av. paiti.

pac: pacd- Y, pāc: pāct (pəˈcak) Sk.,
poc: post Sh. to cook; pacuv:
pacovd Sh. to cook (caus); piˈces guxX to cook. — poc- < pacaya-. —
V. pəˈcetk, peṣ.

pec Sh. countenance. — Cf. Shgh. pic, Sar. pec face, but not Sogd. p'z.

pīcev: pīcovd Y, pīcəw: pīcŏwd Sk., picv: picōvd Kl. to kindle a fire. — rəxnīgi pīcevəm Y. — < \*pið(i)c-ev. — Cf. pīðīsīv- L to light a fire < \*pati + dag + s ? Cf. Saka pa(m)dīs. V. pīðing.

pēča Y, W lock, curl. — Prs. po četk Y, pi X, po Sh. cooked.

 $p \partial$  četk Y,  $p i^{\circ}$  X,  $p \delta^{\circ}$  Sh. cooked. V

pačrax: pačraxt L, Sh. to arrest. — < \*pati-raxš-?'

pū<sup>i</sup>d Y, p<sup>\*</sup>ūd X, pūd N, St., pīd Sk., pueδ L, püδ Sh., pòδ Z, poda Bi., \*pūδ Be, pu,et H foot. — Cf. Yd. palo.

pâdšà X king. — Prs.

 $p\bar{a}\delta$  L ligature on bow;  $po\delta$  Sh. Nottrack. — Both words prob. < Av.

pada-, cf. Yd. pol. But cf. Sar. ped foot and foot-track.

peδ»me<sup>x</sup>- I. to swell, poδmoš- Sh. to ferment, foam, rise (as dough). — <\*pati-dmasaya-, cf. Av. dāδmainya-'hlowing oneself up', etc.; Brahui Iw. paddām swelling.

podn Y, peden X, pedn Sk., podn Sh., etc. saddle — 'yašer po guž saddle the horse: po da dâlân tu the saddle is on the veranda X. - Cf. Shgh., etc. bidān. Tomaschek (p. 805) compares Skr api-dhāna-, from which form we should expect Wkh. \*paδin. \*apidhana., on the other hand, is not a probable form. V. Yd. palan. : piding- Y, X, Sh., pidic : pidn- Kl. to flame up; piðing L flame. - Cf. pīði-L to burn up. - raxnīg piding Y 'åteš dar girift'; rəž'nī piðingem X I light(? a fire. — Cf. Sgl.  $p = \delta \bar{t} n \cdot ;$ Parth. pdyn. to ignite (Henning, BSOS. IX, 86. Possibly pioin < \*pati-dagna-, and pibic- a secondary formation?

pē'yār Sk. crop (of a bird).

piūk L onion. — Cf. Yd. pīy.

pōk car· Sk. to cleause. — Prs.

pa'khūl Sk. cap. — Cf. Yd. pa'koro.

pa'lū W eyelash. — Cf. Yd. pelek. V. patk.

pīl Y, Sh., pīl Be., pī ōla X wooden cup.

— Prs. (pīl early Iw., cf. Yd piloyo).

pīl Sk. money. — Prs.

palê Y, X. Sh., pālê Sk., parê Be. leaf;
X also feather, palê Sk. forest; parê
Hj. garden. — Poss, two different
words; reg. palê leaf v. § 83.

pū löd pü° Sk. steel. — p° xinyār. — Prs. puluk W thumb. — Cf. Lat. pollex?? pilek-mi lek X, pilpilak Sh. butterfly. — Cf. Khow pulmuduk.

palan- L to fall.

, pa'lăng Y, X, W, N, plang Sk. leopard.
— Prs.

plon gošt Sk., pulangušt Sh. finger-ring.
— Cf. Yd. pargušće.

pa'lâs Y, pi'lesk X, palās Sh. rug. — Prs., cf. Bur. palōs. Khow. pɪlɪsk, etc. pāla'wōn Sk. hunter. — Prs.

'pūmec- Y, pò X, pamec-: pamegn- Sh. to dress. — Cf. Sgl. pənec-.

pūmecev- Y, pameciv- Sh. to dress somebody else.

pə'nü W butter. — Cf. Prs. pinü creamcheese.

p'ū(3'n Y, pūn Sk., Sh., phūn Be. palm of the hand. — Cf. Yd. peno.

palnīr Sk. cheese. — Prs.

pānz Y, X, pāns W, p'ānz N, pānj Sk., pānz Sh., panj Z five.

panylsk Sk. unripe apricot. — IA, cf. Lhd. pind ripe dates.

pūp Y, Sk., Sh., Z grandfather. — Cf. Yd. pap.

pipir X bedding, pîpər Sk., pîp Sh., St. bed. — Cf. Prs. pöb tapestry, carpeting, ambūb eushion, mat? pîpir original dat. (= loc.)? — But note also Sar. babēr bed.

parr Y, W, pār Sk., par Sh., pūr(!) Be. feather (Sk. also wing). — Prs. pur X full. — Prs.

puru: porōd Sh. to rinse (a cup, clothes).
 Cf. Sar. paro. Not < Av. frav.,</li>
 but possibly < \*pari-fraw.?</li>

p<sup>3</sup>rīć Y, pi'rić X, prič Sh, worm. — Cf. Sgl. p<sup>3</sup>čuk.

pər cod Y, Sk., pürcod Sh., pürcad Burnes, pər codək Kl. girl, maid (acc. to Sk. older than də c. — Dissim. < \*parcar, cf. Skr. paricarikā- maid?

pārd Y, Sk., parbe X, pard Sh. last

year (X also day before yesterday?).

— < parut, cf. Par. parâsur.

pardin'gī X, pardüng Sh. belonging to last year.

pārg Y, Sk., Sh., parg X, St., p'ārg N ashes. — Cf. Sgl. park.

perg X necklace; porg Sk. small ring
 (worn on a cord); "pyrk" Olufsen
 stringed kernels of apricots? —
 \*parika-, cf. Skr. parikara- belt, Prs.
 pargar collar of precious stones?

prigin Sh. horse-clothing. — Cf. Sar. parwein. — Cf. gaw-?

pargòš. Sh. to be entangled. — < \*pariguš. < guz. + s? Cf. EVP. s.v. yēž. parak N rib. — Ishk.

purk Y, pūrk N, pārk W (= Sgl.) pīrk
Sk., purk Sh. mouse. — Cf. Yd.
pary, Sgl. pōrk,

parkol-Sh, to dig. excavate. — Cf. Prs. kölidan to dig.

pīrkit- L to stir.

pərməyūng Kl. belt, izorband. — Wkh. + Prs.

permər. L to wither, fade. — \*pari-myya-, cf. Prs. pižmurdan.

pirån X shirt. - Prs.

pər nəc Kl. churn, deg∙i dūγkašī. — \*pari-nĭ-čī?

pa'rinda Y, X, Sh., °'dă Sk. bird. — p° dar hawă wizit X. — Prs.

pūrind-: 'pūrūt- Y, pə'rind-: 'piritt- Sk. (reg.), pürūnd-: pārātt- Sh., frindav-(!) X to sell. — \*pară-rand-> Cf. Yd. pəlār-. V. rand-.

purs Y. pirs Sk., purs Sh. rib; p'ūrs X breast. — Cf. Yd. pərsəye.

pors-: porst Y, pors-: porst Sk. (reg.), pors-: porst- Sh. to ask.— Cf. Yd. pysporsif L wedge.— \*pari-saifa-, cf. Skr.

sep(h)a-, Lat. cippus?

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pur sān X question. — po gožum I ask;
   'pâdšâ p°-um kerk. — Prs.
pərsən gəl Sk. wrist.
pôrš- Sh. to sneeze. — Cf. Sar. púrž-.
prut Sk. foreward; prut Sh. first (adv.). —
   <*parā-tah.Cf.Or.perōd, etc.forepart.
pert L back of an animal. — Av. paršti-.
   Cf. s.v. pist.
parvē(y): parvet Sh., porvoy: porvott
   Z to attain, strike, touch. - 'no-
   par'wo Sk. don't touch, -Lw., if <
   pari-ăp-, Cf. Yd. pura-.
parwuf-: parwaft Sh. to net, plait. - V. ūf-.
par wàna W moth. - Prs.
porwās L rafter (smaller than was).
pirz Sk., pirz Sh. evening; purzer, ojar
   X (dat) this evening, b\bar{\imath}g\bar{a}. -- p^{\circ}
   yōw≥r yark gužum this evening I
   shall tell him his work. — *pārz
   < *pāzr < upa-azara· (cf. Av. upa-
   naxlar.). Scarcely *purz < *purr-
   azar < *prna azar.
piržip- L to twist. - Cf. Sgl. yev-.
pus Sk., pos Sh. ram (E.Wkh.), Sh. a
   fat sheep. — Av. pasu-.
pòs Sh white leopard, ounce. - Cf.
   Sar. pīs id.; Prs. pīs white, leprosy,
   Av. paēsa- (Tomaschek, p. 762).
pi'son X whet-stone. — Prs.
past X, past Sk. low. - Prs.
pīst Y, N, Sk., pist X, Sh., posk W
   (= Ishk.) skin, hide, Y also bark. -
   pīst Sk. back of an animal (for *pīrt,
   cf. s v. pert?). — pist-i diraxt X =
   šung-pist Sh., draxt pist Sh. — Cf.
   Sgl. pāsk.
pôst Sh. parched grain. - Cf. Yd. pūšċ.
pəlša W, N mosquito. — Prs.
pēšāu W urine. — Prs.
pīš Y. Sk., pūš X. W., piš N. Sh., Be.,
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peš Z cat. - Cf. Yd. prško.

 $p\bar{\epsilon}\delta u$  L pear. — Bur.?  $p\bar{e}\check{s}\;b\bar{a}r$  N breast. — Ishk. < Prs.  $p \ni k Y$ ,  $p u \not k X$ . B dung of sheep. ---Prs. pašm N, pam W wool. — Prs., and Ishk. pəšai-mon, pišə Sk. regretful. - Prs. pi šona X, pe' šanī W forehead. -- Prs. pēš-i-pâ X instep. — Prs. toe). pušta X slope, hillside. - Prs. pišew -: pšet- L, pšin-, pšew -: pšett- Sh., pšow-: pšot Kl. to return, turn back;  $p \tilde{s} \tilde{u}$ :  $p \tilde{s} a u d$ - Sh. trans. — Shaw (p. 53) compares Av. apaša backwards. pīšiwāz  ${f X}$  in: xalg pīšiwāzar ke rešt 'ādam pīšiwāz-i Sultân Mahmūd raftan'. — Prs.? pišzə mān Sk. kitten. — V. pīš.  $p_{\varepsilon \xi}$ . L to ripen. —  $< *pa \dot{c} y a$ . V. pa c. poš na Y, poš° X, N, poš nă Sk., pošt L, pošt Sh. heel; påšt Sh. sole. — Prs. pit Tomaschek pine. -- From what source? Tom, compares Skr. pitadāru-. pitau Y, X the sunny side of a valley. - Prs. Cf. Yd. pitou. pătk Y, N, pātak St., tapk L, tapk Be., tappuk Bi. eyelash; patk' Sk. eyelid. — Cf. Sgl. 'pātik. V. tapk patek X pea, patek. — Prs. Cf. Yd. vateko. pitk Sk., pitk Sh., Z rotten. — pitki wəcəm Sk. — Cf. Yd. pīo. pat lun Sk. trousers. — Ind. < Engl. putmui-: putmoid Sh. to mimic. - Cf. Skr. prati-mā. pəitum L repair. < \*pati dāna-? patari X rafter. — Cf. Yd. patare. pətr Y, Sk., pətur X, putr N, pətər W, petr L. pötr Sh., Z son. Cf. Yd. pūr.

peterδ: peterne L to spring from one seed (of several stalks). — \*pati-trdya- to be split.

putrüm(b): patramd-, potrombd- to scare away, to arrest. — Cf. Skr. pratilambha- passion, rage, violent abuse; prati-labh- to get abused?

pūtrūz-: påtråz- Sh. to lean against. — Cf. Sar. padråz-. Geiger < Av. \*paiti-raz-.

pitivår Sk., °var Sh. small mussuck (id skin). — \*pitu bara- food-bearer? putšårm Sh., pitxarim B wooden trough. — \*pati-xwānman-, cf. Prs. xwān tray?

pat 1 X worm, kirm. — Or = pat 2?
(kirm misheard for kīr)?

pat <sup>9</sup> Y, X, W, pāt Sk (W.Wkh.) penis. pet Sh. round, put Sh. circular. — Cf. Sar. pet, put.

ptok Sk. bread, small cake. - Cf. pet? ptou L, poū Sh., pistw Be. mosquito.

pov- Y, pob- X, pūv-: pītt- Sk., pēv/8-:
pīt- L, pòv-: pītt- Sh. to drink. —
pōvəm, pōvī, īyam xalg yupk pīt, sak
yupk pōvan, sāiš pōvəv, xalgišt yupk
pōvan Y: 'pūvəm, 'pūvī, pīt, 'pūrən,
'pūvəv, pūv!, pīttəm, pň'vāk, pītk Sk.
— Cf. Sg!. pòv-.

pəwaz L driftwood. < \*upa-waza-?
pawtă Sk. co!'on. — Prs.

 $p\bar{\imath}\check{x}$  Sh. bie-tings. — Cf. Skr.  $p\bar{\imath}y\bar{u}\bar{\imath}a$ - $pu\check{x}t$  Y,  $p\bar{u}\check{x}t$  L cattle-shed.

pūy-: pīn- L to guard, watch over. — Av pā-.

pi yaž Y poplar. — Cf. yaž? pi yoz Sk. onion. — Prs.

påz Sh. an armful.

p'ūz Y, pīz Sk. (E Wkh.), pūz Sh. breast.
Cf. Sar. puz. poz, Khow. lw. pāz,
Yd. fiz. Perhaps also Oss. faz podex,

Zaza pīzε belly, Skr. pājasya flanks. pakṣ-a-.

pazdan- Sh. to recognize. — Cf. Sgl. pəzīn-.

pezin X, pizən L udder. — < \*payazana-, cf. Skr. payo-dha-.

pə zov Y (puziv Gramm, pi zūv X, pu zū W, pə zīv N. pə zīv Sk., puziv Sh. heart. — pə zīv tany Sk. depressed. — Cf. Sgl. öv zui? — A purely phonetic reconstruction \*apa-zūbya-gives no possible etymology.

pai zar Y shoe. — Prs. pizvāni L., Sh. morning-meal.

### R

rū·i Y on, in. — In the l'rs. expression: parinda rū·i awá rəxt the bird flies in the air. — Prs.

 $r\bar{u}i$  Y, X, Sk.,  $r\bar{u}$  N cheek. — Prs.  $r\bar{\sigma}^{\dagger}b\bar{a}$  N fox — Prs.

rīcη Y, 'ricin X, ricn Sh. smoke-hole.
 Cf. Yd. rūžεn.

rucepe L, ricops Bc. cousin.

rεčεγ L. ričaγ Sh. a fast. — Early lw., ef. Prs. rōza.

rðē: rðyd Y, reð: rðýt(?) X, rðē: rðyd Sk., rðē: rðyd Kl., rač: ragd Sh. to go, move. — rðit 'mērawad'; yez əm rðydei 'raftam' Y; yem yark cebas reē 'ā kār pas buru'; xōnar riē go home; ne reēā 'na mērawya'; kâyaz režt the letter went ofi, raft; cebas rext; dar huzūri pâdšâ reṣt X; rðēm, rðšt, rðēðn, (rðēðnðv?), rðē! 'rðydəm (tājdəm', rðicak, rðydðtk Sk. — Cf. wðrðē?

ro com Sk. travel(?), is prob. pres. 1 sg.. cf. 'rəxupəm 'sleep'(!).

red :: renn Sk , rod :: ron Sh. to flee. -

rədəm, rett. rəd! rənnī, ro'dak, rətk. — Cf. Yd. lūr-, Yazgh. raδ-; Prs. rah. rūda N, X guts. — Prs.

räg Sk. vein, tendon. — räg-i nazm pulse. — Prs.

rēg X sand. - Prs.

rəgüm Sk., rayüm Sh. heifer, yearling cow-calf. — < \*fragāma-. Cf. Yd. fəryömček.

regiš Y, ri giš X, re N, ro jiš Sk., reyiš Sh. beard. — Cf. Khow. (lw. trom Wkh.) rī giš. — Sk. compares Prs. faryīš hairs hanging down (sarfurðð) from below (az zēr-i) a furcoat, a dirty garment with torn hem (Asadī, with quotation from Labībī) < \*fra·gaisya-, cf. Av. gaēsa-.

rūyņ Y, rūyun X, 'rūynn Sk., ruyn Sh. (rēyn W fr. Ishk.) clarified butter, rogun Sh. fat, grease. — Cf. Yd. rūyn.

rəyət, rəyd L young she-goat. -<\*fra-gatā? Cf. rəgūm.

rah-zan Sk. robber. — Prs. rauj Sh. flame.

ruk Y, N, Sk, rök, ruk L, rük Sh. forchead — Cf. Prs. rux, röx cheek < \*sraxwa., Skr. srakva. sykva(n)-corner of the mouth.</p>

ri kōb Sk. stirrup. — Ar.-Prs.

ra,qō'sī/ē car-, rəq° Sk. to dance. — Ar.·Prs.

rakš Y grey; rakš L brown. — Prs. raxš. Prob. lw., ef. § 60.

rami: ramatt- Sh. to command. — Pres, 3 sg. rīmit. — Cf. Sar. rāmi-: rāmōd, Prs. farmūdan.

ra'muš- X, 'rimuš-: rimošt (rumušak) Sk., rəmiš-: ròmšot- Z to forget. — Cf. Yd. fərmo-.

ramet L, ramot Sh. chewing the cud. -

Poss. < \*raumaða (Bal. römast < \*raumað + ta³), ef. Frisk, Goteborgs Högskolas Ársskrift. 1936: 2, 14 The similarity with Santali remet 'third stomach of ruminants is probably incidental.

ron Y, X, N, Sk. thigh. - Prs.

run Sh. shelf. — Cf. Sar. rūn; Sgl. frūn plank.

rand-: δet- Y. rānd- X, rānd-. ratt- Sk.. rand-. ratt. satt. Kl., rand : ratt. sett. Sh.,  $\delta \tilde{a} \delta \cdot T$ ;  $\delta e t$  Hj. to give. — yupk rănd Y give water; betäi you gave. wuz tar kitáb randem I give you a book: tu mar kitab rand; yimë betem tārek I gave it to you; tu mārek kitâbe detäi Y. wuz tawar ī rūpīa rāndem I give you a rupee; mark ī rūpīa rande X: rāndəm, rānd, rānd!, 'rattəm (or rătum, bəttum), rən'dak, rattətk Sk.:  $ra\delta \mathring{a}n$  inf. Sh.:  $l \partial \delta \delta w(ak)$ inf. Kl. — δet· < \*dita·, raδå·n < fra-da-? But the Pres. Stem prob. < rad., with nasal infix rand., and, with secondary preter, ratt-.  $r \check{a} t(t)$ , Kl.  $r \partial t < r \check{a} \cdot t a$ .

rpidāg, pridāk Sk. strap, leather belt. rang Sk. colour. — Prs.

rang Y, X male ibex, rang. - Prs.

rānjk Sh. light, fast. — Cf. Sar. r̄̄nj. Geiger (p. 302) compares Av. comparative rənjyō.

rīp Y, Sh., St., rip Sk. hair on the body; rip N hair, rīp L hair of animals. — Sar. reb from Wkh.. or with epenthesis. Poss. < \*raupi-, ef. Norse reyfi wool torn from sheep, etc. (v. Walde-Pokorny, II, 354, reupto tear out).</p>

rū piā X rupee. - Ind.

rapic-: rapagn. Sh. to lose the way;

rapecuv- caus. — Cf. Walde-Pokorny, II. p. 10, s.v. peig-?

repk Sh. refuse, rapk sweepings. - Cf. Yd. rufo.

rrpk X neck-rope of the yoke. — If correct, < \*raib[paka-, ef. Engl. rope, etc.??

rur: rord- Sh. to make equal in height, stretch out. extend. offer, present. — Cf. Sar. ror: rord id.: Av. frā-arto assign to, to approach; but Tumchnk Saka ror- to give < fra-var-.

rus L hole, burrow.

röst Y, X, Sk. right (hand), true. — Prs. röst gūi Sk. truthful. — Prs.

rəstəv:: rəstövd- Y, rasedav:: rasedovd Sh., rəstv- Kl. to cut, break; caus, of rased: rasen- Sh. to break (of a rope); but note rasud-: rasan- Sh. to cut off; rəsd-: rəsn Kl. 'buridan'. — pu câkuwen rəstəvəm Y. — < \*frasid-, cf. EVP., s.v. šlēdəl. V. Barr, Phl Psalter, p. 58, s.v. plsn-.

rūš I. Ovis Poli, Be. male oorial. — Cf. Bur. rūš, bnt Or. rōs, Sar. raos. rūš Hj. auger. — Denied by Sk rōšana'ī X light, brightness. — Prs

rū'šān Sk. light. — Prs.

rešip L, rašīp Sh. whip. — \*fra-æšwaipa-, cf. Av. xšvaēpa-, xšvaēwa-, etc. ' But cf. § 60.

rešpuk L bobbin; rašpuk Sh. shuttle.

— Cf. Av. fra-spā- to throw into?
rišta Y, raw'te W root-fibre. — Prs.
rə wâr Y, rə wōr, rw or Sk., rwår Sh.,
etc. day. — cə būr rə wár Y: rə wōr the
day Sk. — \*fra-vahra-, cf. Skr. vasraday (Lex.).

rəwəz-: rəwəzd- Sk., rāwez-: rāwezd- Sh. to fly. — Cf. Shgh. rewāz, etc., M.Ir.N.W. frwšt-. Av. frā-vaz rax W dung of cows and sheep. — Cf. Ishk. yarx.

rux Y, ruxn N. rəšt W (< Ishk. daylight). rūxn Sh. dawn. — Cf. Or. roxm, Shgh. rux. — Cf.

rucy Y, rūxun, rūxun Sk., ruch Sh., roc H. B white; ruxun X bright: ruxum yekta Sk. a white shirt. — Cf. rəx nig.

rəx'nīg Y, N, rere nī X. rəx nī W. rɨxnīy Sk., raxnīg Sh. fire. — rəxnīg dīt the fire burns; rəxnīgi picevəm I light a fire Y; rəx'ənī pidingam id. X; rəxenig mert the fire went out X. — Genuine. or Prs.? V. § 60. Cf. Sgl. ṣənaī.

režup. 'rožopt Y, 'rižup: rižupt Sk..

ružp: rožopt Sh. to sleep. — wuz

nīv 'režupəm I am sleeping now:

'iyəm 'xalg nīv rožupt this man fell

asleep now; 'roxoptəm, wūzum rox
optei 'xau kardam'; tər-mis 'rožoptei

Y; ri əžupəm, ružu'păk Sk. — Note

'rəžupəm Sk. sleep!?. < \*fra-hwap
rux'sat X leave. — r° kerk, vit; uz

ruy- L to bay, howl. — Cf. Skr. rā'yati.
rīz-: rözd- Sh. to rip up a seam. — Sar.
raoz- points to ancient \*rauz- < \*leug(cf. Walde Pokorny leug- to break?).
rūz X day. — Prs.

tawarke ro gužum. -- Ar. Prs.

riza barg X poplar. — \*Prs. rezg L saline efflorescence.

rīzəm L soot; rizm Sh. black at the bottom of a kettle. — Also in Sar. rūzā'xur X, zar-āxūr Sh. manger. —\*Prs.? rāž, rā'žēk L sitting dais: rāž Sh. platform, seat of honour. — Cf. Yd. raža. rīž: rīžd- Sk., riž- Sh. to feel pain (Sh.

Also to be angry).  $-ri\hat{z}d$  ( $\hat{z}=\hat{z}$ ?) Sk. pain, cf. Sar. rizd (Be). S

sī W thirty. - Prs.

siī Y, sīūi N, sāi W, siy Sk., sui Sh. hare. — Cf. Yd. sīy.

sēb small apple. — Prs.

sub X dawn. - Ar.-Prs.

sa bab X cause, reason. — či s° ke nivdī? why did you weep? — Ar.-Prs. sub damik X in the morning. — \*Ar.-Prs.

si'buk Y, 'sebuk X light (of weight). — Prs.

si bās Sh. back, rear, tar so behind. — V. cebas.

sic Y, X, Sh., sij Sk. needle. — < \*suċi... cf. Sar. sīc, Shgh. sej, Or. sec, etc. sad Sk., Sh. a hundred. — Prs.

sadbarg X centifolium. — Prs.

sau do gar Sk. merchant. — Prs. sə diy: sədöid Sk., suδuy: saδoid Sh.

to appear. — mārək sədüid, sədöidi, sədöidak, °dətk Sk. I feel, felt, etc.; yārək eš) sədüid(eš) he feels; 'sākək sədiydešt, or 'sākəkeš sədiyd 'we feel'. — Av. sad., Khow. lw. sar., etc. suð; ') Sh. smooth. — Sar. suðy. Cf. såt. suðy ') Sh. height-sickness. — Sar. suðy.

saoγ - Sar. saoγ.
 safi dōr X, safe dâr W poplar. — Prs.
 sə gīn Y, sar gīn X, sigin Sh. horsedung; skīn L yak's dung; sigin B cow-dung. — Cf. Yd. γu-skən (sargīn fr. Prs.).

sa'gâwī Y, āwī X, W otter (Sh. kamā).
— Prs.

sεγ∂ri L rump of horse. - Turk.

 $s\partial^{1}\gamma \bar{\imath}r$  Y orphan. — Cf. Sgl.  $sa\gamma \bar{e}r$ .

sihat Sk. in health. — Ar. Prs.

sak Y, X, Sk., etc. wc. — sak yāwan we eat: sak sāv dīnen we beat you; yem spa xūn this is our house Y. sak Waxī xalge we are Wakhis; sakar īgōn īgōn rūpīa rande give us one rupee each; tu cīzir saker dīng? why do you beat us? ispa xōn lup our house is big; ayem xōn ispacan this house is ours: but also ispā Xanduti xalg we are Khandutis ispa said to be used lower down—pāyān—or in jest—tōka) X; sak yawum we eat X; sākən, spō, etc. Sk. Cf. § 118 sq.

sək Kl. ou (skəm on this, etc.. — Av. nska-. V. iska-.

sik X, L. sīk-tahl Be. spleen. — Prs. sik vinegar. Or, ef. Sgl. sūyūk?

skīd Y, skīδ Sh., Hj. (embroidered) skull-cap. — < \*skauda-, cf. Lat. cūdō, etc. (Hübschmann, KZ, 24, 412).</p>

skaf: skaft. L to trip. — Cf. Prs. dial. kaftan to fall.

se ken Y. sken N, skön Sh. puppy. — Cf. Yd. cekeina.

səkr Y, Sk., sıkr Sk., sokr Sh., so ərx X, W red; seker X white C. — Cf. Yd. sur.c.

skārč, v. škorč.

skörd Y, skörd Sk., Sh., Kl., \$\langle k\tilde{b}r\tilde{c} \colon P. X bridge; skord Sh. eyelash (also Sar. yeid bridge, eyelash, cf. semantically Schrijuen, KZ., 50. 144. < \*skadra· \*plank, cf. W.P., s.v. sqed.?

skurf Y rough.

sekve det (?) Y in: xaly wuz s go xum I seud somebody.

sāl X, sāl Sh. year. — Prs.

sail X walk, promenade. - Ar.-Prs.

salâm X salutation. — s° gužt. žat.

- Ar. Prs.

sal·mā X bird-net attached to a stick.Prs.

sal lot Sk. soldier. - Russ.

· sul tân X king. - Ar.-Prs. s.im L edge. - Also in Werchikwar. səm W. sum Sh., sumb Be. hoof. səm. etc. fr. Prs.? simbu'lā X n. of a month. - Ar. Prs. səm bonak Y, obanak Sk., sanba nak Hj pellet-bow. - Cf. Yd. xəsmānak. səm vər Y, sanvar St., siver L. sivar Sh., saval Be. yoke. - < \*sami-bara. cf. Yd -Mj. sām. san-: sat- Kl. to mount, ascend, bolo baromadan. — Sogd. san. Cf. also Bailey, BSOS, IX, 77. sīna, sī nā X female breast, sī nā Sk. (W.Wk.) breast. - Prs. san'dug Y, son° X box. - Ar.-Prs. sin'don X, san'dal Sh. anvil. - Prs. səlnör 1) N daughter-in-law. - Prs. sənör 3) Sk. thin, narrow (thing). sangbulgă Sk. tortoise. — Prs. sangurt L, singurt Sh. beetle. - sang stone + \*wart(r)a- 'armour'? spa. v. sak. sup L spider.  $spe\delta/\vartheta k$  L sole of foot. —? + padyaka. span-: spat to fill up (of river). — Denom. < \*us parnă·. sopundr Y, sipundor X, spūno Sk. ploughshare; spundr Sh. plough. - < \*sponr \*spārana-,cf. Shgh., Rosh. sepērn Z. sipor X ploughshare - Prs. seperdanj Y, speridenj Sk., sparbenj Sh. tlea. - < \*spardana-či-, cf. Av. spərəd- eagerness, Old Norse spradka to kick, flounder, etc. (cf. Tomaschek, p. 769).

spray Sk., spray Sh, sapro; Kl. flower.

blossom. V. sprež.

- Cf. Khow, lw. isprū, Av. fra-

sparaya- a shoot, Sogd. spry- to

sipurz Y spleen. - Prs. sprež- L to blossom. - Cf. Khow, lw. isprenž- to blossom, Sak, haspalisto cause to blossom. V. spray. si pask Y rafter. — Cf. Shgh. sipāšc. sar Y, N. săr Sk., sār Sh., sōr X, sīr W head. - Prs. sor L beap of winnowed grain. sir Y. Sk., sur Sh. sur St. cold. - Cf. Av. sāra sti- cold fever. - V. wasēr-. su'rī Sk. cold (noun'. - Kl. surey. sor-čibaxt W back of the head. - V. čebaxt. sērdin'gī X of this year. - Cf. Av. saraba., etc. V. parbinai, wu'serd. sārək Sk. to-morrow. — From Ar.-Prs. sahar. · sar mo Sk. cold. - Prs. sērv Sh. hole, sarv Be, pit. - Cf. Yd. surv. sur xã X male markhor. — Cf. Ishk. sur.vā, and also Sar. rušt yuej red deer, markhor. - \*Prs. sāiš t Y, Sh., saš X, sāuiš Sk. you (pl.). - sāišt kūi? who are you? sāiš čizir maž dief? why do you beat me? sāiš cerak žič yāvov? what kind of food do you eat? sāiš yupk povec you drink water; sak sav dinen we beat you; yem xun savan this house is yours Y; saš kūi tūet, who are you? saš žeč yawit-a? do you eat bread? saš cum nafar wezg? how many of you have come? wuz sab dimim I beat you; i dead saban tuet you had a daughter; ayem xon safan-a? is this house yours? safan di'or ce 'kuman? 'deh i šumā kudām ast?' wuz sabar . . . rāndəm I give you . . . X; cf. L (Bur. Texts, p. 341) SA $b\varepsilon$ ; W tumux(1) is Ishk, — Cf.

§ 118 sq.

stau-: staudi- L, sto-, situo: stod- Sh. to praise. — Cf. Sar. stāu-, Prs. sitūdan.

såt Sh. baking pan slate. — < \*sāta- ! flat, smooth? Cf. Yd. sūī. V. suð<sub>?</sub>. sō at Sk. hour. — Ar,-Prs.

satk Y, setk L. Sb., sətk Kl. satisfied.—
satk um vītei.— Ir. \*sitaka- supports
the transl. of šitá- RV. VIII, 23, 13
as 'satisfied'.

'stîn Y, sitin X, stin W post, pillar. -Cf. Sgl. \*stîn.

si târ Y, °ōr X, istōra N, stōr Sk., stār Sh., s³tōr Z, 'stiruk W (Ishk', "zothroog" (== \*sətrug) Olufsen star.

— Prs.?

səlrei Y, strəi Sk., strēi Sh. female. —
strəi-pirk Sk. she-mouse. — Cf. Or.
sıtrēlāj, Sar. stīr, Av. strī-. — Wkh.
(and Or.?) point to Ir. \*stray(ī), a
form unknown elsewhere. — Hj. -šəō
(in purk-šəō) is an Ishk. form, and
its existence in Wkh. is denied by Sk.
s(x)trīn L barren, childless. — \*starī-nī-.
Cf. Skr. starī-, Prs. astarvan (Horn
716).

stranj L cotton carpet, "durree". --

strās- Sh. to be splasled up. — Cf. Sar. zatrās-, "us-tras- 'to be frightened, stirted up'?

störs L plough-share.

s<sup>I</sup> təž Y, istež X, stəž Sk., Kl. daughterin-law, ef. 'siahh bidganz' = \*staž vitkanj) Be. bride. — Cf. Yd. zinio.

s<sup>9</sup>tiy-: stətt- Sk., stuy-: statt Sh. to send. — stuyāk, stu'yətk Sk. — Cf. Sgl. āstay-.

8AvAnd cər- L to throw away. — \*haçadwan + ta-? Cf. Orm.k. cwan- to shake. sāvz Y, savz Sh., sāvz šīy Sk. blue; sāvz Sk. green. — Prs.

siw: sowd Sk., såy. såmd Hj. to rub.

— 'siyəm' (corr. from sijəm'), siyd,
sūw. sō"dəm. su wak, o'wətk Sk. —
Cf. Yd. sā-, Sgl. såmb-.

sa wâr X horseman. — Prs.

sux- l. to rub; sux-: soxt Sh., səx- Z to smear, jostle.

sə xan Sk. word. - Prs.

sōy- Sk. to be unmarried. — sōyəm, sōy, sōy! sōyəm tū not sōidəm, nor inf. or past. ptc. — Cf Lith. šeirŷs widower, and Oss. sī/ējār, Kurd. sīwī orphan, v. Henning, Mir. Man. III, 61, s.v. sywg.

sâya Y, saya X shade. - Prs.

sauza Y, sovz X, sabza W, savză Sk. grass. — Prs.

sūz Sh. a cold blast; soz cool. — Cf. Sar. sauz, fr. Prs. sōz.

sauzitūti X n. of a bird (green parrot?).

- \*Prs.

# Š

šāi Y fat, rich. — Av. xšaya· ruler. Cf. Shgh. šayēn pl. "khans".

šui St. moraine, place covered with stones. — Cf. Skr. kṣaya- waste, decay?
šač Y, W, X, N, Sk., Sh., etc. dog. —
fem. \*swačī(?), v. § 33.

šād¹) Y, X, N, Sk., šāð W, L, Sh., šað Kl., šal H six. — Cf. § 116.

 $\tilde{s}\tilde{a}d^{2}$ . Sk. open enclosure for goats and sheep. — If  $\tilde{\xi}$ , possibly = Bartangi  $\tilde{x}\tilde{o}\delta < *sr\tilde{a}da$ . But  $\tilde{a} < *\tilde{a}?$ 

čīδ L uphill, žiδ Sh. steep. paž<sup>3</sup> uphill. čaf tölu X peach. — Prs.

 $\check{\varepsilon} \partial_{\check{\tau}} d$  Kl. sort, class,  $x \bar{e} l$ .

 $\check{s}a^{\dagger}\gamma or$  W hedgehog. — Lw? Cf. Yd.  $\check{s}a^{\dagger}\gamma or$ .

"šγrt" (?] Sk. ibex (Swedish "stenget"). šau'har X, šawar Sh. husband. — Prs. šū'jiš X, šau žī W hip. — Cf. Sgl. šəu'žī.

šak Y, Sk. St., šāk Sh. bad. — Cf. Ishk. šakk.

škop L castrated ox). — IE (s)qop-(Walde-Pokorny, II. 559) to cut, etc., (cf. especially Slav. skopiti to castrate).

škūrg-. škūrd- Sk. (reg.), škūr-: škūrd-Sh. to seek. — Cf. Ishk. škarr-, Yd. škūr-, Sar. žkār-.

škāv-: škāvd- (škò'vāk, 'vētk) Sk. to catch a cold. — škāfk fever. — Cf. Ishk. škāv.

šilė, š- L, šilė Sh. cloven hoof.

šölg Sh. piece of brick. — Cf. Sar. xalg. šilāp- Sh. to splash, slop, surge. — Cf. Sar. wašlåb-. — Cf. Brahui šalāping to dabhle something in water, fr. Bal. ??

ši lax Y, šilaž Sh. naked. — Cf. Yd. ši lex.

šolx Y, šolė X, šolx Sh., St., šalx B but šâx W, šox Sk. hranch. — Prs., but with unexplained l.

šâm Y evening. — Prs.

 $\check{s}\check{\epsilon}m$ :  $\check{s}\check{\epsilon}vd$  L to beat and clean wool.  $\check{s}\check{a}m$   $b\check{a}f$  W spider. — \*Prs.

ša'mõl Sk. north, š<sup>3</sup>'mõl, š<sup>10</sup> wind (W. Wkh.). — Ar.-Prs.

šamonak L branch.

šona X, šå° N shoulder. — Prs.

šănd-: šanddi- (šandid- misprint? Sh. to mix, compound, rub up in water. šendik L a kind of vine, grape.

Sundr Sk, šond<sup>3</sup>r L, šūndr Sh., šundrẽ?

Kl. hot (acc. to Sk. only about the weather). — Cf. Shund (Olufsen) n. of a vill., v. § 5. Possibly < \*kwon-roor \*kwondh-ro- (not \*kwontro-, cf. s.v.

mutr), cf. Arm. šand 'spark, red hot iron' < \*kwnti-??

šundrī Sk. heat.

šenawa'rī X, š∂<sub>1</sub>nōwa rē Sk. swimming.
— Prs.

šin L wedge for plough-share.

šāp- Sh. to suck the hreast. — Cf. Yd. šuv-.

šop Be. knife; whey (??,.

šūp L night's halt; šub'r halak Sh. to pass the night (= Sar. xâbar reidao).
Cf. Av. xšap, etc. Note the distinction between šūp and nayd.

šputδk L bare footed. — Cf. Bal. šafud, \*šawāδ (Mayer), Brahui (lw.) šapād. But what is š(a)-?

šipk I. twig, šòpk Sh. rod. — Cf. Sar. řēib. — V. s.v. rašip. — Or cf. Skr. kšupaka- bush, shruh?

špū/um L, špun Sh. shepherd. — Cf. Prs. šubān, etc.

šaupa rak Y, °ek W. šapārak Sh. bat.
— Prs.

šapt, v. šapt.

šaptal X clover. — Prs.

špaxuv- L to make explode.

šār Sk. town. — Prs.

šār. Sh. to slander. — Cf. Sar. šõr.

šér W tiger(?), 8k. lion. — Prs.

šūr, šīūr Y, šūūr L, šūr X, šurum X cowdung; šūrm W horsedung. — šūr(u)m fr. Ishk. (v.s.v.). šūr < \*šāra-from šā(y)· (AirWb. s.v. frašāimna·), cf. formally Skr. kṣārá- from kṣāy-ati.

šārm Sk. shame. — Prs.

šärmin'da Sk. ashamed, šarmindagī shame. — šärmin'da na wocē shame! — Prs.

šī'rīn X sweet. — Prs.

širši rā Y, šarša rā X waterfall; šerše rā Sk. waterfall in small streams. — Prs. šur vâ Y, cwā X, šər vē Sk. soup. — Prs. ši rāw: ši rānd- Sh. to tell one's beads. — Cf. Sar. našrāw-. — < \*srāwaya-?</p> šiš Y, X, Sh., Z louse. - Cf. Yd. spūo. šât W honey. — Ar.-Prs. šət, v. šət. šot L early evening meal.

*šot* Sh. landslip. — Skr. *kṣati-* destruction? Cf., semant., Khow. hon inundation < Skr. hanu.

štīk Sk, štīk L, šetīg Hj. play, joke; šitik (Olufsen) game played with bone pegs. — Cf. Khow. iştuk, ištuq.

šitk Sk. murderer. - V. šay-.

štir v. ištīr.

štūr Gr. calf. — Cf. Ishk. šutur.

štref. L, štröf. Sh. to sneeze.

štrax- L to knock against, štrāx- Sh. to trip up, štrāž- to impinge, brush against. šatta X sole of the foot.

ši ven Y, ši ben X, šivan Sh., Be. rope; še'vun Sk. cord. — Fr. Khow. šimeni. šuw-: šāud- L to gnaw. - < \*xšaw. Cf Ishk. ¿āw to chew (Zar.).

šâx W branch; šōx X horn. — Prs. V. šolx. šux Y, Z, šok X hard; šuž žâk Sh. to tighten. — Cf. Sgl. šōx.

 $\delta a x \partial k$  Sk. hail. — V.  $\delta ax$ .

šxēlān Sh. whistle. — Onomatopoetic, cf. Prs. šipēl, etc., Psht. špēlai.

šaxs- L, šoxs- Sh., šəxs Kl. to pass through. — Note: yi sōat 'šəxsətk one hour has passed, Kl. p. 94. -(f. Sgl. šəxs-.

šay- X, šāy-: šīt- Y, šáy-: šitt- Sk., Kl., šāy: šītt- Sh. to kill. — wuz ī xalg šāyem; wuz ī xalg-em šitei Y; kūi šayum I kill somebody X; 'šäyəm, šīt(t), šăy! išittəm, šəiyāk, šəiyətk (šītk) Sk. - Cf. Av. xšay- to destroy(?', Bal. šīay to devour, shear.

Š

fou Y, šū N, šau W, šou Sk.. šao Sh., šēw Z horn. — Cf. Sgl. šou.

šīu Y, X, šīw Sk.. šū L, šū Sh., xūi W black. — šīu jitr X; šui čirāk Olufsen torch. — Cf. Sgl.  $\S \bar{u}i$ , Khow.  $\S \bar{a}$ .

šačuv- Sh. to filter, strain. - Derivation from \*srac-, ef. Lith. šlaketi 'to drip', is improbable.

šafš Y, Kl., šašp X, šafč N, šāfš Sk., Sh., š šafš L bair (acc. to Olufsen, p. 71 "shafch" are the two long plaits worn by married women). - Cf. Pis. šafš, thin branch, šifša, id., ringlet; Phl. Psalter špšy rod. — Assim. from \*šafš?

 $\xi \partial y d$  Y.  $\xi \partial y de$  X.  $\xi \partial y d$  Sh. new. — Cf. Shgh. (Sk.) šərdä the younger?

 $\xi Ak$  L,  $\xi/\delta ak$  Sk. white frost, dew. — Cf. Ishk. šok, Sar. žok.

škandiv-: škat- Y, iškang- X, škandavškando avd- Sk., škondv- Kl., škend- L, škond : škott (inf. škodan) Sh. to break (tr.); škeθ-, šken- L, škūr-. škond- Sh. to break (intr.); škon-: škond- Sh. to quench one's thirst; caus. škabuv-Sh. — žvngi škondivom I break a stick Y. — Cf. Yd. skəd-.

skupn Sh. sling.

škorč Y. Kl., skorč L, skorč Be. burning coal. - Cf. Psht. skor, etc.

šīn Y, šīn X anus; tam šīn Sh., sak-šīn St. podex - Cf. Yd. sino.

šend L, šönd Sh. raven. - Cf. Khow. Jw. sonthu, Oss. sint; Saka ssund. š šendik L gums. — Put cf. šendik vine.

ing Y, X, šūng N, Sk., L, Sh. wood, stick. - Cf. Yazgh. xany, Sak. ssimgya- branch; Skr. srnga-. Khow. (lw.) srung horn. — Cf. semantically Prs.  $\delta \tilde{a}x$ , Par.  $\delta i$  horn, branch. — V. EVP. s.v.  $\delta \delta ngarai$ .

sānj Y. šūnj Sk., L. šunj Sh., šo inj L. hip. (Sh. also flank, side). — Cf. Prs. dial. ša inj < \*sraoničī-. V. šīn. səŋ gər Y, šəŋ gər, ši- Sk., šiŋ ger L, siŋgar Be. guts. — Cf. Khow. saŋgūr (lw.?). — < \*strang(a'ra-, cf. Engl.</p>

string, Gr. στφαγγάλη string, etc.? šūpiš Y n. of an animal resembling an otter, with valuable fur. — šū·piš = black cat?

šapt, šāft X, šapt N, Sk., L. Sh. wolf. — Cf. Sar.  $\check{x}i\partial p$ . Early  $l\tilde{w}$ . from Khow.  $\check{s}a^{\dagger}p\check{r}r < \check{s}apita$ - cursed. Cf. §§ 10, 37.

šiš L,  $i\check{x}$  Sh.,  $i\check{x}n$  Kl. near. —  $sp\bar{a}$ - $six_{i}$  Sk. — < \*srišna- clinging to?

§ū̄; Y, L, šūš X, Sk., šiš N, žož W, šuš Sh., Z lungs. — Prs.

šūš-dard Sk. inflammation of the lungs.
— Prz.

říšk Y, X, šūšk Sk., šhšk Sh., Olufsen (p. 69), ř šūš/šk L high boots made of untanued leather.

§ət Y, xet X, set Sb., St. earth, soil; sət Sk. dust. — Cf. Sgl. sət.

šax Y, šaš X. šāx Sh. pea, mušung;

šax Sk. bean. — Cf. Bartangi, etc.

xāš Sk. bean.

### T

tu Y, X, Sk., Sh., to W thou. — tu t kūi? who art thou? tu mar kitâb rand give me a book: wuz tau dīmom I beat thee; yem xūn tīnen this house is thine; nīv ti zik kṣuyom now I hear thy voice; wuz tar kitâb random I give thee a book: yimē δetem tārek

I gave it to thee Y; tu kuī? who art thon? tu be wuzum bring it; wuz tī (tau) dīməm I beat thee; żu xōnan ti xōn lup thy house is bigger than mine; yau xōn tinan that house is thine; tinan čis yark tu? was there any work for thee? tīna rūpīa durzəm I take money from thee; wuz tawar ī rūpīa rāndəm I give thee one rupee; uz tawarke ruxsat guxum I give thee leave; wuz targ disam I know thee; turk cəbas kâ; az goxum I give thee a letter back X; tə nūng thy name Sk.; təfak thee W (= Ishk.). — Cf. § 118 sq.

tei : tu- X. Sh., tai : tū Sk., thei -: tho tinetk) I. to be. - čiš xabar tei? what is the matter? nong S. tu his name was S.: you mīrâxūr tū he had a groom; pâdšá tūet there was a king; tinen i degde tuet you had a daughter; xūb maza tu'et it tasted good (prob. with thet for pf. ptc. \*tūetk); but saš kūī tūet? who are you? (prob. with tuet 2 pl., cf. § 154) X;  $t \ni y \ni m$ ,  $t \ni i$  (there is),  $t \ni i!$ ,  $t \bar{u}(m)$ , (2 sg.  $t\bar{u}t$ ; 3 sg.  $t\bar{u}$ , 1 pl.  $s\bar{a}ken\ t\bar{u}$ ), tə yak, tūtk/tə yətk Sk.; žənən təi I have Sk. -- Probably of pronominal origin, cf. Psht. dai he is, etc. V. humu-.

tõi Y, X, W, Sk. colt. — Cf. Yd. taya. tõi Sk. wedding. — Prs.

toba'lă Sk. grazing ground. — \*Prs.

tablar'ză Sk. fever. — Prs.

tōbə, is¹tōn Sk. summer. — Prs.

tač. Sk. to go; tbč: tbčt Sh. to move, shift. — Sk. only in tač imper. 2 sg. — \*tačya-, cf. Sar. tej-, Shgh. tīz-, Ishk. tōrd, and Wkh. tukan. tařd (v. s.v. čāw-).

tāf Sk., Sh. steam. — Prs.
tuf Y, Sh.. tūf Sk. saliva. — Prs.
tňγ Y, N, Sk., Sh., tūg X she-goat (Y, X also female ibex). — Cf. Par. töγ male mountain goat. Wkh. γ disproves immediate connection with Turk. Prs. taka he-goat. — V. tux.
tεγd L, taγd Sh. sharp. — \*tixta-, Sar.
tēid; cf. E.Oss. ciγd cheese (Miller, p. 25), Skr. tiktá- bitter.
taγom L, taγm Sh., taγm Z, tēγm W

 $tu_{\gamma}^{u}m$ . tak Sk. button.

to ki Y, tqi Sh. full, much, many. — .calyi toki žoč yāwan many people eat bread.

(Islik. seed). — V. tuxm. — Cf. Yd.

tåge Sk. cap. - Prs.

to ko X alone. — wuz·um t·. — Prs., ef. Yd. toko.

tik Sk., tuk Sh. willow; teik Capus tuk Kl. tree. — Tomaschek (s. 791) comp. Skr. toka- shoot. But cf. Prs. tāk vine, tā<sub>i</sub> tree, tō<sub>i</sub> n. of a certain wood; Psht. tā<sub>i</sub>a elm, poplar. V. Nyberg, MO, 25, 189. Wkh. ī cannot go back to au.

tə qnm Sk. donkey's saddle. — Turki. təki yā Y pillow. — Ar.-Prs.

toqat'dor Sk. patient. — Ar.-Prs.

ti lâ Y, °o X, tillå Sk., Sh. gold. — Prs.

til pak Y, °ek X woollen cap. — Turki, cf. Shgh. talpak.

talx Y bitter. — Prs.

təm'būn Y, tam'bōn X, tumbån Sh. trousers, tumbūn Olufsen cotton breeches. — Prs.

ta mo kū Sk. tobacco. — Prs.

to mis Sk. July. - Ar.-Prs.

tan Sk. body. - Prs.

35 - Kulturforskning.

tanē. Sh. to fold (sheep). — Cf. Sogd.

tyny- to bring (Reichelt, Stud. Indo-Ir.,

251 < ati-nay.?

tun·: tond L to work dough with hands into cakes of bread. — < tan· to spread out?

tan'dūr Y, tun dur Sk., tungur Sh. thunder. — Prs.

tang Y, X, Sk. narrow. - Prs.

ton X, tung Sh. hard.

tap Y, B, tīp X wing. — Cf. Rosh. tēf Sk. V. tăp.

tàp-: tapt Sh. to quake, shake. — Prs. t.speč cor- L to water.

t.spk v. pätk.

tâpik Y forehead.

t<sup>o</sup>pār Y, ti<sup>o</sup> Sh., tpŏr Sk., ta bar X (Prs.) axe. — Cf. Yd. tu'vor.

trũi Y, X, N, Sk., Sh., t<sup>9</sup>rũi W three. — Cf. § 116.

ta rī X very wet. - Prs.

to'ră Sk. thither: tə'rət Sk. there. — V. § 133.

tor Sh. net. — Prob. Prs.: but Sar. tur id. seems to be genuine, cf. Yd. tūr. tōr Sk. neck, tor St. back of the head.

- Cf. Sogd. tār, Sak. ttāra- forehead, Prs. tāra crown of the head. V. tārak.

tor Y, Sk., tor Sh., tor L walnut.

tar biz Sk. melon. - Prs.

tau'rič Y roof-board.

tirīē L dark. — \*taθriya-čī?

tīr-ī-dast Y, tīr X arrow - Prs.

tārak W collar-bone. — But Prs. tārak top of the head. V. tār.

törik X, °ik Sk. dark; töri ki Sk. darkness. — Prs.

trakė L bitter; traėk B insipid; truė St. bitter, bad-tasting; trāė Sh. badtasting. — From IA., cf. Khaw. trok bitter? tə rəm Sk. hither. — Cf. § 133. tira mō Sk. antumn. — Prs. tər mis Y formerly, before. — V. mis. trāng Sk. girth-strap. — Cf. Yd. trok. trin X sour milk. — Fr. Khow. trīn. tur piču X n. of a bird, turpiču.

triš Sk. sour milk. — pāi truš. — Prs.

tarš Y adze. — Prs.

t<sup>9</sup>rešp Y, trešp L, t<sup>9</sup>r<sup>9</sup>šp Z, trešp Sh, t<sup>1</sup>rūš X (Prs.) sour; tužp Sk, = q<sup>9</sup>rūt. — Cf. Yd. trīšp.

tort Y the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow; torter X, tortur Bi., tor'terok Hj. to-morrow; tort B the day before yesterday; the day after to-morrow. — < \*t/ta- third (not found elsewhere in Ir.)? But there is no other instance of Wkh. or < ?.

turt I., turt Sh. ford. — Prob. from Khow. thūrt.

 $t^{\bar{j}}r\hat{a}^{\dagger}z\bar{u}$  Y,  $tar\hat{a}^{\dagger}z\bar{e}$  Sk. scales. —  $t^{\perp}$  .vaşəm Y I weigh. — Prs.

təs ken W instep.

tasma-¹kaš W knife. — \*Prs. ('strapeutter', ef. Wkh. žaš to cut?).

tiš W iron (??) — Cf. Bur. tiš ploughshare < Wkh.?

tīša X adze. — Prs.

təš Sk., tēš/š L empty; təš- Sh., təš car-Sk. to empty out. — < \*tus(s)ya-(cf. Nyberg, Stud. Indo-Ir., 214 sq.). — Cf. Sgl. təš-.

teš L steam. — \*tafšya-?

tiš: tášt. Y, tūš. X to shave; tūš.: tošt. L to fashion with an axe; tuš.: tošt. Sh. to cut, whittle. — Cf. Mj. tīž.

tat Y, X, tāt Sk., Sh., tōt W (Ishk.) father.—yeu tate nong Y his father's name.— Cf. Yd. tat. tūt Y, X, W, N, tīt Sk. mulberry. — Prs.

tət vārt Sk., tıtıwərt L the year before last. < \*tərt., v. tört, °vārt < \*-par u't? tīwde, v. vāw-.

ta wīl X stable. — cebūr yaš yōwer t<sup>z</sup> vīt he had four horses in the stable; t<sup>z</sup> yoxum. — Prs.

toxtox X cough, — t gužəm, — V,  $q\bar{\sigma}x$ , tux Sk, ram W, Wkh.). — V,  $t\tilde{u}\gamma$ .

tuxm Y, tv. um X single grain. - Prs. V. tηγυm.

təx'mury Y, Sk., tuxm-i-mury N, tuxmury St. egg. — Prs.

tax'šim car· X to divide. — Ar.-Prs. — With š from baxš·?

tax Y, tāx Sh., taxm Sk. thirsty. — taxm vitk is thirsty. — \*tṛšma-? Cf. Yd. təšna.

tīz Y, X sharp. — tēz car. Sk. to whet. — Prs.

tōż. L to remain, continue.

### Θ

 $\vartheta in$  Y, B, sin X hot.  $-<*\vartheta din<$ 

verd L spots (of leopard). Cf. bard multicoloured.

virs L, v. ders.

 $\vartheta \delta t$  L, "thót" Be. lizard. — \* $\delta ati = \text{Prs. } dad \text{ wild animal?}$ 

\$\partial \text{aw}: \text{ Ott Sh., : \( \text{get} - \text{Y} \)
to burn (intr.), \( \text{diw} \cdot : \text{diwovd} \) (tr.)
Sh. \( - \text{Ott pres.} \) 3 sg., \( r \text{sensing Ottei} \)
the fire burned Y; \( \text{zu pizu tiwde X} \)
my heart burned; \( \text{dawum, Ott, Oau!} \)
\( \text{ditum, Otwik, Otwotk Sk. (intr.);} \)
\( \text{dawum, Otwd, Otwl Ottum Sk. (cans.)} \)
\( \text{to kindle a fire.} \( - \text{Cf. Sar. Oau:} \)
\( \text{dud.} < tap-? \)
\( \text{V. } \)
\( \text{27.} \)
</p>

# 1

võć Y paternal annt; Sh. maternal aunt.
võć-ung Sh. ontside; tar—võc ontside (adv.).
— Cf. Sar. vāć-enj, etc.: Sogd. βyky outside; Av. \*aiwyač-, ef. aiwitarõ outside. — Not with Bailey (BSOS. 6, 73) with original w·.

və dek Y, bi'dek X, v'we'δεk L, vaδuk Sh., waδuk St., və'dök Sk, 'dook' Bi. road, path. — Possibly < \*abi-taka-, cf. Saka ēvātā,ka) street. Scarcely < \*ā-bda ka, cf. Mj. ōv'wd ford; Av. abda- not to be trodden (?), Mekr. Bal. badūk impassable place on sea beach.</p>

viδāw: viδett· L, Sh. to ride. — \*abidaw-, cf. Prs. dawīdan.

va yē W long hair (??).

 $v\check{a}_I^*d$  Sk.,  $v\bar{a}_I d$  Sh. nightmare. — Cf. Ishk.  $v\bar{a}_I d$ .

vūl Sk., Sh. smell; vūl-Sk. to smell.
vūləm, vūli, vūl cart, vūlən, vūləv, vūl car! vūl kərtəm to smell (abstract);
vūl carəm, v° cart, v° kərtəm to smell (concrete) Sk. — From a dialect with l < δ, cf. § 36.</li>

võin X light, čirōγ; voin Sh. light, radiance. — Cf. Sar. võin. < \*bāhanĭ. cf. Saka bāy ray?

vānd-: vāst- Y, Sh., vand-: vast- Sk., vand- X to bind. — vandəm, vand, vand! vastəm, vən'dak, vən'dətk Sk. — Cf. Yd. vad-.

vir Sk, vur L, Kl. burden; vur Sh. load, baggage. — Cf. Yd. vira.

vərau Y, vrü X, N, vrəu Sk., varāo Sh., vəriw Z. vəcēr(!) W eyebrow, — <
\*brāwa-, cf. Yd. vrī; o; Saka braw sāra-.
v wərdenz- L to press, varðenz-: varðegnSh. to press down. — < \*abi-dranj-.

 $v^2r\bar{v}k$  Y, Sk., varok Sh. to-morrow. — If  $<*aparaka\cdot$  (Tomaschek, p. 750) • the word must belong to a dialect with  $\cdot p > \cdot v \cdot$ . But ef. W.Yaghn.  $f^ir\bar{\jmath}k$  (E.Yaghn.  $f^ir\bar{\jmath}nta$ ). Junker. Yaghn. Stud. I, 126, with \*fr-.

vrokš Sh. male Ovis Poli. — Cf. durukš, yukš.

varīn-: varill- Sh. to shear. — Cf. Av. bray- (brīn-), Prs. burrīdan. Keshe brīn-, etc.

'vārand-: vāratt (vərən dàk) Sk., vārāt Sh. to abuse, scold. — Cf. Sar. rān-, Ishk. vrōn-. — If < \*brand-, ef. Walde-Pokorny II, 216 bhlendh-, e.g. Old Slav. blēdi idle talk, etc.

varenj Sh. pregnant (animal). — Cf. Sar. varinz < \*barana-či.

vareš: varešt: Sh. to fry. — varešt <
\*brišta: (cf. EVP., s.v. wrīt:), with
present š from the preter. Cf. Sar.
virz: virzd (with secondary preter.),
Khow. vrenjē: (lw.), Yd. vroč.

v<sup>3</sup>rit Y, brūt X, vrīt N, v<sup>3</sup>rūt W (Ishk.), vrīt Sk., vrūt Sh., Z, Kl., 'vuroot' Bi., varīt Be., varūt H, etc. brother. — Cf. Yd. vrai.

vritkənd Y, brütkend X brother's wife(?), vritkənd Sk. wife's brother. — Cf. Prs. birādar-zan wife's brother. But cf. Sgl. vrūδkuć.

varitpatr Y brother's son.

varity-: varoid Sh. to howl, bay together.
— Cf. Sar. varati- < \*braw-ya-, cf.</p>
Av. mrav-? V. rtty-.

vərz Y, Sk., verz X, vorz Sh. long. — Cf. Sgl. vəždūk.

võrz Y, X, võrzik Z pillow. — Cf. Sgl. võzd. Yd. virzane.

vašč Y milk-pail.

višiv-: višovd Y, wišū-om) X, višov-:

vīsovd- (vīšē) vak) Sk., vīšiv- L, vīšiūu-: višiowd Sh. to sweep. — < \*abi-xšwail-?

vīt, v. wōc.

vez X long hair?'.

vizam: vizamd Sh. to rub to powder.

— Sar. vizāmb- id.; ef. Yd. vezb-.
V. wazem-.

vizvizak N wasp.

#### W

wai Sk. O.

wa'cī W calf. — Scarcely a true Wkh. word. Cf. Werchikwar wee < IA. wōc: vit Sk., wắc: vitt- Sh., vīt Y, X. N, bǐt X to become. — wōcɔm, wōst. wōc, vitk Sk. — mərz-əm (satk-əm) vītei Y I have become hungry satisfied; mālum ne vit it did not become known; sawâr vit he mounted; xušwaxt bit X he became happy: ruxn viti N it dawned. — vǐt < būta-, but wōc-?

wie Sh. grub, moth.

wūč Y, X very high, Šk. up; wuč Sh.,
Kl. high; Sk. upper (bālā); wučtar
Sk. higher. — Cf. Ishk. wuč.

wvē L, wuē Z, Kl., we Sk., 'w)uē Sh. arrow, bullet. — < \*uṣē < \*išuēi-?? wâd Y, wād X. St., wād Sk., wåδ Sh. watercourse, canal, 'aryq'; wado Ol. minor channel. — Sar. wåδ. Cf. Yd wolo.</p>

wada X time, period, — dar w<sup>3</sup>-i Sultân Mamud. — Ar.-Prs.

wūdg Y, 'wudge X, "ūdg Sk., wuòg Sh., ũòg St., etc. to-day. — wūd nā;d Y, "vådgnā;d Sk. to-night.—<\*adyaka-? wūdsr: wūdŏrd- (wuds'rak' Sk. to have, hold; wuòūr-: woòord Sh. to grasp, seize. — Cf. Sar. wabor-; Av. ava-dar-adhibere.

waδ L, wãδ Sh. handle of a tool. — Cf. Sar. wiēδ. — Cf. Av. vaδa.

wāôn Sh. root-filament. — Poss. Psht. wula 'root, fibre' belongs here, and not to Oss. widag.

 $wa_{\gamma}$  Sh. price. — From Khow.  $w\bar{a}_{\gamma}$ ' Cf. Yd.  $h\bar{u}_{\gamma}$ .

wā; L. Sh. to bleat. — Sar. wå; id.; Shgh. way to bellow.

wa jab N span. — Ar.-Prs.

waqt Sk. time. — mārək 'cūm w' 'vitik ki wuzəm bē'mör — wuz-əm 'yā-waqt vitəm, bê mörəm 1 have been ill for a long time; tārək yau' cūm w vitik ki tūt (yau' bê mör, — Ar. Prs. — Cf. 'cəwaxt, 'tčwaxt.

wo'lêt W span. — Ishk, wuðit (but note l. wölé Sh., St. quail, — Cf. Ishk, worc, Prs. lexx, walé. Cf. §§ 48, 80.

wulun- L to shake (apricots). — Cf. Skr. vi-dhunōti to shake about?

walth Y, wolth Sk., wolk W, welk L. welk Sh., waltik Be, kidney; wolth St. liver. — Cf. Yd. wulya, Sgl. wolk

win-: wind- Y, Sk., win- (winetk) X, win-: wind Sh. to see. — yīnōt wīndəm Y, wunuh wunetkīn X I saw (have seen) a dream; cīzəv sāyiš wīndəv? what did you see? wī'nāk, wī'nətk Sk. — Cf. Yd. wīn-.

wundr Y, Sk, Sh., vundur X field. — Acc. to Benveniste (v. Par. Voc. s.v. yanīr) < \*awa-antarya.</p>

wānj X, Sh., wanj Sk. belly. — < \*wanicī, cf. Skr. vanishhú, Lat. venter, etc.?</p>

winek Y, wun'dek X, °ok Sk. marmot, wundek. — \*Bad. Prs. Cf. Burush. ainaq (< Wkh.?.

wonok L willow. — Cf. Sar. wanūj, Shgh. wān, etc.

wunuk X dream (?).

wu'ner Y, wənör Kl., wanar Be., 'voinerr'
Cap. stable, manger. — Shgh. venīr.
wa'rī W lamb. — Ishk., v.s.v. worok.
wār Y, war Be. male oorial, kiškār;
L war ram. — Cf. wūrk.

wēra Y, W, wēla X gums. — Prs., ef.

Sgl.  $w\bar{e}^{\dagger}r\bar{\epsilon}$ .

wir L single-handed (in family); Sh. alone. — Cf. Skr. avīvā- having no son or husband?

 $w\bar{u}r$  Y, Be., wir  $(vur^{\gamma})$  Sk., wur Sh. rain. — Cf. Av.  $v\bar{a}r$ .

wərəc: wərən Sk., to stay, remain; wəry: wərext L to remain; ware/ic: waregn. Sh. to remain, to be tired.

— 'wərəcəm, wərəst, wərəc! wərənəm, wə'rəcak, wərənənətk Sk.; vərəkk Y, wurikk X, wə'rəkk Sk., warekk Sh. tired. — \*awa-raik-, cf. Sgl. fəris. Cf. § 55.

word Sk. tripe; werd L, ward Be. helly (of animals). — Cf. Av. varadva-, varadu° soft, cf. German 'Weiche'. wirdina L clear (sky, weather). — <</p>

\*widr., ef. Yd. s.v. leroyo.

wirdan L mill-wheel. — Cf. Sogd, wrtn car, etc.

wərəfs: wərəfst- (wərəˈpăk, °pətk) Sk. to stand; wurufsatk-əm Y I am standing; warefs-: warefst-(warefsetk) Sh., vərvəs-: vərvəšt L to stand, stop (intr.). — Cf. Sar. waråfs-, Shgh. Voc. s.v. wirūvd.

wirg L ridge between irrigation plots. — < \*wāra-ka-, cf. Av. °vāra- protection.

wur'geš Y, °xš X, wargašt Be., urgešt Cap. big basket, kajawa.

wərk L scar.

wurk Y, X, N, St, wərk Sk., wark Z.

lamb. — Cf. Sgl. worok. V. wari.
wert- L to knead (in washing cloth). —
Av. vart- to turn.

ww.wrt L mill-stone (in compos). — .xAδōrgə w°. səre w³. — Cf. Kurd., Prs. bard stone; Khow. bort, Lhd. vattā stone, etc.

wərəw-: wərōd L to water (before ploughing). — Cf. Skr. vi-srāvaya?

werxar. Sh. to flood; werxiv. Sh. to cause to flood; wərxiv. L to scatter. wurzg(ə) L right hand. — Cf. Yd. urzu. was Y, wās Sh. main roof-beam; wās Sk. ceiling. — Cf. Sar., Shgh. wǐs. Poss. related to Skr. vaṃś(y)a. beam, rafter, v. EVP. s.v. wēša. V. s.v. parwās.

wə'säi Y, wīsəy Z, wasē Sh. cotton thread.
- Cf. Ishk. wōsi.

wis: wist Sk., :wist N to set (about the sun). — ir wisti the snn set N:
ir 'wisit, 'wisti, wisak, wisətk Sk.
— Prob. < \*wi-isa-, with secondary preter., cf. Yaghn. wis- to descend.
Not < Av. vaēs- to enter (Geiger, Gr.Ir.Ph., I. 2, 339, and Air.Wb. s.v.).
— Cf. Yd. vīš-.

wask, vask L revetting wall.

wəsk Y, Sk., wesk Sh., wusk Be., wöšk Hj. dry. weske X, wesk L thirsty.—
weske bitim I became thirsty X: wusk
carəm, wəskəm I dry; wəsk cart Sk.
— Cf. Yd. ušk. V. § 73.

wos kät Sk. waistcoat. — Ind. fr. Engl. wasër: : wasërt Sh. to cool, become cold.

— < \*awa, or wi-sārya-, cf. sr. — Parth. wys'r-, Henning, BSOS, IX. 87. www.serd Y, wwserd L this year. — V. sērdingā. wisto.

"uståd Sk. artisan. - Prs.

wisti sər L hareheaded. — \*a-wastiyaun-clothed?

wušdon L barn. - Cf. Sgl. uš tin, Yd. uš'čeno. V. wiš.

wašk Y, wašk Sk., wušk X, Sh. calf. -< \*wasya-ka , cf. Sar. wišk calf, Samnānī vaškā child. Cf. Sgl. wosūk. V. wacī.

wušik X key, bolt: wo jik Kl., šīk Sh. key; šik Sh. padlock. — Cf. Ishk. uškaz?

wušeng L entire bull, - < wršanakawəšp Y plough pole. — Cf. Sgl. āwišp. - < wi špā, ef. Av. spā. to throw?Cf. rešpuk?

wušūy-: wašan- Sh. to untie: wüš-wašin- Sh. to loose. - < \*wi-šay-, \*wi-šāna-, ef. Air.Wb. s.v.  $h\bar{a}(y)$ -.

wiš Y, wuš X, wuš/x Be. straw, kāh-i safēd; ūš Sk. hay; wuš Sh, wīš Z grass. - Cf. Sar. wux Sh. grass, 'wúkh' Be, corn-straw. Cf, Yd. wuš.

wa šiy: wešt. Y, wašim-(?): waš. X, woši-: wošt- Sk. to he afraid. wəsim, wisid, (wəsin), wəsi! wəstəm, wo'šak, wo'šotk Sk.; wo'šov-: wo'šovd / weštord, weše vak / wešte wāk, weševətk trans. Sk. - < \*wisriya-? Cf. Orm. yuš-, ywašr-, caus. yušaw-, ywašrēw-?

witrin-: witridt- Sh. to shy; trans, witriuv -. - < \*witrh-na-.

 $wA^{\dagger}t\bar{\sigma}x \times ram$ , — V.  $t\bar{n}x$ .

wiūx/š L root. - Cf. Shgh. wyaš, etc. V. yax.

waxār Sh. ladder. — Cf. Khow. uxār, lw.? wax ti X once, at one time. — Ar. Prs. V. waqt.

wist Y, wist Sh. twenty. - Cf. Yd. wu xen Y, u žen X, N, "u xon Sk., wuxan Sh. blood; wus sen L blood vessel. -< \*wahwani- (cf. Barth. Mir. Md., V. p. 6). Not with Henning ZII, 9. p. 227)  $< *w \acute{o} hun$ -.

wiyaug L pace.

wiyin Sh., wū'in H pass: wuin LSI hili - Wiyino Sar 'Top of Pass' (in Shimshal). Zhoewiyin Lake Pass Cockerill. — Cf. Sar. weyawun. — < \*wi-ayana-, cf. Av. ayană-, Skr. vyáyana going apart, vi-i- to go through, traverse (e.g. RV. I. 50, 7; V, 18, 3). wāz-: wāšt- (wəˈzak) Sk., wāz- wāšt  $(w\bar{a}\bar{s}k)$  Sh, to fall. — Cf. Sgl. waz. wəzī: wozd- Y, wəze: wəzd- X, wəzī-: wozd- Sk., wazi-: wazd (wazg) Sh. to come. — derem we zai come here Y; ce'bas weze come back; parinda dar ha'wā wizit; wəzdım 'āmadam'; tu čis yarkər wəzd? for what purpose did you come? wuzgem I have come. wuz-um wəzget X 'wəzim, wizit, wəzin, wəziv, wəzi! wəzdəm, wəzi yak, wəˈzətk Sk.; 'yət dai ki wuzdəi bāf = ĭ 'dai wuzdəi bāf xalq the man who came is good; dodišdom bai wuzdei I saw the man who came Sk. — < \*uz-aya-(but Av. us-aya- go out).

wuz Y, X, N, Sk., Sh.; aze W (= Ishk.) I. - wuz tau dīmom I beat you; wuz xec-em yitk-em I ate bread; tu mar kitâb rand give me a book; tu mārek kitâbe ôetai you gave me a book: yem žə xūn this is my honse; tu čizir maž dī? why do vou beat me? Y, wuz(-um) Wa'xī I am a Wakhi: wuz sab dīmim I beat you; uz-um žinak I have spoken; uz...wəzdim I came; žu xonan ti xon lup my house is bigger than yours; mar(k)

ī rūpīa rande give me a rupee X:
wuz žəč yawum I eat bread; žə xūn
my house N: wuz, maž, žə, źənən,
mārək Sk. — Cf. § 118 sq.

wuzdi-: wōzdošt-(?) Y; 'wīzdi-: wizdik (pf.) X, wīzdey-: wōzdŏid Sk., wuzdi-: wozdoid Sh. to wash. — 'wīzdeyum, wīzdeyī, wīzdēšt, wīzdeyən, wīzdeyəv, wīzdəv! wōzdŏidəm, wīzdeyak, wīzdeyətk Sk. — Cf. Yd. wuzd-, zənay-. Influenced by dē-, q.v.

wezem. L. wazem. Sh. to express, squeeze out. — V. vizam.

wezûm L big wooden ladle.

wuzem-: wozond- Y. wuzem- X. wuzem-: wizəmd (wizə măk) Sk. (reg.); wüzim-: wazåmd- Sh. to bring. — yīu, kitâb wūzuməm Y; tu be wuzum bring it X; 3 sg. wūzənd Sk. — Cf. Turf. Phl. z'm- to send, lead.

wižīk L ibex (m. and f.); važik tuy Sh. female ibex.

wiž/žerk L, wujerk Sh. lucerne. — Cf. Mj. iryaga.

#### X

xō-xō either--or. — Prs. xwāh-xwāh.
xūb X good, well. — xūb maza tuet it tastes good. — Prs.

'xabar X news; aware. — čis xº tei? xalq xº bīt. — Ar. Prs.

xeč Sh. bread. - Cf. Yd.

xu'dōi Sk. God. — Prs.

xəldörg Y, xu° X, Sk., xaδörg L. xaδörg Sh. water-mill. — Prob. borr. from early Shgh. or Ishk. Cf. Yd. xĭrγo. — V. § 30.

 $x = d\bar{\sigma} r g - \tilde{\gamma} \bar{\sigma} r$  Y,  $x = u^{\dagger} d\bar{\sigma} r g \cdot bort$  X mill-stone. — bort fr. Khow.

xūf L, xuf Z, Sh., xep X foam, froth.

— Cf. Yd. xof, Saka khava-.

xug Sk., xug Sh. pig. — Prs. xŏ (h)əš car- Sk. to wish. — Prs. xōkī X greenish grey: xōkī Sk. grey. — Prs.

xākis tār W ashes. — Prs.

xålī Y, X empty. - Ar.-Prs.

xălg Y, X, Sk.. Sh. man, person, people.

— *īyam xalg yupk pīt* this man drinks water; xalgišt yupk pōvan the men drink water; wuz ī xalg ṣītai I killed a man; xalg·i təkī xəč yāwan all the men eat bread Y: sak Waxī xalge we are Wakhis; ispā Xanduti xalg we are Khandutis: ayem xalg (be) xec yewet; īu xalg dar huzūr-i pādšā rext one man went near the king X: xalg-yāš the man's horse. — Ar.-Prs. xalq Sk. people, nation (народ). — Ar.-

Prs., but a more recent lw. than xalg.  $xa^tm r Y$ , X dough. — Ar.-Prs.

xūn Y, N, Sk., xōn X, W, xun Sh. house.
— ce xūnen from the house Y; (ce xōnen niešk he emerged from the house; xōnar riē go home; reṣt xōnar ke he went home; žu xōnan ti xōn

lup you house is larger than mine.

- Prs, early lw.

xu'nuk X cold. - Prs.

xingār Sk. seimitar;  $\check{x}$  Sh. sword. — Cf. Yd. xugor.

xũr X other (doubtful word). — xũr xalg, xũr xōn. — Cf. Khow, xũr (fr. Ir.?).

xûr Y, X, W, N. Sk., xur Sh. ass. — Cf. Yd. xoro.

 $xa^{\dagger}r\hat{a}b$  Y lean. — Ar.-Prs. Cf. Yd. id.  $xar^{\dagger}d\delta p_{ij}$  Sk. breukfast.

xarīd Y, X buying. —  $x^2$  carəm Y,  $x^{\circ}$   $g\bar{u}xum$  X I buy. — Prs.

xar'gūš X hare. - Prs.

xa rek W span from thumb to indexfinger.  $x^{\hat{u}}$ rûk Sk. food. — Prs.

· xirs X, W bear. - Prs.

x<sup>3</sup>ris Y, x<sup>3</sup>rıs N, xu rūs X, W, x<sup>3</sup> rus Sk. cock. — Prs.

xərüə:: xəröst- Kl. to snore, xurxur kardan. — Cf. Skr. kra'(n)d- to neigh, roar, make a noise; scarcely krathanasudden interruption of breath (Suśr.). xiriz L gravel.

xari'yōn X, xəriyan Z, xilian Sh., xaryan Be. nephew. — Cf. xaryūn Be. niece. — Cf. Yd. xurī. V. § 48. xəsər N, xu<sup>2</sup> W father-in-law. — Prs. V. xūrs.

xoš X happy. — yaf xoš bit. — Prs. xušdoman X, xoš toman X mother-in-law. — Cf. Sgl. xuš dāuman. V. xaš xaš Y, xaiš Sk.. xair Sh. wet, xaš L damp. — Cf. Sar. xāst, Yd. xusto? V. § 73.

xošk Y, L soft (L about iron). — Cf. Khow. (lw.) xašk.

xvšk X dry. — Prs. V. wəsk. x<sup>9</sup>šrūi Sk. beautiful. — Prs.

xuš'waxt X happy, merry. — Ar. Prs. xāṣ: xāṣt Y. xāṣ X, xaṣ: xaṣt Sk., xāṣ-: xāṣt Sh. to pull (Sh. also to cut into stripes). — tərâ zū xaṣəm I weigh; fraxbīz xaṣəm I winnow Y; cilim xaṣəm, I smoke: xaṣəm, xaṣtəm, xə'ṣāk, xə'ṣətk Sk. — Cf. Yd. xoṣ- xoṣk X bitter.

xest Y, xest X brick. — Prs.

xuyun Sh. husband's sister. — Sar.
xāyūn id., but cf. Sköld, 489, s.v.
Schwager (Bruder der Frau). — Cf.
Yd. xāyūn.

xyār, xiār Sk., žiār Sh. old, aged. — x° kʻənd Sk. — Prs. hušyār wise. xeyaz, xeyisk Be. hammer. — Cf. Yd. xōisk.

 $x\bar{u}z$  Sk. wind. — Cf. Shgh.  $x\bar{u}dz$  Sk.?

xəu'zit Y, šabzöd X a kind of insect, šabzöd, šauzāt. — Cf. Sgl. šav'zåd. Shgh. id. bug. — Prs. \*šab·zād? xūžg Y, xužg Sh. sweet. — Cf. Ishk. xažok.

## Χ̈́

xui Y, X, N. Be., xui Sh., xiy Z, xiy Sk., 2xoī W (= Ishk.) sister (X also cowife, husband's brother's sister; Be. also sister-in-law'. — žu xui X. — Cf. Yd. ixo.

xēb· Sk. to beat. — Cf. Lett svaipīt 'to whip', (\*sueip·), Av. xšwaēwayaţ-aštra-(\*sueib·), etc.?

žeć Y, X, žeč N, xeč Sk., žoč Sh. bread, food. — wuz žečem yitkem I have eaten food Y. — Cf. Yd. xisto V. § 67.

 $\check{xil}$  Sh., xai St. (denied by Sk.) perspiration. — Cf. Sar.  $\check{x}ai\delta$ , Yazgh.  $\check{x}^{w}i\delta$ , Khow. (lw.)  $x\bar{\epsilon}l$ . — From a dial. with  $l < \delta$ , but cf. Yd. xul.

xām-: xāmd Sh. to descend. — Cf. Sar.
xåvs: xāvd-, Yd xafs-, Khow. ax(u)am(lw.). Cf. also Wkh. xam L bent;
xam ding Sh. to bend.

žam žēr W sword. — Prs.

xān: xat Y, xān: xatt xinak) X, xān: xātt ('xōnăk, xonətk) Sk... xān: xātt Sh. to speak, say. — wuz tawar nezd xānum I tell you to sit down; satâm xat he saluted: uz-um xinak 'yuftum'; Sultàni Māmūd xi'nak pādšā tūet there was a king called S. M. — Cf. Av. x`an... Saka hvan.

žūnen Y, an X own. — yem xūn žo ž

Y this house is my own; žū ž° xūn X. — Pred. gen. of žat, cf. Sh. žu. ženj- L. žonz-: žogn- Sh. to fill into a receptacle. — Phonetically < hwanj-. Skr. sva(n)j- 'to emhrace' idoes not suit the meaning, but cf. Walde-Pokorny, s.v. sueng- (II, 526), e.g. O. H. Germ. swingan to fling, etc. 'To throw' and 'to pour into' are semantically related meanings.

xāriki X n. of a hird. — Prs. šārak talking-bird.

x̄̄šūrəm L dnst. — If for \*šūδəm, possibly < \*xšaudman-(cf. JRAS 1937, p. 348); but note different semantic development of Psht. šōmlē butter-milk.

xūrs Y, xurs X, Sh., xūrs Sk. fatherin-law. — Cf. Yd. xusur.

xerz Y, qūrj (?) X n. of a bird, čārda;
xerz L ramchikor, xerz Sh. snowpheasant. — Rhyming with Prs. čarz
bustard.

Xasirz Sh. wife's sister (= Sar. xasirz);
 but xaserz Be, wife's husband's brother, sister's husband (= Sar. xasīrj), Shgh. xe'sīrc Sk. wife's sister's husband, xezīrj (-s-?) Morg. hrotherin-law in general. — Prob. < \*hwasura-zā 'father-in-law's son'.
</p>

xãṣ Y, xãṣ N, xux W, xãṣ Sk., xṣãṣ L,
xãṣ Sh. mother-in-law. — Cf. Yd. xuṣo.
xãt X, Sh., Kl. self. — dast-i-xat(t) his
own hand; gen. xu Sh. — Av. x atō,
cf. Yd. xoy. V. xūnen.

žat did, v. gož-.

 $\check{x}\bar{u}w$  Sk. spring. — Av.  $x\bar{a}\cdot$ .

#### ¥

yau (a-yău) Y, X, Sk. that, he; yao Sh. he, yā that Sh., ye X (adj.). — yau xōn tinan that house is yours; ye

xalg da ye xōn niengīn those men live in that honse; you nānar xat he said to his mother; you nān his mother; yeū tate nong his father's name; you mīrâxūr tū, yowar xatt he had a groom, and he said to him; pâdšâ yōwer ruxsat kerk the king gave him leave; pâdšâ 'yawark pursān-um kerk the king asked him, ce'bas yōwan kâraz rext the letter came back from him; wâda-i yayōr his(?) wedding; yāwiš they X. Cf. § 124 sq.

yau Sk. and (?). — In wee tu yau I and you (?).

yō-yō Sk. either-or. → Prs.

yib'yă Sk. very quick ambler. — Cf. Waz. Psht. ābiyā amble.

yōč Y, Sk., yoč X duck.  $-<*y\bar{a}\vartheta\bar{c}\bar{c}$ . cf. Yd.  $y\bar{e}\check{x}ko$ ; Saka  $\bar{a}ce$  waterbird (Bailey, BSOS, IX, 70).

yōd Sk. memory. —  $d\bar{e}$  tər z-yōd I remembered, ba yād i man zad. — Prs. yå $\delta$ : yå $\delta$ t Sh. to pile up, to make up a fire. —  $<\bar{a}\cdot d\bar{a}$ -?

yi desen L crops reaped, lying in handfulls on the ground.

yaf tā Sk. week. - Prs.

 $y\bar{u}_{\gamma}$  Sk. yoke. — Cf. Yd.  $y\bar{u}_{\gamma}$ . Note  $y\bar{u}_{\gamma} < *yau_{\gamma}$ .

yū; nε γ r L anvil. — < \*ā·gana-'striking upon'?

\*yo<sub>7</sub>ut ('yoghut') Be. groin. — < \*yo<sub>7</sub>o<sub>i</sub>, cf. Av. haxti-, Kurd, hēt hip. etc. yijīn Y, Z, i° X. Sh. felt. i žīn Sk. carpet.

yūk L dewlap.

yakš- L, yākš- Sh. to boil. — Derivation < Av. yaēš- phonet. impossible.

yukš Y, yukš Sh. big male ibex, rang-ikalān. — Cf. Sar. yaž. Cf. § 60. yak tá Sk. shirt. — Prs. yem Y this. - Cf. § 118 sq. V. ayem. yū ōm L twin. — Cf. Av. yəma-, etc. yūmį Y, Z, Be., yumį X. Sh. flour. yūmj-um goxtei I ground flour Y. — < \*āmačī-, cf. Saka hāmaa- barley meal, Skr. ama- grain not yet freed from the chaff, unbaked. It would be quite natural in the Pamir valleys to designate the ordinary flour as the 'raw' one in order to distinguish it from the widely used parched meal (cf. Yazgh. vražt 'flour' < \*brista 'baked'). The derivation of  $y\bar{u}mj < *\bar{a}rtaka$ - (Junker, Cauc. 3, 110) is phonetically untenable.

yan Sh., St. other. — Cf. Sar. yan, Ishk. an. — yamān Kl. one another, yak diyar prob. < \*yanān < \*anyaanya. halamān L id. < anyamanya.?

yān X yes, indeed, balī. — yān, wəze yes, come! yān, tark cebas káraz gožum Yes, I shall write you a letter back.

yand Sh. late, recent.

yūnd: yūt- Y, yūnd: yňtt Sk.. yōnd: yūtt Sh. to carry (away), burdan. — žāu yūndəm xədōrg I bring grain to the mill Y; 'yūndəm, yūnd, yūnd! 'yūttəm, yŏn dŏk, yūtk; wəs 'k'ənd 'yundəm I marry Sk. — Prob. < \*yūtwith ·n· infix. Cf. Yd. is-.

yī nōt Y, inōt, Yinūk Sk., ināt Sh., wunuk X dream (yunuk Sh. sleep). — (y)īn- < \*ŭn- < \*hufna-tā(t), or  $\cdot \vartheta \bar{u}$ -.

yīp L fat. — Cf. Khow, yrp (< Wkh.?).
yīng Y, īn X, yūng L, ying Z raw. —
yūng Sh. unripe, uncooked. — <
\*āmaka-, v. yūmj.

yāng(s,l Y, yal X, yangl N, yā' Sk. finger, toe. — Cf. Oss. ángulj (with secondary l?', Mazand engel; also l'sht. mangul the five fingers (v. EVP. s.v. grut,: Av. zairimy anura-tortoise (v. Benveniste, Stud. Ind. Ir., 223. yupk Y, W, X, N. Sk. Sh. water. — < \*āpakā-, cf. Yd. yduyo.

yer L sinew, tendon, yerr Sh. the pulse. — Khow.

yīr Y, Sh., īr X, N, St., yīr Sk. sun. — Cf. Av. gen. hūrō.

yōrċ Kl. open space between hearth and sleeping (sitting) platform: yāriċ Ol. square hole in the middle of the hearth-room. — \*arda-ċi, cf. Yd. ārdi' yōrgōt L. white-headed eagle.

ylr'ya Y, yur;a W pine, čūb-i saxt (not found in Wakhan). — Cf. Yd. s.v. wulye;o. Prs.

yur'yā Sk. ambler. — Cf. Sgl. id. — Prs. yark Y, X, Sk., Sh. (yark' Sk.) work. — yark guxum; tu cis yarkər wəzd' 'barā-i cī kār āmadī?' tinan cis yark tu' have you any work? yōwər yark guxum 'kār-i ūra mēkunim' X. — Cf. Yd. hory.

yīrk Y, yirk X, St., īrk W, N, yurk Sh., yĭrk Sk., yūrk L, Be. barley. — Ct. Phl. ywrtk (Barth. Mir. Mund. II. 28)? But Henning. BSOS, IX, 90 reads yavardāg.

yurm Sk., Sh. arm. forearm; yūrm Be. cubit. — Dat. sg. žə-yurmər/k, pl. yurmiš-əv Sk. — Cf. Yd. yūrme.

yārs Y, yarč X, yərz L, yārz Sh. juniper.

- \*arza-, but cf. Turk. Prs. arča.

yirzn Y, yərzn Sk. millet. — Cf. Yd. yurzon.

 $y\bar{\imath}s\bar{p}$  Y, yisp Sk. shoulder. —  $<*\bar{a}$ - $sp\check{a}$ -'  $ya's\bar{\imath}r$  Sk. prisoner. — Ar. Prs.

yöst Sh. fowl-house, shed. — Cf. Or. yöst cow-house (Lentz), < Skr. ā-sthā- place of abiding?</p>

yaš Y, X, N, yāš Sk., yāš W, Sh. horse.
— cebūr yaš: yašēr peden guž saddle
the horse; yaš peden gužt X. — Cf.
Yd. yasp.

yašć Y, Z, L, yarč X, yaić Sk., Sh., yerč Be., yahč Bi. bone. — Cf. § 67. < \*asti-či?

yīšn Y, 'išin X, īšu Sk., išn Sh., yišt Bi., yīš Be., tiš(!) W (išn said to be Ishk.!) iron. — Cf. Yd. ris pen, Saka hīšam.

yīšir L threshold. — In bore yo.

yašk Y, yašk Sk., Sh., Z, yašk L, wašk N (Ishk.) tear. — Cf. Yd. yāšk.

yašk L trained, taught; yešk cər. I., yežk žāk Sh. to teach. — Cf. Sar. i.vmānd, ixman Sh., cf. Yd. yuxs.

yī šak Y plongh-handle. — Cf. Skr. īṣā'plough-pole. īṣā-daṇḍa plough-handle, Av. aēša- plough.

yoşt L hostage, agreement. — < Av. āxšti· peace, not lw. from Prs. āštī. yət Kl. this, that. — V. § 124.

yoθ L, Sh., yöθt Z, yötr St., yâθ Be.
nest. yötr, if correct, <\*ā·hada·θra-?</li>
Cf. Or. yöθ, Yd. yēxio.

yāw· Y, yaw·:, perf. yitk· X, yaw· N, yāw·: yĕt· Sk., yāw·: yāt· Sh. to eat.

— yāu imper. 2 sg.; yāwum pres.
1 sg.; īyam xalg xəč yīt this man eats bread; sak yāwan; sāiš cerak xəć yāvov? why do you eat bread? xalgi təkī xəć yāwan Y; yawi-ā? do you eat? ayem xalg xeč yawet; yawan 1 pl.; saš xeč yawit-a? do you eat bread; ayem xalg be xeč yawan these men eat bread? yitket you have eaten X; wuz xəc yawum;

sak yawum; yawa! N; 'yāwām, yīt, yau! yētəm, yō'wak, yō wətk Sk. — Cf. Kati yū-, Dameli žū-, etc. to eat (< Skr. yauti gets hold of?) — Cf. Skr. aśnóti: aśnāti!

yawer: yaward Sh. to select, choose ont. — < \*ā-war-.

yax Sh. twig. — Cf. Par. žôx fire-wood < \*yašša-, cf. Av. yaxšti- twig? yex Sh. grizzled.

yix Y, Sh., Z, (y)īx Sk., iş X ice. — Av. aēxa. Also Sar. iš 'cold', īši 'coldness' belong here, and not to Av. isu- as proposed Air.Wb. 372.

yī¹xūn Y, vxūn X, vixūn Sk., yixān Sh., yi'xūn Kl. bridle. — Tomaschek (p. 805) compares Av. axnah, but this is phon. improbable (v. Air.Wb. s.v.). But yī'xūn could go back to \*axāna- (axnah- influenced by °aiwi- bāna-).

y.i.z L ice, glacier. — Common in placenames, e.g. Lup-rar-yaz 'Great Stone Glacier' in Shimshal (Cockerill); Dukuti-Yaz. etc. — Cf. Khow. yoz (Ir. lw.?). < I.E jeg· ice (v. Walde-Pokorny, I, 206).</p>

yĕz Y, X, Sk., Sh. yesterday. — yez-əm rəydei I went yesterday Y, yez-ınāyd Sk. — Cf. Yd. iziko.

yāzņ Y, yazn Z inflated skin, mussuck.
— Cf. Yd. îzē.

yōž. L to bear (of animals); yåž.: yåžd Y, Sh. to bear a child. yīžg L saliva.

# Z(J)

zā Sk., zah Sh. child, infant. — Prs. zēi L wave. — Cf. Av. zāy-, Skr. haya-, from hi- to set in motion?

 $j \ni i \ Y, \ z\bar{\imath} \ X \ (Prs.), \ j'z\bar{e}i \ L \ bowstring. -$ Cf. Psht. žaī. V. jēl.  $zu^{\dagger}b\bar{v}n$  X tongue. — Prs. V.  $z\bar{\imath}k$ . zobut- L, zubut-: zubott Sh. to burst (trans.); zůbed-: zubon-Sh. to bnrst (intrans.\ — Cf. Skr. ud-bhidyate, ud-bhinna- to spring open, to burst forth. zūy L cooked fat. -- Cf. Psht. yōz?  $ju_{7}$  Sh.,  $z\bar{u}g$  Be.,  $j\bar{u}_{7}^{*}$  Kl. yak. — Cf. Khow, zor, hybrid yak. zu'yōl X coal. — Prs. zīk Y, Sk., zik N, Sh., 'ziuck' Bi., zevī W (Ishk.) tongue, word. - nīv ti zik kšuyəm now I hear your word. -Proh. < \*hizūkā. Cf. Yd. zeviy. zəq Sk. tedious, boring (скучно). zəka lai Y, zakə loi X, jak lai Sk., ja Sh., jəq lai Kl., cxalāi Be., etc. small. zak³lāi wušk a new-born calf X. - < \*jəlkai \* Cf. Shgh. jəlik, etc. zº kōm Sk. head cold, rheum - Ar. Prs. jel Kl. string of an instrument, tor. -Cf. jəi. zəllfak W comb. — \*Prs. zö'lim Sk. unjust. - Ar.-Prs. zulm Sk. injustice. - Ar.-Prs. zulzu'lā X earthquake. — Ar.-Prs. zem Y, zim X, zəm Sk., zam Sh. snow. - Cf. Av. zyam- winter; Sar. zamån snow (but Yazgh. zə na, Shgh. žə nij, etc. <\*snaiga-). zim Be. yawn. -- Sar. vizām. Cf. Yd. zōm-. zam būr X, W wasp. - Ar.-Prs. zam'būr-i asal X bee. — Ar.-Prs. ze'mān Y. zoo Sk., zo'mon X, zaman Sh. child. — Cf. Yd. zə mön. za mīn Y, X. Sk. earth, ground; zimīn X floor. - Prs. zəmā'nōk W boy. — Ishk.

zamīn žəm Y, zalanjum Be. earthqnake. - Prs. - Cf. Yd. zibi jrm. zemis ton Sk. winter. - Prs. zo'nū N (Prs.), zun W (prob. Ishk.) knee. zend: zet- L to take away from. -\* $uz + y\bar{a}nt \cdot (v. s.v. y\bar{u}nd)$ ? why not  $\tilde{z} < zy$ ? zinda Y, X alive. - Prs. zində gön car- L to live. - Prs. zang Sk. rust. - Prs. za năx Y, N, Sh., zə nax Sk. chin. jaw. - Prs. zār Sk. poison. — Prs. zūr Sk. strong. — Prs. zardōlu N aprieot. — Prs. zərend. L to serape; zirand., zirest. (inf. zírnin' Sh, to turn in a lathe. -\*uz-rand-, cf. Skr. rad- to scrape, scratch. zart Y. X, Z, zārt Sk., zard Sk., zō! W (Ishk.) yellow. - Zartiyar n. of a place Y, Cockerill. - Cf. Yd. zīt, Sgl. zāļ. ze vi W tongue; zeväk Hj. language. --Ishk. — V. zik. zwāy-: zwett- Sh. to roll up. — Cf. Sar. zerway- < \*uz-wăy-, Skr. ud-vayati to weave or fasten up. zaxnı Sk. wound. - Prs. zďž Sk., zaž Sh. thorn. - Cf. Khow. j/zox (lw.)? But note Orm. zēš.  $z^y \tilde{e}_{\tilde{s}}^{r}$  thorn  $< *ja\vartheta ri$ . zoiya L destruction, ruin. — < \*zayā·' Cf. Av. zyā- to injure (cf. jayāi, inf. of jyā 'to weaken' acc. to Barth, but see Benv. Infinitives Avest., p. 65). But note phonet, difficulties. Ž, Ž

žāu Y, Sh., žau L, St., Be., you W (Ishk. grain, (provisions Sh.). — Cf. Ishk. yau, Yd. yōu, Sar. zau. — ž from Khow. žō?

zoe ('zhoe') Cockerill lake. — From Khow.?
zabd Hj. stable (unknown to Sk.).

 $\tilde{z}0\delta$ -:  $\tilde{z}\tilde{v}\delta t$  Sh. to sow seed;  $\tilde{z}e\delta$ -:  $\tilde{z}\tilde{v}\delta d$  to sprinkle, strew. — Cf. Sar.  $y\tilde{e}\delta$ -,  $\tilde{\gamma}ie\theta$ -. — < \*wi-ā-dā-?

žâla Y, W, žô° N hail. — Prs.

žə<sup>†</sup>mak Y, N, žə<sup>†</sup>māk Sk., ju<sup>o</sup> Sh. moon.

— \*užmahka- < \*uxšm<sup>o</sup>, cf. Yd.
imo<sub>i</sub>o. But cf. Benveuiste, JA. 1936, 231.
žumānd- Sh. to wring. — < mantwith hača-?

žin'da Kl., žin dāg Sh., zindag (ž?) L tale, proverb.

zīnan Y, X mine (predic.). — ha'yem xīn 'zunan X. — Cf. § 122.

žăng Sk. nit.

žip- L. žup: žovd Sh. to spin. — Cf. Yd. γī·, Shgh, žīb·. V. p. 451, n⁴. žār Y Adam's apple.

ž. žirev γ L to need, lack, — Cf. žiròv-(< to be in need < to be stuck?). ži'rāv Y, ji rāb X, °āw Sh. ravine, valley; jə'rāv Sk. brook; jirāw (Cockerill' a gorge with a stream.

žirov: žirògn Sh. to hang from a peg: žərov: žəroğn (žərò ğak Kl. to be stnck.

žerāž Sh. knot. — Prob. from Sar. žerež, etc., cf. Yd. yurež.

zārž Y, Sk., Sh., žārj N. Be., jarje N milk. — žārž Sh. foster brother or sister; ż³ zamān foster-child (Sar. žorž, ż² balāh fr. Wkh), cf. Khow. chīr-brār, etc. — < \*yžaracī-, cf. Av. yžar- to stream, aipi-yžar- to be liquid (about milk), cf. semantically Prs. žiftan to trickle: N.W.Ir. šift 'milk', etc. — But -ž < -ĉī cf. § 33 ?</p>

žītr X, jītr X, žutr Sh. woollen thread.

-- ţīu-jītr X a black thread. -- s
\*yaiftra-, ef. žip-''

# List of Names.

Abgaë Y n. of a vill. Abgaë Curzon, Ifkerš Russ.

Kutal-i-Ankura X n. of a pass.

Išməry Y. Išmurð X. Išmarg Survey, Curzon, Išmurg Russ. n. of a vill. Buru'yul X the Baroghil Pass.

Bâz'gīr X. Bazgirān Survey n. of a vill. between Ishkashm and Zebak. Čilkand Y, Čahilkand Survey, Čexel-gal'd Rnss. n. of a vill.

Darkut X the Darkot Pass.

Kala-i-Wust Y, Kala Wust Survey, Kala Yust Curzon, Ust Russ. n. of a vill. Kõrkut Y, Karkīt Russ. n. of a vill.

Kišin X n. of a vill. and cantonment. Kišn Kl., Langar Kisht Curzon. Kezgit Y, Kezget Burhan-ud-Din, Kelkut.?) Russ., Kipket Curzon(? n. of a vill.

Nud X, Nut Hj. n. of a vill. near Ishkashm.

Namad'gūt N, Namadgut Survey, Namatgut Hj. n. of a vill.

Nirs Y, Russ, Neris Curzon n. of a vill. Pi giş Y, °iş X, Pigiş Survey, Pigoş Curzon n. of a vill.

Pay Y, Fax X n. of a vill.

Pa kūi Y, Pu kui X, Pokoi Russ., Pagui Curzon n. of a vill.

Panja Y, Kala-i-Panj X, Kala-i-Pane Hj., Kala-i-Panja Russ.. Kila Panja Survey n. of a vill. •

Pu tuš Y, Patuč Curzon, Patus Russ. n. of a vill.

Pit'xar Y, Pirxar Russ., Curzon n. of a vill.

Rejebik X n. of a vill. in Garan?). Rökut Y, Rakot Survey, Curzon n. of a vill.

Rētxud Y pass leading to Gāzikistān, to the left of the Sad Istraγ, but not passing by Deh Gol (?...

Sä nīn Y, Sanin Russ., Curzon n. of a vill.

Sarhadd Y, Sarhad Survey n. of a vill. Sast Y, Sist Russ, n. of a vill. Sa'wōr X, Saor Curzon n. of a vill. Siyi'nōn X Shughnan. Cf. Sikāšm W Ishkashm,

Wark W. Warg Survey, Curzon, Wūry, Hūry Hj. n. of a vill. Wux Y Wakhan, Wa xê Sk. Wakhi, Xədārgbərt X, Xora Bhort Survey u. of a pass.

Xandut Y, X. Survey, Kən'dut Hj. n. of a vill.; Xandutī a man from Khandut. — Cf. § 3.

Xōrog X n. of a vill. and cantonment (éauni) in Shughnan.

Xik Y, Wa xi X. W Wakhi. — sak-ən
Xikən. Sik Sk. Wakhi (Sik-zik eastern
dialect). — < \*Wu)xik.
</p>

Yamg Y, Yamk Hj. Yimek Russ, n. of a vill.

Ya'mīt Y. Yemit X, Survey, Yamid Russ., Yamit Hj. n. of a vill.

Yūr Y, Yur Survey, Yot (?) Russ. n. of a vill.

Zarti'yar Y, Zirxar Curzon n, of a vill. at the foot of the Baroghil Pass.

# SHUGHNI SUPPLEMENT

(Sentences not given, or not given in full, in Notes on Shughni, NTS, I. Sentences from the dialect of Bashar are marked B).

- 1. âdam-um zīt B I killed a man.
- 2. 'arai ca'vår mēð-om yast, tam t'īm B I shall stay three or four days, and then go (se cår rūz bâz mērim).
- 3. Awal Jalāla bâd sāwom, tām badēveta Pešāwar sāwom B First I shall go to J., and then to P.
- 4. Haz ude ar Xužnūn cond með pond yast? B How many days road is it from here to Shughnan?
- 5. Az čûra šac za wēd B Draw water from the well.
- 6. Az me yī mūn par jīv Take an apple from him.
- 7. Az we (de) pēšc Ask him (this one).
- 8.  $Az x \bar{u} \delta man a g \bar{a} de ke B Wake him from sleep (az xau bedår ku).$
- 9. Az yūdande Badaxšūn cūnd mēð pond How many day's road is it from here to Badakhshan?
- 10. Beyâr-um ikme âdam-um wint B I saw this very man yesterday (dîna hamî ådam dīdam).
- 11. Biyâr-om az we pēšet B I asked him yesterday.
- 12. Biyâr-om wēšt, zâr-um sut B Yesterday I fell and got bruised (dīnarūz uftâdum, augar šudam).
- 13. Ca waxt-at-i yat? B When did you come?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. bāde we ta 'pas az i', Notes, p. 48.

- 14. Čâk đādom B I bore.
- 15. Da mūn yâs, lāk B Take this apple away, and leave it (ī sēba bubar, bumån).
- 16. De vē xam bēn!—De vē-m waxt xam bēnè B Shut the door!—I have already shut it.
- 17. Δen dån däðum B I chew.
- 18.  $\Delta \hat{a} r q$ -um  $ver \bar{u} š t$  B I broke the stick.
- 19. Gap-um rinūšt I forgot the word.
- 20. Gar da ·xārom, gar da-um xūd B I eat (ate) bread.
- 21. Güst-um pēxt I cooked meat.
- 22. Gūšt xarâb-a, xīdao na bâft, xīdao na varðim B The meat is bad, it is not to be eaten, I cannot eat it.
- 23. K'imb wēddom, k'imb-wm wēdd I throw (threw) a stone.
- 24. K'imb mū te na wēde! Don't throw a stone at me!
- 25. Ku naštoidum B I went out (baråmadim) But why ku?
- 26. K'ár-um čūd B I worked.
- 27. Kurti-m<sup>1</sup> penūid B I washed the shirt
- 28. Kurtū-x-ščendam <sup>2</sup> B I tear my shirt (kurtara burrīdam).
- 29. Kitûb-um tur vūd (turd-um vūd) I brought you the book.
- 30. Kitâb mēz te lāk B Put the book on the table.
- 31. Lap k'ēn-om zud,3 šiš-ta nāvom B I became very sorry, now I am weeping (bisyâr deq šuda-im, ālī giryā mēkunum).
- 32. Ma dâdand-in xâws puc My father has six sons.
- 33. Ma de ma! B Don't beat me
- 34. Mund sut puc, xu dâdard-me lūvoum: mu pucik nūm nēd I got a son. I said to my father: Give my little son a name.
- 35. Murde må bâd vârje bâd My father gave me a horse.
- 36. Mu rafiq-at vut, kīvdum tu B You were my comrade, [therefore] I called you. Answer to: cīr-at mu kīvd? Why did you call me?
- 37. Mur vār B Bring it to me.
- 38. Nur-um dar pond tüid I have walked a long way to-day.

<sup>1</sup> For kurta-im?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For kurta šċ°, with notation of a glide between a and š.

<sup>3</sup> With sonorization in sandhi, for sut.

- 39. Nūstum nūr yūdand To-day I sat down there.
- 40. Naw-om nust B I sat down now.
- 41. Naw-om šut to âwâz B Now I heard your voice.
- 42. Pon tim, pond-um tuid B I go, I went (ra megardam).
- 43. Rawåen sa! B Get off!
- 44. Sahar tim B I shall go to-morrow.
- 45. Sa, žīz zewēd! Go, and fetch wood.
- 46. Šič dīm tō Now I (shall) beat you.
- 47. Šič-um tūid B Now I went.
- 48. Šīnt-om, naw-om šīnt B I laughed (now).
- 49. Šac ar pi ūla k'e'n, var! Brējom B Pour water into the cup and bring it. I shall drink. (au dar piūla partau, biār. buxurim).
- 50. Šāč-om  $\delta \bar{u}d$ , ho gap ma renēs B I was afraid (saying:) Don't forget this word.
- 51. Šûj đerom, šiš-ta wůš; um az kū te B I am afraid to fall down now from the hill.
- 52. Šāpa rak ra wāšt The bat flew (fem.!).
- 53. Tu cawax-teyē? Ī cand rōz ga tīm When shall you go? I shall go in a few days.
- 54. Tam ta vâ tîm B Then I shall go.
- 55. Tu num na vzūnum I don't know your name.
- 56. Tar Šērpur sāom B I shall go to Sherpur.
- 57. Vīsam B I bind (basta mēkunam).
- 58. Vâr) (vērj) tēr yast The horse (mare) is black.
- 59. Wuz-um bēčāra, nātu wān B I am poor and helpless.
- 60. Wuz-əm ûdam, tu t-m -əs 1 ûdam I am a man, and you are also a man (man ûdam-am, tu ham ûdam-ī).
- 61. Wuz-am man kitâb xo verâdard dax-šut 2 I gave this book to my brother.
- 62. Wuz na wzanum, yi ciz wezane to? B I don't understand it, do you understand this thing?
- 63. Wuz turd ôûdom I gave (it) to you.
  - 1 The meaning of 28 is unknown to me.
  - <sup>2</sup> Prob. man = mam,  $d\bar{a}x\bar{s}ut$  for  $\delta\bar{a}k$   $\epsilon\bar{u}d$ .
  - 36 Kulturforskning

- 64. Xabar'dâr, žīr šiċ-ta wåšt B Take care, the stone is falling now.
- •65. Xedâr)an xu yâž) narm yan 1 Grind your flour at the mill.
- 66. Xūðm-um wint B I had a dream.
- 67. Xu dust ze nēam (-um ze nûd) B I wash (washed) my hand.
- 68. Xu dust-om dikt I licked my own hand.
- 69. Xu pīc mā-n)ab (= anjav), wuz-um tō wīnt Don't be ashamed, that I did see you (rū-i xuda na gīr, ke ma tura dīdim).
- 70.  $Xa\dot{s}$  jûi we čūžj . . . . . . . . (makam (= muḥkam?) na karda-ī).
- 71. Xu paisa ma be'nes B Don't forget your money.
- 72. Yâ âdam recūst The man fled.
- 73. Yac pedenum, -um pedet B I kindle(d) a fire.
- 74. Yâc-um dude B The fire burnt me.
- 75. Yäm cid codåm ûdamand? Which man does this house belong to? (în xåna·i kudåm saxs-ast?).
- 76. Yi mūn mård-um đâd I gave this apple to this one (?).
- 77. Yi mīð yå ûdam xurdð lūvð One day a man said to himself (yak rūz yak âdam ba xud guft).
- 78. Yi sowâr wi draxt bunan nūšč B A horseman was sitting under that tree.
- 79. Yida yatam B I came here.
- 80. Zemâd·am zedūd B I swept the floor.
- 81. Žindam yûs xedûrjan B Take the wheat to the mill (ganduma bubar ûsyû).
- 82. Žənij dap (= lap?)  $\delta i^2$  Much snow falls(?).
  - 1 Written narmian.
  - <sup>2</sup> Cf. Or. (Zar.) biyan snowstorm?

### Song from Ghund (Bait).

Shughni Text

Ar jáik sāwe tu Xo'dáik tā'wīl, '
mo'râdik te'lāb az 'pâ-i 'xâjā. '
Ra'wān, ra'wānik tar 'dēf šā'līn '
ta sadu'qik tu bås-sē'mīn.

<sup>1</sup> تعويل. <sup>2</sup> Sadq-it šawam.

Persian Translation

Har jâ mērawī, ba Xudâ turā tawīl¹ kadim.

Duå (murād, bigīr az pâ·i Xōjā. /

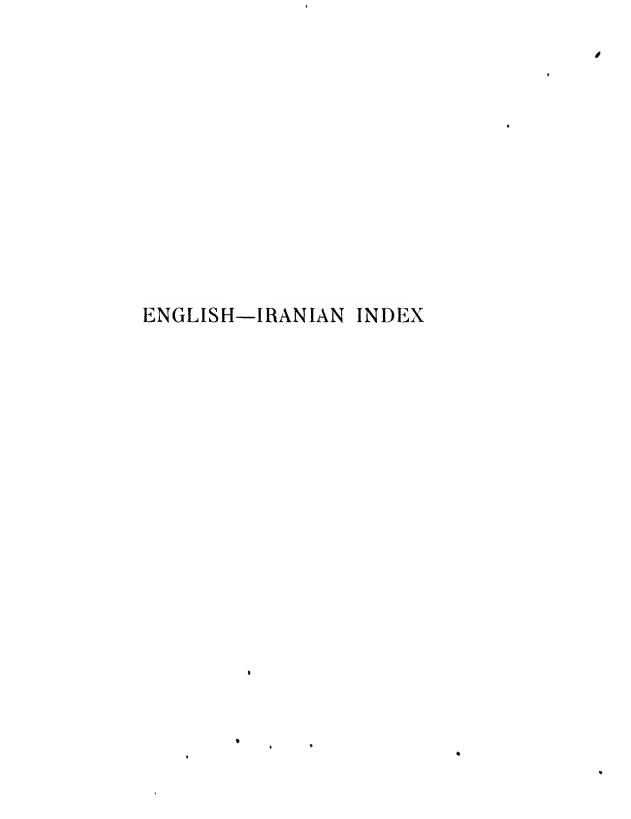
Pēš·i mā raftī, dar mābain·i maidån, /
satkičawon² . . . . . . čišm.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

```
Page.
        Line
              from bottom. Add: Hingan, cf. p. 426.
 16
           4
 29
           8
                               Aspiration is noted in a Shgh. vocabulary published
              in the Annuaire de la Rev. de Kabul 1934-35. E.g. 1965 (= khāl' head.
 73
           1 in margin. For \check{c}k read \check{s}k.
 77
           5 from bottom. Ad tūga, ef. Voc. s.v.
 79
           4 Cf. also kinčäka girl.
           8 Cf. also pəcəg- 'to break' < *pati-synda-?
  3
 84
           5 from bottom. Add: \gamma iky < *g\gamma šnuka, v. § 117.
 86
          12 For *spīšā- read *spišā.
 87
           7 Cf. also § 52.
 89
              Add: Ir.
105
             Add: z<sup>9</sup>vīy tongue < *hizwāka-.
         19
 ,
         22
              Add. lo with < *hadā.
109
              For rt > rd > d read rt > d > d.
114
              from bottom. For § 148 read §§ 149, 163, 175.
121
           3
                               Add: Ysh šināmiī girls.
122
                               But pure might go back to *pu\partial rai, with pronominal
                               ending.
149
                               Add: Cf. Voc. s.v. ko ni-.
151
             But v. p. 129 II. 10 sqq., and p. 159, II. 2 sqq.
155
             Cf. also Par. m\hat{a}t killed m\hat{e}r-) < *m\tilde{a}rita-\cdot (not *marxta-\cdot).
         20
158
          9 For 327 read 227.
204
         10 and 15 Articles čatīr and čšīr to change place.
220
         20 (s.v. ketiu). Add transl.: book.
222
         12 (s.v. |u\bar{u}\rangle, |u\bar{u}\rangle *luė, rušk < Ir. *\delta u\S(a,k), cf. Yazgh. \delta \partial w\check{a}k, Shgh.
              δθž(?). But scarcely Prs. dala 'weasel' from a dial. related to Sgl.
              with l < \check{s}.—With *dušaka-, ef. Av. dužaka- hedgehog? Semantically
              cf. Yaghn, sugar 'marmot'.
224
         11 from bottom (s.v. l<sup>3</sup>ro<sub>2</sub>b). Cf. Wkh. wirdina clear (sky): Jaunsari
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(Indo-Ar.) bidri.

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Page.
       Line
             from bottom (s.v. p\bar{\imath}\gamma). Cf. Wkh. pi\bar{\imath}k.
236
          7
             Insert before skut: skapīr G above.
246
             (s.v. s\bar{a}l). Add: Y s\bar{a}lo, Par. s\breve{a}r < *sard\bar{a}.
 ٠,
             from bottom (s.v. sänj). Cf. Bur. sīnč roof-beam.
247
             (s.v. sar^{1}r\tilde{a}r).
                             Add: Ysh.
         20
248
             from bottom (s.v. wuziā-). Cf. Parth. wzyh- < uz-i-. v. Henning,
264
                             BSOS, IX, 89.
266
         11
                             (s.v. x\bar{v}^{\sigma}n-). Cf. Saka ggan-, v. Bailey, BSOS, IX. 71.
             For ni-yang- read ni-yaug-.
274
          1
             from bottom. After žang add: žingo Yg n. of a bird.
278
          1
             Add: Cf. E. Yaghn. s (old \theta), W. Yaghn. t < \theta, v. Junker, Yayn.
305
         11
             Stud. I, 128.
330
          8
             from bottom.
                             Cf. also ormozd remuz sun, v. Voc. s.v.
          9
                              Add: f≥ryem, rīv-lav.
331
          7
                              Add: durk, purk.
 ٧,
          6
                              Add: § 144.
 5
             Ad to-be add. tom-ba Sgl. p. 3. V. Voc. s.v. astay.
345
              Add: Possibly kuč-i his wife, nes-i la-kuð didn't allow him.
348
              from bottom. Add: Sk. wide Ag. Pl. of awi (Texts VI).
349
             Add: Final -i also in Sgl. is. la-kurō-mō-i I have left it (enclitic
354
              pronoun?).
             Add: Sk. nīst; Sgl. nes i la-kuδ.
355
391
             from bottom (s.v. dos). Add: das I.
          3 from bottom. Ad kamak cf. Sar., Shgh. comj back.
398
         19 (s.v. wulmēk). Add transl.; moon.
419
420
         26 (s.v. wārv.). For Mj. wurv- read Yd. urw.
422
          5 (s.v. xum). But cf. § 55.
          1 from bottom. Acc. to 'Annuaire de la revue de Kabul', 1934-35,
438
              p. 143 this dialect "used to be spoken in the district of Faizabad
              on the banks of the Saraghlam river. Now it is dead and abandoned
              ".(موده و متووك)
             from bottom. Add: The geographical distribution of -ov and -it is
442
             not clear. Kl. describes the dialect of Langar Kishn in Eastern
              Wakhan .- Another dialectical variation is that of Y, X, Sh. spa 'our',
              and Sk., Kl. spo, Hj. swpd.-The Perfect forms given by Sk. (v. § 156)
              may also belong to a restricted locality.
471
         12 in margine. For sp read šp.
           3 from bottom. Add: \check{x}\epsilon n\check{\jmath}- to fill, var\delta enz- to fill < \cdot aya-?
482
```





## ENGLISH—IRANIAN INDEX

to the Vocabularies contained in the following publications by the author: Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages I, II; Notes on Shnghni (NTS, I, 45 sqq.); The Wanetsi Dialect of Pashto (NTS, IV, 156 sqq.); with reference to page); Supplementary Notes on Ormuri (NTS, V, 10 sqq.); An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto (Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskapsakademi i Oslo, II, Hist.-Filos, Klasse, 1927, No. 3); and to Notes on Prof. Charpentier's Article "Some Remarks on Pashto Etymology" (AO VII, 198 sqq.).

The languages are, as a rule, quoted in the following order: Wanetsi (Wn.; Pashto ( $P\S = \text{Etym. Voc. Psht.}$ ,  $P\S^1 = \text{Notes}$ , AO VII. Ormuri of Logar (O: IIFL, I): Ormuri of Kaniguram ( $O^1$ . Supplementary Notes. NTS, V); Parachi (P: IIFL, I): Yidgha Munji (Y: IIFL, II); Sanglechi-Ishkashmi (S: IIFL, II); Wakhi (W: IIFL, II), and Shughni ( $\S: \text{NTS}$ , I).

Identical, or nearly identical forms of a word are only given once, and in this manner the order of the dialects has often been deviated from. Minor variations of vowels (such as  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\hat{a}$ , and  $\bar{a}$ ) have not been taken into account in such cases. Thus, e.g.: "Garden . . .  $b\hat{a}_Y$  O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š" stands for " $b\hat{a}_Y$  O,  $b\bar{a}_Y$  O<sup>1</sup>,  $b\bar{a}_Y$  S,  $b\hat{a}_Y$  Š" (and, besides, Munji  $b\hat{a}_Y$  will be found in the Vocabulary s.v. Y  $ba_Ya$ ).

Accents are omitted, and uncertain vowel quantities within a single language have not been noted. Thus, e.g., a for  $\check{a}$  of the Vocabularies, and o, e. for Psht.  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ . Note that in IIFL, II  ${}^{\circ}st$ ,  ${}^{i}sp$ , etc., will be found under s. Verbs are given in the root-form, except in the case of Psht.

Translations have frequently been broadened and modified in order to make the Index more easily surveyable. In every case the Iranian word given in the Index must be looked up in the Vocabularies, where the more special meanings will be found. Thus the Index catch-word 'wheat' will include 'summer' and 'autumn-wheat', 'cap' several kinds of caps, etc.—In a few cases obvious mistakes in the earlier translations have been corrected.

Wanetsi forms are given only when they differ from those of Psht. A few words not given in the NTS-article have been included within square brackets. For the sake of ready comparison a few important Psht. and Shgh. words not found in the above mentioned publications have likewise been added within square brackets. The Shgh. forms are taken from Sköld's material.

Very rarely new etymological suggestions have been added to the Psht. forms.

#### A

, ability hogūf P. able, to be c-O, nar-P, v. ken-, kir Y, kōken- S, bās wəzī- W, var-δ- Š. above pabēga O, -bēža O¹, pasmīno, vəlyo Y, cə-pšūr, vərāz S. abstinent parīz P. abnse astio Y. abuse, to škanjel Pš, vārand- W. account hisâb P. accursed lain P. v. curse. accustomed rūžd Pš. ache, to v. pain. acid food, eaten as a relish tanda O. acorn pərqai [also Afr. etc.] Pš. across pore Pš. action kâr O. Adam's apple rarai (v. raral) Pš. rurvokuluxa, tūta Y, vālviš S. Cf. throat. admirer auriagar P. advice nesiyat, pand, salā P. nasiāt Y. adulterer yar Y. adze taršaj Pš, škīnj O1, toško Y, užāk. tarš, tīša W. affair gap, sūy P. afflict, to blosedel (v. blos) Pš. affliction tâb P. Afghan Paštūn (v. paštō) Pš, kâš O, auvân P. afraid, to be v. fear. after wrusto Pš, bâd O, bâdaz, peš, pešchan P, cpāč, dīb, voro, Y, bād, pasi S, bâād, ga, pas Š. afternoon joštai O', nemāzdigar, pēšin, (i)ziānë Y, pešīn S, namâz-e digar Š. afterwards pēc O, bâd, bâz, pēšthērâ, pešte, ēka P, bād Y. after that  $d \ni v \bar{a}$  S. again biyār Wn 162, byā, byarta Pš, bē, pēc O, bâd, bite, wapēš, dūbâra P, bət, cebas W, wâ S.

age umr P. humr Š. agitation šūr P. ago mén O1. agrceable xwaš (v. xož) Pš. xuš Š agreeing fâreš P, kābūl S. agreement angür Pš. rezâ P. aim murâd, maxsa'ũd P. air (h'awā O, P. S. W. alarm čīa P. alas darīv Y. afsos W. alive žwandai (v. žwāk) Pš, zinda O, S. W. Š. °o Y, zenda, jano P. all drast, wāra Pš, hull O, P, S, ar, ayera O, hu, harei, hus's', P. drust. pāži Y, hor S, kuxt W, fukat [-a\theta] Š. all three hušše P. almond bādām O1, P, Y, Š, bā bām S, (wild) kitaya Y. alms wačārum, xudāī Y. alone yawājai (v. yau) Pš. tanâ O. žahī P, fkyiriko Y, toho Y, W, tāke, wulyēka S. Cf. single. along with, v. together with. already waxt S. also mi Wn 162, [hum Pš], ga(r) O, ham P, əm Y, am S. always mudâm O, P. amhergris ambar P. amhler yibyă, yurvă W. ambling yurva S. ambush psūnai Pš. amir amir P. amorous âšugbâz P. among men P, tar S. amulet, v. charm. ancient gahīna, kona, tariwāl P, kūnä. qadīm S, kīna Š. and [o] Pš, u O, P, wo P, Y, Š, awī S, ət W, at š. angel malâik P, fəraste S.

Angelica kurušo Y.

anger khar, šanufart, xešem P, kyahrë Y, xafa S, k'qār S, W, rūš W. angry xafa O, P, Š, brūs Pš, yussamand, pērīčan P, bur W. animal haiwān, žāndār Y, aiwān, čārān S, aiwon W. ankle linda, narai yarai (v. yarəl), šongarai, šatgarai Pš, kanak O, šengeräi O¹, band·e pâi P, tr∂boda, wuški ostia Y, band-1-pā S, band-ipūd, moš W, bijelak-i-paī Š. ankle-bone  $[p_l \bar{o}^{\dagger} ka \text{ Wn}], wary\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  (v. āyažəl) Pš, bujulak P, ušk-mäžiko, polo boloko Y, čta-long W, šurčak S. ankle-ring mast P. answer jawâb O, juwâp P, żuāb Y, juwāb S, W, Š. ant mērža Wn 161, mežai Pš, murčā O. marevi O1, mūčo, murč P, morro Y, mārcik, mərč S, murča, mīr-prīč W, mūrj S. ant, white wena Ps. antidote taryâk P. antler cot Y. anus kūna Pš, kūn O, W, kyūn O¹, gūyək, šīn W, šardic Š. Cf. podex. anvil putk, sandan, (small) xvisk Y, sindon, yūyəne yər W. any ēč O, hēč P, hāč Y. anyone kok O, koi Y, iško, koči S anybody khin P. anything (ē)ca O, hezâ P, hēči S. apart bīgûna P. apparent māləm Y. appear, to sədiy. W, nemäi Y. appearance nemâyân P. appearing paida P. Y. S. apple maņa Pš, mlīč O, milīz O¹, âmar P, seb [Wn], P, W, amuno Y, mel S, mur, mənü W, mün S. appointed time wâda O.

apprenticeship šâqirdī P. approach, to garz- Wn 167. approve, to kabūl kan- P. apricot matat O, O1, zardâlū O, P, [zyard] Wn], mindut P, čīre Y, zardolu S, W, čuwel S, čuwan W, náš (incorr. naš) S. apricots (dried) čīryišče Y. apricot (unripe) čūruca Y, pandak W. apricot-kernel čilvānė Y. aqueduct tarnāw (v. nāwa) Pš. archer kamândâr P. arghawan, Judas-tree aryawân P. arm bizar O1, last Y, dost S, dast, yurm W,  $b\hat{a}z\hat{a}$  Š. Cf. forearm, hand. arm (npper part of) leča Pš. bazū P. S. kâlâja P, vīzya Y, astamayzək S. mayzī W, fyak Š. arm, strength of the  $b\hat{a}z\hat{u}i$  P. arm (weapon) erâq P. armlet, v. bracelet. armonr zyara Pš, zyiro O¹, parkála P. armpit kucaņa Wn 168, txarg Pš, O1, bayal O, P, S, W, banabayal, taiköl P, šafšīyan, tākaš Y, kašviš S, kalrben W, bzyūž S. army laškar P, S, fauj P, W, paltan P, kārun Y, askar, fauž S. around daur P. arranged jör P. arrangement wâda O, bandubast 1'. arrest, to pačrax- W. arrive, to zäy- O, z- O1, zah- P, ros- Y, īδ· S, žat- W, fərâp- Š. arrive, to make to zahēw- P, : risad- Y. arrogant sor-xaš S. arrow [zēsa Wn], vošai Pš. tīr O, zēšäi O1, bânở P, pix, yofcirgiko Y, dərnāk(?), xastīrek S, tīr-i-dast, wuệ W. cankamånak, på9 S. Cf. bullet. arrow, barbed šataī Pš. artisan močie Y, "uståd W.

as. v. like. ascend, to lik- O1, san- W. Cf. rise. a-cending  $b\bar{e}k$  O. ascent pečūmai Pš, pataraj Š. as far as tu-manak O. ash, mountain- tūr Y. ashamed šarmunda O, enda P, inda S, W, čemše P. ashamed, to be lejj- P. ashes arē Wn 159, īrē (or) Pš, xâkistar. yānak O, yāk O1, bhâr P, yaxio Y, park, wuter S, xākestār S, W, pārg W, Dir S. ashes, hot sevastan Pš. as if laka Pš. as if, just as găya Y. ask. to puštedal Pš, khuj(ēw) P, prs- Y, foros S, purs W, pešc S. ask for, to žay. O, za. O<sup>1</sup>, čalg. W. asleep prou Wn 160, ūdo Pš, nwastak O¹, minduk S, šáft Š. ass xar Pš, O, O¹, Š, xro O¹, khōr P, xoro Y, xor S, xūr W, markāb Š. ass, wild yyara Pš. ass's load xerwâr P. assembled jam P, gol S. assignment barât P. assistance v. help. assistant hamrâ P. astonished hairân P. astringent stay, zmoxt Pš. at pa Pš. O, O1, P, da, dâl P. at last âxer P, pəčuwaxšt (?) S. at once mudâ P, ugah Y, mis S. attached, to be awas- O. attain, v. find. angury mutr W. aunt nandiār, tandor Pś, koko Y, voč W. annt, maternal māšo Pš. xâla O, P, Š. aunt, paternal tror (v. tra) Pš, ama O, Š, tro O1, amajī P, bībī S.

autumn [mana Wn], manai Pš, meo O. minai O1. sâmur P. păiz Y, tiramă Y. S. Š. °mō W, tamūz S. avalan he puma, rešk Y, yārč S, Trist Š avalanche of stones) carao Y, a W. S. avaricious star Pš aware poh Pš. awake ["warish" Wn], wif Pš, anga[h]. usxūbon, bidār, bicāre Y, bē° S. agā S. awake, to intr.' wust-ust- O, cid- P, (tr.) idew-P, angalu-Y. aware xabar S. away pũ P. awl rina Pš, durf P, lerefso Y, cārzņ W. axe tabar Pš, O, načixai O1, pašo, tašo, tawarda, weggā P, tuvor Y, tovor S, t<sup>3</sup>pār W, taf;vār, taršak? Š. axe, battle- tuverzin Y.

#### B

babble, to brām- W. babbler ūnai Pš. baby zolikik S. bachelor buidoq S. back (adv.) byarta Pš. pēc O, apešt, bite. wapēš P, cebas, vispač Y, sibās W, wâ S Cf. again. back, n. [puš/ēi Wn], šā Pš, pēc, pūšt O. pešput, pušta, put P, piščo Y, arqa S. W, kamak S, dām, kâmī, mād W. back (lower part of) biyan O. back (of an animal) dam S, pert W. back (upper part of) pat O, O1, taxta-e puțika P, harko Y, arka. dam S. back (of the head) pěškalá P. sor-čibaxt W. back-tooth pačagi danân P, kām-lad Y, kərəsī, woždān S. back-wall čana Pš. backwards čpöšt S.

bad bad O, P. S, yanj O, xarāb O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Š, ēlāhā, bisā, geš, kačal. wačhanā P, līw, naškel Y. ganda S, šakk S, W, loyar W, šake Š. Cf. evil. lean. rotten.

bad, ill-omened badkār P.

badness badī P.

bad smell wah S.

bag göniē O¹, božai Y. Cf. goatskin bag. mussuck.

baker nayön-pečāk, nagönphakō P, xādem Y.

baker, professional woman- xanadaro Y. bakhsheesh šīrīnī P.

baking-pan usīd S, sāt W.

bald kal O, P, S, kyel Y,

band riškaī (v. wrešel. Pš.

band (of sheaf) wandanai, wawdənai Pš. ^enai O¹.

band (of a shirt) kaitan P.

bank (of a river) bar P, daryā-lab W. barber, a modreb P.

bare-footed abl (v. pal, Pš, wīr-pul Y. špulok W.

bare-headed wīsti-sər W.

bark (of tree) xwar Pš, pāni,? O, pūst (-e bhīnika, °-e tika) P, pisto Y, pəstāk S, draxt-pīst, kurust W, pōst Š.

bark, birch- barj Pš.

bark, to rap. [Pš], O1, jaf., wakar. P. rov. Y, lav. S.

barking of a dog raurau O.

barley [arba, ssi Wn], örbüšē Pš, <sup>3</sup>spēk O. ispēk O¹, žō P, kosk, yeršio Y, vərvəs S, yirk W, čūšċ Š.

barley (beardless) kyal-yaršīo Y,

barley-bread, v. bread.

barn, v. hay-stack, store-room.

barren šand Pš, s(Itrīn W.

bashful lejjanák P.

basket kajāwə O¹, boriko, kūmio, sāvde Y, cumoļ S. wurges W. cemūd Š.

bat (zool.) šauparak O. P. S. W, šawurkai O¹. mūš-i parrān P, lə-verzə;a rūso, £abparekila;, fivderaus Y, fabgardak, ṣāparak Š.

bath ammām S.

bathe, to ramb- O1, zənay- Y, šənöware kən- S. Cf. to wash.

battle jang P.

battlefield jangjâi P.

baxter tabaī (v. taba, Pś. nocnogo Y.

bazar bazar P, Y, S.

bay, to ruly W.

he, to ī Wn 106, štu, wu¹, yam Pš. b· O, ·u, ·ú, hû, sī. bī, ōst P, ast·: vī· Y, ·ō, ast, ōsto, vəð S, humu·. tei· W, vu·. yast Š.

beacon sunya Y. Cf. bonfire.

beak nūl O, P, S, Š, mašūko O<sup>1</sup>, novgo Υ. mingōr, nuċk W.

beam pažo Y.

beam (of floor; sān) Y. Cf. roof-beam. beans kaceraphor, māš P. muyo Y. bālyē S. bakula W. maš (?) Š.

bear yirž Wn 161, yaž Pš, xms O, P, W, yīrs, yižə O¹, uċ, uṭ P, xərs, yarš Y, xars S, norordum W, yūrš Š.

bear, to (a child) zīy-, ažaw- Y, yūž- W. bear, to (endure: žarā- Y,

beard žīra Pš [Wn]; aurušt, gīš, ?, O, dhū<sub>l</sub>ī P, yaržo Y, rīš, cīn S, regīš W, bōn Š beard (of corn) laša Pš, sūg O, lēšī O¹, beast of burden bhūrgīr P.

beat, to wul- Wn 166, wahel Pš, prī(b), tikaw-, zan- O, de(h)- O¹, P, S, jan- O¹, ur-, jan-, lag- P, dah- Y, čuk-, žēb- S, de-, dē-, dīn- W, δā- (de-), zīn- Š.

beat (a drum) kūb- P.

beat to (eachother) dang vit- W. beat and clean wool, to  $\tilde{s}\epsilon m$ - W.

beating zōk O.

beautiful kṣulai (v. kṣul), [ṣāyista] Pṣ, ṣâsta O, ṣaista O¹, negâr, nâzanīn, sutra P, x³ṣrūi W.

beauty karigi, surat P.

becanse ka O, ĉe, ĉâ P, ke Y, ki S, W. because of bâbadī O.

become, to šwəl Pš, b- O, s- O, O¹, ċh-, par- P, oy- Y, š- S, wōc- W, sāw- Š. bed gāi O¹, ċârpâi O, P, Š, kat P, ċor-

pogī, mānjo, žen Y, vīš, manjē S,

°ja, cårpåya W.

bedding brēstən Wn 162, brastən Pš, bistar O, lēf O', P, S, kasāyan, wiranā P, nivilo, kurpo Y, -°ē S, kirpa, pipir W.

hee [angīnmēcā Wn], rlawza, mačaī (v. mač) Pš, šādzambūr, šātibhambur P, (agmīn-)kurmīkī Y, zambūr-i asal W. beehive agimīnyēx Y.

beetle čäčk Y, sangurt W.

beetroot lablabū S.

before wrānde (v. wrumbai) Pš, šam O, pač(etar), pailân, pēš, pušt, tar(ī), tartar P, apīr, piro, psaro, skapīr (v. Addenda ad p. 246) Y, ža S, xēz Š.

before, in front of wulai S.

beggar faqir O, P.

begging borwani P, gadai Y.

beginning awal W.

behind wrusto Pš, apešt, damāi, dumbâl, peš(te), peščhan P, debāl, špāč Y, čpōšt S, zebâ Š.

belief *bāwar*.

believing kābūl S.

bellow, to naṛəl Pš, buy-, naṛ-O¹, anur-Y.
bellowing baγ O, dōnas, khânas P, baγaz
Y, boγas S. Cf. bleating.

bellows gudēi O1, dam, puīne Y.

belly [geda, xeṭa Pš], nas, škamba O, dīm O¹, aštaf, xīṭ P, darūn, landik, ilīr,

ūžut Y, dēr, rēčik, šikam S, dūr, wānj, word W, kēič Š. Cf. gnts, intestines. beloved yâr, zurbar P.

below kṣ̃ata (v. kṣ̃e), kūz Pš, jēm O, O¹, ta, wachanē P, dalen, noyosār, sāro, š¹tāhān Y, pīān, viš S.

belt psol (v. psoləl), walmastanai (v. mlā) Pš. kamarband O, O¹, P, Y, S, ezârband P, läkīn S.

belt, (leather) suy-məlān Y, rydāg W. karapĉi Š.

bend, to kōža- O1.

Berberis azīto Y.

berries, a kind of wild, red- wdrwane. betrothal kozda Pš.

betrothed čanyol Pš.

better, is bida(?) S.

beware xabardâr S.

beyond pore Pš.

bier žinazo Y.

biestings wurže Pš, filla S, piž W.

big loe, star Pš, ustur O, Y, stur O¹, ghand, ferimân, γulū P, žəṣt S, kalān, kat(t)a S, Š, lup W, xədir Š. bile rəma Pš.

bind, to tarəl Pš, tar. O, O¹, bež- P, trāž-, vad- Y, vānd- S, W, vīnd- Š. birch zeviryo Y, b<sup>3</sup>rež S, bullī, furz W. birch(-bark) barj Pš.

bird maryə Pš, parında Y, S, W.

bird (n. of a) bubitīti, yuċi, kajīr O. dasxār, pūi O¹, bâdâr, xarkau P. bubuka, caroyo, tfo, waryijin, xoryū, žingo Y, pīrmāi S, bakar, bilfak, kalanjōy, qakul, turpiċu, xāriki W. Cf. water-fowl.

bird-net salmā W.

birth zât P.

bit, horse's γalamī O¹, lajām ¹', °ōm Υ,
W, °ūm Š, lažām S, nuxta Υ, dāna S.
Cf. bridle.

biteb [svaī Pš], mâdakuēčk, tâzī P, macio Y, māčik S, mâček W, ked Š, bite, to daral Ps. gas- P. novo- Y. Cf. chew

bitter trīx Pš. tēš O. tēšr O1. takku P. talx P, Y, S, W, tarku P, xošk, trakč W. ciš Š.

black tor1 Pš, rrās O, O1, paddo P, nºroū Y, šūi S, šīu W, tēr Š,

black-pocks qulamiri W.

blacksmith paš Pš, ach engar O, P, močie Y, ustās S.

bladder spoxz Pš.

blanket šaraž [< IA] Pš, kambala O1, polās, žīl Y, kampal W. Cf. bedding, rug, shawl.

bleat, to wenger- P, ronil- Y, war- W. bleating brežan Pš. banas P, boyas S. Cf. bellowing.

blessing duwâ O.

blind rānd Pš, kor O, S, Š, ond O', bitech, kûnő, kör P, kurbes, yade Y, kūr W, bezūwi Š.

blindfolded tečpetaká, i) P.

blink, to v. wink.

blister ōwa, šinai Pš.

blood wina Pš, in, šun O, sun O1, hin P, xūn P, Š, īno Y, wēn S, wuxen W. blood, mixed with water malob Ps. blood, dripping with hinčakor P. blood brotherhood biyādarxândagī P.

blood-fine badučâmb P.

blossom, to sprež. W.

blow zarb P.

blow, with closed hands gurmat (v.grut) Pš. blow, to pab-, puf ken- S.

blow out v. extinguish.

blowing phi P.

blue šīn Pš, O¹, xingak O, kabūt P, S, W, S, sauz P, axšīn Y, sāvz W, nīle Š.

bluish grev xing S.

blunt kund O, Y, S, kull P, mrky, somte Y. kind W. aund. tund S.

boar mata Pš.

board larie O1.

board, roof- taxta S.

board (round fireplace) taxtabande V.

boat kīštī O. S. keštī P. xan Š.

bobbin rešpuk W. Cf. spindle.

body jan O. P. badan P. S. W. ton P. tono Y. bana ? S. tana S. S. tan W. bog buštana v. buštēdel, tarma Pš.

boil n. lūna. nonkai, šalūna, šanza Pš. dâna P, parəpati Y.

boil, to v.i. vašedel iv. vašnā: Pš. vasyek O, yarw- P, urw- Y, yaks- W.

boil, to, v.t. juš- O, yarwēw- P, kāky- Y, wārv- S. wūrv- Š

boiling yašnā Pš. još O. varw P. wūrv Š. bolt, of a door porus Y.

bolt, hole for the door-b, poru-lan Y.

bone [had Pš], storān O, hadd P, yaste Y, ostok S. yašč. ustuxon W. setxån Š. bonfire dūna (v. tod) Pš, pumbaraš Y.

book kitāb O. O1. P. W. Š. ketiu Y. kitāv S.

boon xubī O.

boot bot O, but P, buto Y, okord S. šišk W. pēx, paizūr Š. Cf. shoe. border of a field vazak S.

born paidâ P, Y, S.

born, to be zowul Pš, zay- O, zâ- P, ažistai Y.

born in the preceding spring sāmurī P. both dwāra Wn 162, dwāra/a (v. wāra) Pš, addugad, ardū O, huddi(nân) P. aveli Y, kifc W.

bottom van Y.

bottom of a bed (plaited) vise Y.

bonlder xīžai Pš.

bound basta O1.

bow linda Pš, kamân O, P. drūgg O¹, drūn Y, kamon W, can S. how (pellet-) yālak P, Y, yō° S. x9smānek Y, səmbonak W. bow (for carding cotton) kamanek Y. bow, the point of a suvdiko Y. bowstring ziā Wn 169, žaī Pš, zaī O1, jīr P, zē P, S, žīo Y, dərnāk?) S, jəi W, zīl S. bowl, wooden kundūk, padreško Y. kolavā S, kəbun W. box sandux O, səndük O1, sandüq P. sanduq Y, W, ouk S, tovūnyo Y. box (for cheese) vərkyakye Y. box (on the ear) čapilák P. boy werkai (v. wur), zanai Pš. bača, klanâk O, kulāk O¹, bačī, bálō, lerē P, mardumpūr, žunaye Y, zəmanök S, W, kaš W, vəbā S. bracelet bāhū, wašai [v. wandanai, Pš, čurī P, pälästiko Y, prēšt S, boin W. braid yaföyi P. braid, to, v. plait. brain mayza Pš, mastary O1, mayz-e sőrika P. mäyz Y. S. kala-mayzigo Y. morz-i sor, satxån-marzi S. bramble vana Pš, kuryuda Y, čarīr W. branch [cāngə Pš], šâx O, P, W, cāngo O1, šī P, šāxo Y, vəzōk S, šolx, šamənak W, šēxčak, xēš S. brass ziyar Pš, mes P, mis Y, S, W, Š, birinj S. brass-pot mas-dig W. bravo šâbâš P, šābaš Y, ofarīn S. bray an O. bray, to rayəl Ps. bread wel, [nəyan] Wn 169, nayan Pš, on P, oen Y, txan O, O1, kok O1, naharī Y, gola, xēšte S. ptok, žeč W,

bread (thin) pāstēi, wisilyē [< Pš] O'.

šepik Š.

bread (barley) köskən (nayan), aršəmin Y. bread millet) arzəmin Y, kilešćak S. bread (wheaten) yadmin nayan Y, gidimžeč W. garδa S. bread (made with curds) kutaxin Y. bread made of muyo' maymun Y. breadth psor Pš. bar P. break, to v.i. šledal Pš. mēz-, s-yōk (), maz-  $O^1$ , pətišč(e) Y. break, to v tr. mizaw- O, vri- Y, vrēl- S, rəstəv-, škəndiv W, šičend-, vəraž- S. breakfast nărai Pš, naharī Y, xardopn W. breast bar P, S, W, sīnā P, S, W, S, fiz Y. pīš-i-bar, puz S, pēšbar,  $p'\bar{u}z$  W. breast (female) ywalūn Wn 159, tai Pš. cīk O, sīz P, iščīn Y, čičī S, bap, daī W, biš Š. breastwork murčal P. breath ūda, sāh Pš, phī P, dom Y, tom S. breeze niwag W. briar axrîo Y, gulxår S. bribe mäaseli P. brick xašta Pš, xešt O. uštu Y, detk, šolg, xešt W. brick, burnt silo O1. brick, dried xišt O1, P, S, Š. bride nawe Pš, artis O, P, S, so Y, ken ala P, šābuk Y, oris W. bridegroom *palasta* Wn 168, šâ P, sābuka. šâi, šābuk Y. bridge [pal Wn], pul [Pš], O, O', S, hī P, yeya Y, yotuk S, skord W, ye'd S. bridge, rope- dut W. bridle awlūn Wn 159, mlūna Pš, kaiza O, jelau P, awlān, gizagī, yuwiz Y, yīxūn W. Cf. bit.

bread (piece of xšan Pš, norī O. O1.

(Cf. morsel).

bright rūn Pš, rūšana O, rušān P, roušan, signi S. nir W. brightness brēšnā Pš. ira P. Cf. light. bring, to rā-w- Wn 160 1, prēw- Wn 167, (inanim. obj.) rā-wrəl (v. wrəl) Pš, war- O, âr- P. āvər· Y, ižim- S, wuzem- W,  $v\bar{a}r$ - Š; (anim. obj.) °wastəl Pš, ēn-, zahēw- P, arăz- Y. nīv- S, kutāl- S. bring in, to hel kan- P. bring up, to deg- W. broad v. wide. broken māt Pš, rhâzöī, xâr P, fərēd S. brooch camo Y. brook, v. stream. broom jarup O, parawak O1, jarū P, Y, parwaxše, rufo Y, ref S, derepe W, vədīrəm (corr. form) S. brother wror Pš, marza O, O1, b(a)ya P, vrai Y, v<sup>3</sup>rūδ S, v<sup>3</sup>rit W, v<sup>3</sup>râd Š. brother, elder lâla P. brother-in-law boja W, wezīrj Š; (husband's brother) lewar Pš, O1. hīwar P, xusur, yūi Y, teu S, bakš, īwar W: (sister's husband) dûmâd O, zamai Y; (wife's sister's husband' bâja Y; (wife's brother; āxšai Pš, xusurbərā O, āxšäi O1, xasurbīra P, x3sarb3rā. rowon Y, xusərbərē S. brown xər Pš, xir O1, žigaren Y, šurangzård S, jīgarī, rakš W. bruise, to jabel Pš. bruised augâr O. bucket kuzəli O, bākə O1, aftâwa P, °ōvo Y, °āve S, langau, mašerba Y, : yudāra S, kūza W, Š, kuščak Š. Cf. water-vessel. buckle of a belt pišawiz Y.

bud yandal Pš, yūto O1, yunča P, bučayi,

tūga Y, yərrā W.

buffalo meš Pš, miš(a) O1.

bug xowiza Y, šavzād S, xouzit W. bulbul bulbul P. W. bulgar leather buryâl P. bull lēžda Wn 161. zuckai, zwai, (v. nuā) Pš, nargōī O, (nar-gyōī O1, quay Y, a.eta, 'yr-\kužuk S, bugā. durukš W, sitor. šīj Š. bull, young tunda O. bullock s.cwandar (v. sxai) Pš, O1. bullock, plough- gažōī O, kâšagū P. bullet pəčūn S. Cf. arrow. burden bâr O, P, bhâr P, vĩra Y, vũr S, vir W, vīz (w-) Š. burial-feast čâzdânī P. buried šax Pš. burn, to v.i. swal Pš. bras- O. thi- P.  $t \partial v$ - S,  $\theta \bar{a} w$ - W,  $: \theta \circ d$  S. burn, to v.tr. sejəl (v. swəl) Pš, braz- O, thēw- P, guv- Y. burnt thối P. burrow rus W. burrow, hare's sō-yālai (v. yālai) Pš. burst, to čāwd əl; Pš, tār- P, zvbut- W. bury, to diz Y. bush tarânī P. but balkim O, xu, walē, walēkin P, allo no S, enoi W, ammo S, ammā W. butter čuk Wn 162, [kuč Pš], maska O. W, Š, o Y, pisk O1, pənū W. butter, clarified, v. clarified b. butterfly šāparak O, Š, oik P, pingrak O1, kautia, rawa Y, parwinek S. mIndelië, pilek-milek W. butter-milk somle, tarwa (v. trīw) Pš. pikăk, tōpĩ O, O¹, đồ;, waspē P, niya Y, nī $\delta uk$  S.  $\delta \bar{\imath}_{\gamma}$  W,  $d\bar{u}_{\gamma}$  Š. Cf. curds, milk, whey. button tūga Y, tukmo a Y, S, tāk W. build, to rez- P. built al P. bustard [cārai Pš], caroyo Y.

buy, to pīrawdəl [\*parya-] Pš, šen- O, šrin- O¹, guri- P, xōān- Y, xərn- S. buyer guriagar, xarīdâr P. buving xarīd W, Š.

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cairn cəlai Pš. Cf. beacon. cake kulčā S. cage kafastūr Y, kafas S. calamity balâ P. ealculation šumár P, isāb O, O1, S, W. calf [sxa Wn], sxai Pš, yuskak, xusī O, vuos O1, gūsāla, vaso, torpī P, bakəl. šutur, wosok S, štūr, wošk, dotki w., wacī (?) W. šīq Š; (he-) bārāi O1, bakında, muškoya Y, juāna Y, W, bakeneli S. noband W; she-) barie O1, foryomček, miščoro, patežo Y. juwāš, wānīc S, fərzəmć, rəgūm W. calf of the leg varai (v. varal), pundai (v. pūnda) Pš. odie Ot, iškambek-i pāi, baftak P. ilira. linga, naliko Y, kåxlink, šōţ-i pəôf, wont, zūngviš S, iškamba-i-pâ W, ling W, Š, pura-iaōšt Š. call, to ušā. Y, qīv ken. S, qēw. W,  $k\bar{\imath}v\cdot \hat{S}.$ calling kīči O. call together, to dhew- P. camel [wuš Wn], uš Pš, šutur O, P. wūš O1, iškiro Y, oštor S, oštir W, šetur Š. camel driver sârwân P. can, v. able. candle šam, čirāy, siyå čiråy S. Cf. lamp, light. canter, to halka kan- P. cap kolai (v. xol) Pš, xōlī O, O¹, kulâ, kur P, xūlo Y, kulē, talpak S, pakhūl, skīd, tåqe, tilpak W tâkē Š. cap, woolen pakoro Y.

cap, woman's pakyiky Y. captain kéftan P. captured destair P. earavau kāfila Y. caravanserai sráî O. card, to (wool, tak- O1, lib- Y, dəmb- S. care eteât, variră P. carpenter nažār S. ustāt Y. carpet däryē, ~alico O1. carpet (cotton) strani W. Cf. coat, rug. carrot gajar O. gûzerak P. zardak P. S. oak S. earry, to wrol Pš, g. O, O', bar. P, is :; van- Y. wus- S. earry to (off) yūnd. W. cartilage tandwai Pš. cartridge kortus Y. cartridges, having javuri P. carve wood, to berd car. W. cascade, v. waterfall. cash nāxt P. cast off, to ražedel Pš castle srâi O, arg, kāsr P. V. fort. castrated škop W. cat [pšī Wn], pišo Pš, pišī O, bullī, pus O', pišak P, prško Y, pūš S, pīš W, pūšak S. catch, to v. seize. eatch a cold, to škov. S, škav. W. cattle mâl P, Š. čorpâ P. csīr-pâla-f (v.s.v. čšīr), sotūr Y, čārvā S, čat W; (small) psi Pš, carwok O, čârwoyi, rizavak Y. cattle-shed yūjol (v. kolai) Pš, bāṇḍo, škāu O1, vivio, porīvur Y, oškod S, ayel, pužt W, vejid Š. Cf. goats' pen. cavalry resâla P. cause jinīb, sabab W. cause, to (to be made) kənī. Y.

cave covda Pš, čiw O, vâr O, S, khur P,

kēn Y, bải W.

cavity garang Pš. ceiling čo O1, kö, talāf P, čof Y, wiðun S. Cf. roof. cellar wačhanē-yus P. centfoil sădbărg Y, W, Š, kabūt so Š. centipede šobla. zanza Pš, mūr O, S, girgišo O1, čilpáž P, Š, saibal P, hazorčangolo Y. certain yakin P. certainly wale P. chaff kūtk W. chain zanjīr P, žažīro Y. chair sandalī O, kursī O1, Y, kar S, čauki P, °kyē Š, mindal(?) čovki W. chamber, upper bâlaxâna O. channel, v. irrigation channel. charcoal, v. coal. Charles' Wain hib-vorit W. charm marai Pš, elm, tawiz P. chatter, to yaredəl Pš. cheap arzân O, P, on W. cheating, v. deceit. cheek yuc/ča Wn 168, anangai Pš [< ānana-], mux O, P, bəyur O¹, ruxsâla P, nišok, roxo Y, rūi Y, W, līnjek, pšūr S, lunj W. Cf. face. cheese tarwa (v. trīw) Pš, panīr O, P, Y, W, pro S, kirār, plāc, tarān Y, ijgai(?) S, ləndək W, alyâk S. Cf. curds, dried. cheese-box vərkyakye chenar  $\check{c}in\bar{a}r$  O, Y, S, W, Š,  $\check{c}e^{\circ}$  P, rīm S. cherry gilas Y, S, os W. chest v. box. chew, to žowul Pš, gran-, zay- O, jaw- P, axšōw-, mā-, žaf- Y, šāw- S, yemeķ- S. Cf. bite, gnaw. chewing the cud xšān [šxwand] Pš, ramet W.

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chicken čirgotai O1, čužiya Y, čūčik. (kurčūn) zəmānī S, čića W. chief rahis P. child wörkai O, yurök, jura P, zəmon(ak) Y, telf S,  $z\bar{a}$ ,  $z^e m\bar{a}n$  W. Cf. boy. children aulâd O, ot P, baškač S. child-bearing zäžko Y. childless būr Pš. ehin kaž (v. kše), zana Pš, zināk O, zaniē O1, zanuk P, zanax Y, W, alāša W, zingūn S, no separate word) S. chip of wood totanai (v. taršaj) Pš, froi Y. chisel cwurlai Pš. choice extiyâr P. choose, to bož- O, yawer- W. chosen ywara Pš. chop, to waržel, ožel Pš, tukun- Y. chuck into the mouth, to pinal Ps. churn pərnəc W. churn, to ušān. Y. churning hīmző P. circle daur P. circuit dūbara, gerde P. circumcise, to nailo- Y. circumcision yēik-skadam Y. clan xel Pš, ulus P. clarified butter runa Wn 161, ywəri Pš,  $r\bar{u}n$  O, O<sup>1</sup>,  $l\bar{u}w\bar{o}n$  P,  $r\bar{u}_{i}(2)n$  Y, W, rēyon S, zīrd S. clasp, to def- Y, nedavn- W. claw mangul (v. grut) Pš, manguläi O1, čang P, W, panjál P, čigāli Y, cingāl S, cangin S. clay gel O, P, S, jer O, šū P, gil Y, S, W, xəlăryo, šifon; milyuz (red); milyo (white) Y, loi S, šartk, šavk Š. clay-pot gurcuk O, piźīn S.

clean pâkiză O, kârī, sâf P, pāgzo Y,

 $p\tilde{a}_{\gamma}z\bar{e}$  S,  $p\hat{a}_{\gamma}ja$  S.

cleanse, to spejəl, winjəl Pš, pok ken-S, pok car- W, pâk ken- S. Cf. wash. • clear barcer (v. cer) Pš, sâf P; (sky) ləroyo Y, wirdina W. clearly čūrt, nâteq P. cleave, to cir- O1, pəcəg- Y. Cf. cnt. clever kāy Pš. client a(s'sâmĭ P. cliff, (high) vənayaro Y. cloak kač-žōy, pilamru, royz, šižoyun, žov Y, wanjī, capān, cayman S, čpān W. Cf. coat. clod of earth yuroi-pīx, yarbasē Y. close v. near. close, to, v. shut. closed dok O, bot, kore Y. Cf. locked. clothes loša Wn 168 [Pš loxa = loša bedding], kâlī O, °a P, zopė Y, mus S, but W. Cf. dress. cloud yarza Wn 168, ora, wryaj Pš, yēwər O, abar, wriej O1, air, tam P,  $m\bar{\imath}_{\gamma}$  Y,  $ab(\bar{\imath})r$  S, W, Š,  $m\bar{o}i$  S,  $m\bar{e}_{\gamma}$ , mūr W. clondy ozqū P. clover sabargo Y, šaftal S, šaptal W, sēbarga Š. club gurz P. cluster of grapes žangūrai O1, rōro Y. eoal skor Pš, O, angešt O, oüšt S. skāro O¹, yâr P, skâvrio Y, zuyōl W. coal, live skarwata (v. skor) Pš, zuyāl O, spox O1, ažuryo Y, žīc S, angišt, škorč W, nižâr Š. coal, pit- kemur S. coal pieces of, charcoal pêmāna O1. coat kot O1, kūt Y, wanji S. Cf. rng. coat, sheepskin, v. posteen. cobbler kovzdūz Y. cock čirag Wn 159, čirg Pš, ping O, O1, bâšana, xurðs P, oūs S, narkire Y, x<sup>9</sup>ris W, čuš Š.

cock-crow bâng P. cognizance derak Y. coin päisā Y. coin, gold- ašerafi Y. cold (adj.) sor Pš, cāk O, O¹, eštâwő P, axlen, yox Y, sard, xənək S, sır, xunuk W, šeta, cf. šečajum S; (n.) sāla O, šūriš P, (h)ayās S, surī, sarmō W; cold, a  $z^{u}k\hat{a}m$  S. cold, to be škov- S. colic šwala (v. šomle) Pš. collar gərwī Wn 163, giribân P, hasaine Y, yarāy W: dog's yar-wandai (v. wandanai) Pš. collar-bone hekī Wn 161 [< \*huška-ka 'the dry bone'?], grewa Pš, gruwiē O1, fīz·yasti, paräyasti, šuīko Y, brūtiyarć, čigas, tārak W. collect, to yen- P, blaca- Y, yurt- W, višt da- S. collected tol O, jam O, P, gol S. collyrium wazan O, surma P. colonel kārnail P. colonr rang O, S, W, rong P, rok Y; (of skin) yūna Pš. colt biyân d' O, biyan  $O^1$ , kur(r)a P, S, taya Y, tayāk S, toi W. comb wžənj Wn 162, žmanj Pš, šakk O1, šânâ P, šfīn Y, âfšūn S, nəbəs, zəlfak W, vešūj Š; (eurry·) γašō Pš. comb, to lmežal Pš, nuvāš. Y. come, to rās-: rāyya Wn 160/7, -valai,  $r\bar{a}_{\cdot j}\partial m$  (v. šw $\partial l$ ) Pš, žė- P,  $as_{\cdot j}$ ,  $\partial am$  (??) Y, is- S, wəzi- W, yad- S. Cf. arrive. come out, to ni- Y, nez- S. command ukim O, farmân, gap P, hukm P, Y. command, to : farmâsī, wesej- P, bandawā- Y, fərmē- S, rami- W, : rəmâd S.

commandant kūmaidan P.

commission barât P.

correctly raste Y.

compassion rahm, rhammī P. complaint zârī P. completely bībâkī, hanwâr, puxta, saī P. comrade mal Pš, rafug, andiwâl, hamrû P, rafīq Š. conceal, to ūṭaf-P, pāš va ken-(?) S, mùš-W. concealed put O, bud O1, jut, pet P. conceited sefla P. conclusion ijrâ P. condition auhâl, hâl, hawâl, tab P. conscious (of a crime) ūbâlī P. consciousness huš P. conscription, military hažnafari P. consent rezà P. consideration yaur, parwâ P. constantly hanwar P. contract, to kaš kan- P. conversation guftigü, guftår, xitâb P, gap S. convert, to pherew- P. converted into, to be pher- P. cook, to [paxawul Pš], bīž- O, biz- O1, peč- P, kāky- Y, pac- S, W, pij- Š. cooked pox Pš, kikyii Y, pxōk S, pačetk W. cooking-pot dēglī O, dēg O1, âtešī, dastē P, tāl Y, S, zāxčidīn Y, čudan S, dīg W, dēk, dīk, misbâr Š. cool, to waser- W. coquettish mastâna, nâzuk P. coquetry nâz P. copper loh, trla Y. copulate, to yowul (v. yo) Pš, kīn- O, géh- P, kun- Y, bugāy-, koc- S, yıy- W. copulation yo Pš. cord ristan P, rismon S. corn v. grain, ear of corn. corner vežai (v. vwaž) Pš, gūša P, W, kunj P, Y, S, burž, sungā Y, xānbərš S. corpse murdã O, P.

cotton karvasi, purum Y, paxtă S, W, kəndī W, ževīnj Š. cotton cloth šoe Pš. cotton thread didanwo, pawtai, šižovun. wušūles, wizinga Y, wōsi S, wəsäi W. cough zukâm O, tuxiē O', khūfö, surfa P, xāpui Y, xōfuk S, qōx, toxtox W. k'exak Š. cough, to tux- O1, khūf- P, xof- Y, xof- S,  $k'\bar{e}x$ - S. count, to šmerəl Pś, imar- Y. country mulk O, P, watan P, S. countryman watandâr P. courage mardī P, juwānmardī S. courageous dilēr, dilövār W. court darbár, darga; (of justice) kačárī P. courteons bāadab S, bah W. courtesy adap P, (h)adab S, W. court-yard yōlai (v. yālai) Pš, cai O1. cousin, male tərbür (v. trə) Pš, O1, trēpīr O1, vrai(min), baipur Y, bo;ē Y, S, riucope W, petiš Š; female tərlə (v. trə) Pš, bailəydo Y, mumbučināi wdūy S, beceband W. cover, to utaf- P, gaw- W. Cf. conceal. covered xašpūš P. covering vəlâft O, pūš P. coverlet v. bedding. cow ywā Pš, gōī O, gyōī. šiz.1.gyōī O¹, qū, mâdagū P, yavŏ Y, uyāi S, jiu W. žâw Š; young sxwandir O1. Cf. heifer. cowherd [rabon Wn; robs (v. -bs, Pš, yeibon O1, galawān Y. cowpen, v. cattleshed. co wife bon Pš, wan O, O', ambo; Y, W, °ā<sub>Y</sub> S, souno Y. crack čāwd Pš. cradle vâz O, šīnā P, šuwīn S. cramp brēš Pš.

crane zāņa Pš, kulang O, P, zāņiē O1. cream [perawai Pš], ras O1, srlyo Y, sārek S, mərīk W, marīb Š; (sour) kaimāx O, câk P, cok S, coq W, °ōxč Š. creator parvardigār creep, to cxedəl, xwajedəl Pš, rukuš-Y. creeper zela Pš. crest of a cock tâj P. crime jurm, ūbâl P. crippled zmol Pš. crocodile nahāng S. crooked cor Pš, kōž Pš, O¹, kāj O, kužo, pât Y, kard W. Cf. curbed. erop of a bird žəyūrg Y, pēyār W. crops hâsel P; (reaped) yiδεsεn W. cross, to gudar- P, šəxs- S, šaxs- W. crossing guzar, guzərân P. erow kārya Pš, krāy O, O1, zāyo Y, sīāsar S, čāyelī, karyā W, akâb (?), xūrn S. Cf. raven. crowd dal P. crowing  $b\bar{a}ng$  O<sup>1</sup>, bon'g) S. crumble, to fril W. erush, to  $no\tilde{s}^ra$ - O¹, kut- P,  $\tilde{s}ak$ - S,  $\delta i\tilde{x}$ - W. crushed maida P. ery nāra, šūr P. cry, to žaral Pš. ery out, to narel Pš. cry, of camel barbar O. euckoo kakūk, šayuk Y, bībuk, kipok W. cucumber kadūi Y. cultivated field, v. field. cup jâm O, piyâla O, P, °lo O1, čīnė Y, pīālē S, °a Š; wooden lošāi O¹, piloyo Y, pīl W; wooden milk- xšīrkyesa Y. curbed čang P. Cf. crooked. curdle, to  $m\bar{\nu}\delta$ - W. curds māstə, matar Pš, juryat P, W,

poya Y, māst Y, S, põi S, păi W, S.

curds dried kurūt P, Y, S, katex P, kutox Y, S, qərit W. Cf. buttermilk, cheese. curl wurbal Pš, kapči O, zulf, kâkul P, soyond S, pēča S, W, parčån S. curls, having kâkulī P. curse šarā Pš. šap P. eurtain parda P, taxt P, S, parda S. cushion, v. pillow. custom doe Pš. custom-house bandar S: -official xaržgār S. eut n. cīra Pš, hawâla P. cut, to parčar- O, kap- O1, kat-, mač-, thâ- P. pəcəg-, skəd-, tīž- Y, biriš cār-, restor- W. Cf. chop, cleave. cut down, to kir. Y. cut graiu, to dir- O1, durr- P. cut into pieces qurt P. cut off, to pre-kawul (v. prā-) Pš, čurt kan- P. cut out, to skaštol Pš. cut up, to kūtal Pš. cutting grain, v. reaping. cypress sārv S.

# D

dagger kəkyaro, maxmudiyo Y, xanjar S, kutōl W. Cf. sword. daily bread rūzī P. dam \*hel Pš, band P. damage yîrânî P. damp xušt Pš, šəlök S. Cf. wet. dampness zyam (v. zimai) Pš. dance  $b\hat{a}z\bar{\imath}$  O,  $w\hat{a}_{\gamma}\hat{a}r$  P, raxs,  $y\bar{\imath}ba$  Y, ragōsī W. dance, to wâyar- P, drûv- Y, raqosi, ē ken- S, nemenj- W. dandelion talx-kardačī Y. danger xatar P. dark târīk O, P, tirīč, tōrīk W; (-complexioned) skān Pš.

darkness tārə Wn 159, (tam', tyārə (v. tor 1) Pš. tōrəšyū O1, târīk P, tīro Y, törik, turkī S. darn, to pezəl Pš. date (fruit) xajuro O1. danghter lūr Pš, dūa, dukă O, dūo O¹, dut P, luydo, diko Y, wuδοχδ S. δθyd W, yāc, rezīn Š. danghter in law nžor Pš, O¹, nigor O, su, sunū P, zinio Y, wuznel S, sənör, s<sup>I</sup>tož W, zenaž Š. dawn sār O, subdamī P, jausaren Y, rašt S, naydīn, rux, sub W. morning. day [wrēz Wn], rwaj Pš, rēž O, ryōz O¹, dewâs, ruč P, mix Y, din ?), mēi S, roz S, S, rawar, ruz W. med S. day after to morrow besar O, bye-ryaz O1, passabā, šīruč P, məzdira, yāmo Y, poroštem S, tort W, afaž Š. days, three-hence sūyyāmo, yūyāmo Y, veder Š; four-hence pasaveder Š. day, before yesterday warm (v. wrumbai) Pš, injân O, inzān O¹, ašoruč P, žirizen Y, āļuzd, vokoļīn S, tort W. days, three-ago muš-injan O, čašoruč, pēšparīruč P, čircyīzen, čurmo Y, āļuzdēv S, peršīb Š; four—ago afa bī-nzān O1, pčūrma, pānjəmo Y. daylight ruċân, rhīnē, rušanī Ρ, rux W. dead mar Pš, mujō P, mujo Y. deaf kon Pš, kar(r) O, P, S, W,  $k\bar{o}n$  O<sup>1</sup>, bīgū, būru P, kuņraste Y, čūn Š. dear fri S: (costly) kimati P. death merð P, faut W. debt por Pš. deceit yulat Pš, fərēb O, bazī P. deceived, to be yuledal Pš. deceiving mazāk P. deep žawar Pš, yauč O. čaqwį S.

deer 58ai Pš, lakašawai O, lakašawie O1. âhū P, ramūz Y, āhūi S. defeat šikast P. deficient zwam Pš. defile tangī P, kūgs S. Cf. hole. delay lärra Pš, yärya O, mūlat. mhölat P. delicate nâzanīn P. demon perai, rawai Pš, but P, barzange Y. almasti S, °e, lēw W. dense tat [corr. tit] Pš. deodar royo Y. departing rahi P. Cf. starting. dependent, a a (s) sâmt P. derision tâna P. descend, to tos- Wn 167, nim- O, srim-O1, uzg- P, xafs- Y, xav- S, žām- W. [xafc-S]. desert maira Pš, bīābān O, Y, sāharo. sahro Y. deserving lâyaq P. design yaraz P. Cf. aim. desire hawa, muda P. desolate yīrân P, barbād Y. despatch, to wesej- P. Cf. send. destroyed barbát O. quet. xarab P. destroyed, to be naredal Ps. destruction halák P, zviya W. devil šaitán O. S. dew parxa Pš, purxo Ot, zamarīt P. nəb, pražyār, šaklām Y, šagnam, šak(?) S, morž, nard-yupk, šak W. dewlap  $\gamma ul\epsilon k Y$ , yuk W. diaphragma šuc S. die. to mrd Pš, mr- O, mer- P, mer- Y, mur- S, məri- W, mar- S. different byal Pš. difficult rec, zūl Y, moškil S, xaš Š: —erossing kapra Pš. difficulty tangi P. dig, to kandəl Pš. kap- O, waxay O, O1, kinda- O¹, kusēw- P. ken-. nikanā-,

paš- Y, kan-, kāw- S, parkol- W, čān- Š. dig out, to huper- P. dig up, to peten- S. dinner mulûk S. direction palan O, taraf P. direction, in some or other kâwun P. dirt raš Pš, čirk. makan?), matta P. dirty čirk O, Y, yark, kačal P, kižyo, yuzyap, xatralog Y, k'åz, nāštē S, kark, vēden S. disaster balâ P. disclosing xwāla Pš. discorteous bēhadab W. discourse skālwa Pš. discussion radd o badd P. disgrace  $rusw\hat{a}(i)$  P. dish, v. plate. dishevelled (hair) yūza P. dishonoured dašwar P. dislike, to yandəl, kažəl Pš. disobedience bīsarī P. disputing āriya (āra) Pš. dissolute ēlāhī P. distant, v. far. distress xârī P. distressed yussamand, pērīčan, ranjo, sargardân, xafa, xâr P, dunayəy Y. Cf. troubled. distribute, food at a feast, to baxš- Y. distributing tit P. distribution weš (\*baxšya-) Pš. distributor of food xādem Y. ditch xandak P. divide to baxš car-, taxšīm car- W. dividing taxsīm O, P, S. boxš Y. badak, baxš S. diving nimekyika Y. division weš Pš; of a field zgān O. do, to k- Wn 165, kpol Pš, k- O, O1, kan- P, ken- Y, S, Š, car-, gož- W. Cf. make.

dog [spā Wn], spai Pš, spuk O, sp.ik O1, kučuk, espö, espay P, yalv Y, kuð S. šač W, kut d Š; (wild xurūso Y, xreseq S. kik W. Cf. bitch. dog-rose tarâni P. doing what? čekâra P. donkey, v. ass. don't na P, S, mak O, ci Y. me W, ma Pś. S. Cf. not. donkey's foal tiya xarak S. door war Pš. O, bar O, O1, W, bor P. darwaza P. S. Pvor Y. vor S. devê S. door-frame daršal Pš, čaukāt O¹, čapë Y; (upper part of) yūversen Y. door hinge yūiniko Y, gorj W. doorkeeper qápči P. double  $b_7 \bar{a} r g$  (v.  $b r a_7$ ) Pš,  $loh_7 \bar{i} n j$  Y. dough patīra O1, agungay Y, dis W; leavened xambīra O1, xamīr W; baked laraza Y; unbaked xisto Y. dove, v. ring-dove, pigeon. dove-coloured kabūt Y. down spāhota Wn 168, kūz Pš, jēm O, wachane, pasto P, saro, pursoro. kalāpo Y, -å S. -ái S. down of birds patt P, muryulum, tubut Y. təbət S. drag away, to huper- P. dragon *ažder* Y. draught, a nos P. draw, to kyal Ps, xos- Y, xas- S, caž- S. Cf. pull. draw out, to nawar- O. draw a sword, to kin- W. draw water, to newar- S. drawing pay tanxâxūr P. dream  $x\bar{u}b$  ( $x\bar{v}b$ ) Pš, xau O,  $xw\bar{a}b$  O<sup>1</sup>, xom P, xūbun Y, misūk, xodm S,

yīnōt W. Cf. sleep.

doctor tabīb O, -īp P, hakīm P.

dress nwarai Pš, drēšī P. anjām, pūšāk Y; female tawâr P, žōy Y. Cf. clothes. dress oneself. to āyustəl Pš. paryan-ōk O, âyun- P, ayd- Y, pənec- S, pūmec- W, peniz-, wēδ- Š.

dress somebody else, to âyunêw-P, aydā-Y, pūmecev-W,

dribble, to tur- P.

dried up hušk P.

driftwood pawaz W.

drink, to yōz- Wn 166, caşəl [šūməl] Pš, xr- O, tr- O, O¹, ter-, šup kan- P, šam- Y, pov- S, pōv- W. berēz- Š. Cf. sip.

drip, to cacedel Pš, pāc- O, čak-, tūṛ- P, naxče Y.

dripping čakkak P, čakak Š; (inside a house) usturnū! Y; (with blood) hīn-čaköī P. Cf. drop.

drive away, to šajol Pš.

drivel šāf S.

drop, a čak P; (of drinkable liquids) čakka P.

drought, year of ušksāl Y.

drum nayâra P, dəmāmo, təplāya Y, tambūr Š; of a spinning wheel līra Y. dry spor, wuč Pš, tosand Pš¹, wūkă O, wyōk O¹, hušku, òškār P, ušk, gard Y, xvšk S, W, kāk S, Š, wəsk W.

duck helaī Pš, muryawī O, Š, mə S,
ēliē O¹, kurye awī, muryawī P, axšensırë, kožvīoko, wūro, yexko Y, yōč W.
dumb gungai O, O¹, bīban, dīwana,
gun P, gūl Y, W, gungəstə, kūr Y,

goļ S, gōl Š.

dung sarā Pš, sōro Y, yarx, wuði! S, ðərt W, ðād Š: (cow-) ywasyā Wn 159, drabla (v. dre), yōšāk Pš, rəx W, əskan O, skan O¹, sayōn P, yuskən Y, šīr W, žā-yað Š; (goat-) wuði! S, pašc Š; (horse-) xaršin Pš. lid O¹, pāru, xaškən Y, šurm, pōru S, sargen Š; (horse- or cattle-) səgīn W; (sheep-) pukā Wn 161. pača Pš, piškal O. pučukái O¹, pōrk P, pɔškedrī Y, pʊšk S, pɔšk W.

durbar darbâr O.

dust xāwra Pš, gard O, P, čārk P, kōrgar, šət S, šət W, s/t Š.

dnst-storm yubûr P, Y, S, Š, xâkbût, aīr P, kundūt Y, yəlâr W.

dwarf-palm mazirai O1.

dwell, to osedəl, pre-mištəl (v. mešta) Pš. dye, a kind of čukār S. dyke wand (v. wandanai) Pš. bānd S,

boda Y.

### E

eager zurtho P.

eagle hukâb P, ukâb,  $k^y$ äl $\gamma$ ereno, kar $\gamma$ əz Y, aqåb, šūž S, bispur, uq $\bar{\nu}$ b, y $\bar{\nu}$ r $\gamma$  $\bar{\nu}$ t W, tazarf(?), ef. akâb Š.

ear waž Pš, gōī O. O¹, gū, gōš P. yū Y. yō! S. řiš W. yūž Š.

ear of corn wažai PŠ, xūša O, P, Š, °o Y. wēšai O¹, sor, yūya Y, sōrox S; of maize sōṭai O¹; of wheat râuặc Š.

ear-ring barywažai (v. ywaž) Pš, alka O, jumkī P, kadrənə, yūärikë Y, gušwör Y, W.

earth xāwra Pš, xâk O, bhá<sub>?</sub> P, <sub>?</sub>uroi Y, šət S, šət W, sit Š; the zmaka Pš, bummā O, bummə O¹, dharam P, zəmīn Y, za² S, W, wəxs S, zemāð [not â] Š. Cf. ground, soil, dust.

earthcoloured xaki Y.

earthquake zilzilə O<sup>1</sup>, -a P, hanu P, šišo, zibijim Y, ziležem S, zaminžəm S, W, zulzulā W, zamīnjumb Š. ear-wax yōi-kižyō Y.

earwig gurgutäi O1.

empty taš Pš, xālī O, P, S, W, Š, e Y, east åftåb baråmadam S, mašriq S, W. easy ăsān P, Y, S, subuk O, P, askān Y. eat, to xwarol Pš, xr- O, wangew- P, xăr- P, Š, xoar-, pərxāw- Y, xwār- S, yāw W, fur-, xā Š. eatable xaranē P. eating xurdan O, xūrō P. eaves, skirting boards of prošū Y. eclipse grah Y. edge mux, brůž O, kenâra P, sam W. effect ijrâ P. egg hōya Wn 168, hā Pš, supāl, wulk O, ölk O1, ex P, dyury Y, akik, to.cmərg S, oury, falenz W, tarmurx S. egg-shell pučala i ēxika P. eight ota Wn 158, at(a) Pš, āšt O, hāšt O1, đšt P, ašco Y, (h)ot S, hat W, wašt S. eighteen aštēs O, O¹, aštös, hažda P, hotedos S, ažda W. eighty atā Wn 159, atiā Pš, câr-jīstu O, aštāi O¹, čör γuštak P, aštāδ S. either—or yå S, xō—xō, yō—yō W. elbow cangal Pš, ārunj O, P, cinj S, °enj Š, cangal O¹, razin Y, bāndik, wusuk S, burit, kirkon, örīnj W, wiştyern S. elder mašar Pš; (greater) xušči Y. elegant nâzanīn, xērīmân P. eleven yaulas (v. yau) Pš, šandas O, sandas O¹, ž(u)wös P, losyū, yōzda Y, kodos S, das in W, dis at yin S. ell gaz O, P, Y, S, S. embankment, field- šrī-mol O. Cf. dyke. embers, v. coal, live. embrace  $[\gamma(w)u\check{z} \text{ Wn}]$ ,  $\gamma e\check{z} \text{ Pš}$ ,  $y\bar{a}n\gamma \text{ O}$ , bayalkašī, čangâu P, avyuš Y, kačāk S. embrace, to nodavn- W. emerge, to, v. come out. emprisoned : ptramd-o Y.

tusk O, təš W, təs S. empty, to na- Y, taš kan. S, tes. S. encouragement dilâsâ(i) P. end oxer S, W. endurance tākat S. enemy du<sup>z</sup>man O, P, S, <sup>z</sup>on Y, mudaĩ P, dżšman W. enemies, possessing dušmandâr P. enmity dušmanī P. engaged mâmūr, mangīr P. engagement wâda P. enough bas P, S. entangled, to be pargos- W. enter, to wis- O, dar žē- P, tī- Y, dēb-. : axtob S, corm. W. entertainment mazák P. entire (ox) wušeng W. entrails larai, larman Pš, roda O, yīšri, larmīn O1, rūdâ P, drl-r-žigar Y, žānžək S. Cf. guts. entreating arz, minnat P. entrnst, to pāslawul Pš, supār. P. pižam. Y, spār- S. entrnsting supâriš P. envy wiyar Pš. epilobium, willow-herb suruxsāč Y. equal sīāl Pš, barābar P, Y; (in weight) twal Pš. ernctate, to kai ken- S. eructation aržai Pš. O¹, ararōy Y, arək S. essence ain P. even qa O. evening nmāšām (v. nmūnj) Pš, mâšâm O, šām P, Y, S, W, xuftan Y, v(u'žēr S, pirz W, šūm S. eveningstar ustur-žogo Y. every ar O. S, har P, Y, S, hor S. every day rūzī P. everyone harkī P. everywhere harkū P.

evil bad O. ewe, v. sheep. exactly fakat, sai P. excellence fazl P. except vaira P, bayair O, P, beväri S. exchange badal, sarbadal P. excited, to be  $\delta \bar{u}r$ - P. excrements, human vul Pš, qūt O, P, gui O1, yoh Y, gul S, gi W. ya9, šāfc Š. Cf. dung. exempted pal Pš. exertion stam Pš. excursion sail P. excuse uzər P, nuware Y. exhausted haies P. exiled farâr P. existence hast P. expanded wīr Pš. expel, to nixind- W. expense talaf O, xarč P, S. expensive kimati P. explanation bayan P, tagbir Y. explode, to spaxuer- W. explore, to šanəl Pš. extend, to rur- W. extended pan O. extinguish, to qul- O1, wuziā- Y, nīv- W, : wizud Š. extinguished alvan Y, gul O, P. eye stərg(a) Wn 159, starga Pš, cimi O, com O1, dida, tech P, cam Y, cam S, čažm W, cim Š; (of a needle) swamb Wn 161, swam Pš, sīm O1. eyeball lēmajo Pš, O1, tēiko Y. eyebrows wrūje/a Pš, O¹. abrū O, S, ° d P, kāš P, vrīyo Y, vrīc S, cemīs (?), vərau W, vərūž Š. eyelashes bāno (v. pāna) Pš. mujā P, S, pelėk, penäxko Y, mijāš, pəlū, pătk W, pūfč Š. eyelid zezma Pš, palkāk O, pātik S, kək W. Cf. eyelashes.

# F

face max Pš, mux O, O1, P, rū P, rūi Y, ro S, pec W, pic, pēšanē Š. Cf. cheek. facing ru.c ba P. fade, to permor- W. faded mṛām v. mṛəl, spor, Pš, māk O. jingar O1, hu&k P. fair (market) maila P. fairy parī O. P. parīzāt Y. faithless biwesâ P. faithlessness bīwafāī P. falcon bāša Pš, yurzand Ot, bāz P, S, puzė Y, bâša Y, W, Š, čaulī, bowurž W, šâin Š, oni P. fall, to lwedel, pre-watel (v. prā-) Pš. yūz- O, ywaz- O1, čhar- P, čad-, tiž- Y, at- S, waz- S, W, palan- W, waš- Š; (as leaves) ražedal Pš, spūcave-yēk, xūl-yēk O. fall in, to drabəl Pš. fallen prot Pš. falling galt S. falsehood palma Pš. family kor, korma Pš, ulus, aulát, ayál, xīš P, ažyāl, nofs Y. famine gātī P, žondokī S. famous manšahūr P. fancy xiyâl P. far lire, wrāya Pš, pēc O, O1, durīn P, dīr S. dīr W, dar Š; distant prat Pš, lūro Y. fart yər (v. yara), pəs Pš. puska. tīz O1, pilyo Y, čos S. fart, to pil- Y, tor- S. fast a. rānjk W. fast n. roža Pš. rūzo Y, rečey W. fat (adj.) corb Pš, cixat, yut O, cxat O1,

čarbī P, farbə, rafs, landik Y, māsi s

rafe S. Cf. stout, thick.

fat n. wāzda, γwər Pš. γwēzd O¹, čārbū, γāzd P, hoç, səbrīm. wāzd Y, čabrū, farbe, wöst S, čarvī, yīp W, čärve, ray Š. Cf. greasy.

fat (of the kidneys) yoz Pš.

fat-tailed dumbī P.

father piyār Wn 160, plār Pš, pē O, piē O¹, bâw, dâda P, tāt Y, S, W, pedār S, dâd. ped Š.

father and son bâwehâ P.

father-in-law sxar Pš, xusur O, Y, Š, xuc P, xsir, xūšäĭ O¹, xusər S, xə-, xūrs W.

fatherless bībâu P.

fathom kulač Y. kəlāč S.

fault aib, yalat P, äīb, xatāī Y.

favour marasta Pš.

fawn kablai Pš.

fear wēra Pš, bīm, berkhō, tars, xaif P, trōs S, šāj Š.

fear, to tarhedəl Pš, yuš. O, dār., yušr.
O¹, berkh. P, dəro. Y, t(\*)rās. S,
wzšiy. W.

feast mēmānī P, šūr P, S, wotuk S.

feather bana, etc. (v. pāṇa), paxa Pš, parr O, P. S, W, puxai(?) O¹, pŏn P, pūṇā Y, pār Š.

feel pain, to rīž- W.

fell, to  $k \ni r$ , xap- Y.

felt lamcai Pš, lamsåi O¹, namö, namat P, livzīn, nāmyo, yïston Y, numöð S, yijīn W, namad Š.

felt-pad (under the saddle) dākuša S, iryalī, jaojī W.

female mâda P, W, šiċak P, šīyo Y, šəc S. sətrei W.

fester, to xũyedəl Pš.

festered v. inflamed.

festival maila P, mailis Y. īð S. Cf. feast.

fetch, to war- O.

fever taba Pš, tebba O, tau P, īdou Y, tav S, tablarză S, W, andar W, tābak Š.

fever, to have les- P.

fidelity wafâ P.

field yanīr, kešta P. zaxmo Y. zamīn S. neŭndr W. zemc Š; cultivated âbâtī O. xäi O¹, ābādī Y, dēkānī S, kštgā W, kišt. kašta, sēbc Š; (open) pungiē O¹. field, section or division of a- zgān O. fiery dam P.

fifteen pinzəlas Pš. panjës O, O¹, paçs P. ponzda Y, ponzədos S.

fifth ponč jumi P.

fifty panjos[t] Wn, Pš, panjāstu O, O¹, pinjā P. pa° S, lūwistolos Y.p¹īnsəðīs Š. fig īnjar Pš, injīr O¹, kowito Y.

fight jagra O. šaxa O¹, žang Y, dêd S, Cf. battle, war.

fighting gend O1, balowā(n) S.

file šār Y, suhân P.

fill into, to xenj. W.

fill up, to (of river span. W.

film over the eye  $p\bar{u}l$  Pš.

filter, to šačuv- W.

filth raš Pš.

find, to mom- Wn 158, mūndəl Pš, waw-O, wow- O¹, γun- P, āwir- S, got-, parvē(y)- W, : vūd, δeriyam (for \*veriyam) Š.

find place, to wuj- Y, wuc- S.

fine (adj.) mahīn P, mäida S, nâzuk Š. fine n. jurm P.

finger n³gut Wn 161, gūta Pš, angušt O, P, nungušt O¹, yušt P, panjâ P, S, oguščo Y, ingit S, yāngil W, angišt Š; (index) coromī oguščikō, carangušč Y; little kilkyušt P, rīza oguščiko Y, zelikīk Š; middle-mənzangušt O, malane oguščigo Y; the five mangul (v. grut) Pš; space between grut Pš.

finger-nail v. nail.

finger-ring, v. ring,

finally axir O, axer ul-amr) P.

finished adât, lháš, tamâm P. tayār Y, xalās Y, S.

fire auər Wn 160. (< \*ātr.) or Pš, rūņ O. rōwən O¹, âr. rhinē P. yūr Y, šənāi S rəxnig W, yác Š.

fire, to set—to braz. O, dar dah. P, : guvəvd- Y. Cf. kindle.

fireplace uryulā Wn 160, or-yālai (v. ṛālai), borjal, nṛarai, dərbalaī (v. dre Pš, dēgdân O, di S, ṛrāi, nṛarāi O¹, gapāṛ P, livden Y, digdān S, dildung, ṛặerf W, kəcárak Š; board enclosing the-taxtabande Y.

firewood largai, dara Pš, dyūra O, dyūro O¹, kōr, žōx P, izma Y, čūb, yūz S, yūz W, žīz Š; pile of lažīno Y.

first wrumbaī Pš, aw(w)al P. Š. awwalin P; (adv.) wulākī S.

first watering xâkâv Š.

fish kəžə Wn 168, kab Pš, māī O, O¹. māhī, masö P, kap Y, möĭ S. W, mâye Š; uneatable körmahī P, karγasp Y.

fist mît Wn 168, muţţa i) O. O', mušt P, W, mršč Y, mət S, gawust, məst W, mut Š.

fit munâsib P.

five pinja Pš, pānc O, pēnj O¹, pönc P, pānš Y, pēnz S, pānz W, pʿīns Š. five braids, with pōnžbâf P.

flag-stone piståu-var Y.

flame lambo, šuylo O', awarxo Y, rauj W.

flame np, to piding- W. Cf. kindle.

flank pālū S. Cf. side.

flat čit, sat Pš, sam O¹. pistâū Y. maidān S. amwâr Š. Cf. plain.

flattery žāna Pš.

flavour maza P. Cf. taste.

flea wroža Pš, kaik O, P. S. šrak O, O'.

ruć P, frīzo Y, kaig, sopordānj W.

flee, to paredol, teol, taetedol, zrāstol Pš,

tiš- O, aūz-, lawak-, čatak- P, lūr-,

zoral- Y, jih- S, rod- W, recīd- Š;

to make s.o. tišaw-ūk O, mahmizā-,

lurō- Y.

flesh, v. meat.

flight kål P.

flint čumax Y, čaxmax S.

flock γele Pš: (of lambs, olo Pš. Cf. herd. flood niyūz Pš, sēl P, S, sēlàw P, sīl, tulismād, yougo Y, lâyâv Š.

flood, to werkar- W.

floor nax, ārdi Y; part of yörč W.

flour opə Pš, mâp O, wâpun P, yāpe Y, wuļōk S, yūmj W, yâužj Š; dried bōrnə Pš; mulberry pīšt P. talkān, tūi pušky Y, tūt-pət S. pišt Š; wheat dāņa O¹; made fr. dried apples pušč Y.

flow, to  $w\bar{e}h$ . P,  $z\bar{i}\delta$ . S,  $(na\tilde{s}t\bar{i}j)$ .

sprəğ W; full blown brang O¹; name of a lâltâq P, gulsambare, milkondi, nəvyiko, xaxālič Y, čūj, šīnšūô Š.

flower-bed xiāban Y.

flute špelaī Pš.

fly měč Wn 159, maċ Pš, mangas, maṣī O, miṣī O¹, maṛas P, moṛuso Y, paṣē S, maks W, ćangīn Š.

fly, to wurzedəl, °watəl Pš, parr· O, rhâz- P, vröf-, wurafs·, zəγñ· Y. araz- S, :rcwu¾t Š; to make to mahmizā- Y.

fly up, to : wuškyōi Y.

foal, v. colt.

foal, donkey's tiya-xarak S.

foam kaf P, W, xöf Y, S. xūf W, xìf Š. fodder v. grass.

fog, v. mist.

fold bray Pš.

fold, to palašt O. fold (sheep), to tane- W. foment, to tabel (v. taba) Pš. food nwarai Pš, xur(r)āk P, Y, tāam Y, xůrůk S, W, tahām S; distribution of-at a feast xādem Y. foolish, v. stupid. foot špa Wn 162, pša Pš, pâi O, pāri O¹, qadam P, pâ P, S, palo Y, pūδ S, pūid W, pâs Š; (of a hill) dāmənė Y; npper part of pušt-i pā S: sole of the štänän polo Y. foot-chain pičauro O1, zâudâna P. footprint pal1 Pš, paijál P, pol, wulid (v. Zar.) Y, layat S, pãô W. for kī O, kun P, nă, po Y, be S, ke W. for the sake of  $(da)p\bar{a}ra$  Pš,  $p\hat{a}rak$  O, peš P. force zūr(i) P. forcibly mhākam P. ford, a guzar P, Y, S, ovd, pilf Y, tvrt W, pūd, troke Š. fore-arm cangal Pš, bazar O, dost S. fore-hair kajekī O, hulbar P, parčam Y. fore-head wućwulai Pš, pot O, pit O1. pīsār, pīšânī P, pē° S, pšāne Y,

foreign begāna P, Y.

pišona, ruk, tâpik W.

fore-leg yārme Y.

foremost tariwâl P.

forenoon část P.

forest jangal P, S, W, ž° Y, kyesina Y, jingāl Š.

forget, to fərmo- Y, fərnis- S, ramuş- W, renēs- Š.

forgetting šramot O, O¹, nhâmur, farâmuš P.

forget-me-not šuvazi Y.

forgive, to baxš- P, gyēr- Y.

forgiven pəl Pš.

forgotten her Pš.

fork, v. winnowing-fork.

form sürat P.

former gahīna P.

formerly wrāte Wn 169, awal, tərmis W. fort kala P, lizo Y, qală Y, S. Cf. castle. fortunate mubârak P.

forty calwest Pš, cāstu O, O1, čel P, Y, S,

luwist Y.

forward apače P, prut W.

found paidâ O.

fountain v. spring.

four calor Pš, cār O, O¹, cör, câr P, cšīr Y, c²fūr S, cəbūr W, cafōr Š. four days ago, hence, v. day.

four-hundred cūn-so Wn 161 3.

fourteen cwārlas (v. calor) Pš, carēs O, cəres O¹, corda Y, čā S. fourth corum(g)ī P.

fowl, v. hen.

fox ləmbar (v. ləm), spalam Pš, rōbā O, W, rawas O¹, röbā, rūγasök P, rūso Y, vərvēs S, naxċīr W, rupsak Š.

fraud hīla, makr, rēw P.

free xalâs O, P, yalā P.

free, from sorrow biram P.

free will extiyâr P.

freeze, to ciy- Y.

fresh tānda Pš, ṣūr O, nō, nauča, tâza P. Friday juba P.

friend mal Pš, īmbāī, marzâ O, dĭst P, Y, S, W, handam P, yār P, Y, azīz, merabōn W, âšnâ Š.

friendship selwa Pš, âšnâī, döstī P.

friendliness mehrabânī, xūbī P.

fright tor 3 Ps. Cf. fear.

frighten, to γuṣˇaw· O, γuṣˇrē- O¹, berkhēw-P, drawā- Υ.

frightened halapata P.

frog šlānda Pš, γōk O, S, maṛyūγ O, °δγ O¹, bakâ, γūk P, azuzγο Y, moγdōk S, mukuduk W, šīrbīj Š. from la2, na2, tar Pš, az P, W, Š, tar, ze P, že, žo. žo Y, co S, W. from the presence of dâlī P. from there  $c\bar{a}n$  W. front-tooth kalagi danân P. frost  $y^{j}x$  S. frostbitten pčio Y. fruit mewa P, S, W, phor P, miwa, vory Y; of briar axrī-gula Y; (ripe, soft) fšii Y. fruits, dried nogl P. fruit-tree mrwaye Y. fry, to writ-awul Pš, vareš. W. frying pan cimderio Y. full dâk O, thar P, pir Y, pur, təki W, lap S. fnll-moon čados P. funeral jenása P. fur-cap talpak S. fur-coat yiška Y, rušt S. furze kaco P. furze-gatherer kaċöârak P. future world, the axirat O.

G

gait cimo P.

gall raswalai Pš.

gallop čārxaiz, duqolāč S.
gallop, to bədəwön- S.
game said, šckâr P, nat S. Cf. hunting,
play.
gang of robbers tār Pš.
gap wat Pš; in a dam dar-yol (v. yālai)
Pš.
garden bây O, O¹, S, Š, bâxca P, baya Y,
bōy W; small bayake Y.
gardening bâywânī P.
garlic ["moorzha" Wn], ūža Pš, sēr O,
sīr P, S, bīn P, wežnu Y; wild chive
latrək Y.

garment jâma P. gate darwāza S. gathering jalsa S. gazelle, v. deer. gem yamai Pš. general jarnēl P. get, v. find. ghee, v. clarified bntter. giddy ženaveri Y. gift baxšiš, pīškaš, sauyāt, šīrīnī, xīraī P. werga Y, pâītaxče Š (wrong transl. Notes Shgh., cf. Lentz, Pamir-Dial. 188). ginger *šund* Pš. girdle, round iron- paste Y. V. baxter. girl čuara Wn 168, jinaī, perla, tũng Pš, dukă O, dūko O¹, kanīz, kašte P, šinamia Y, (h)əšcāk S, pərcod W; (small) kaštēšk P, kinčäka Y. girdle  $t_{ANG}$  O<sup>1</sup>. girth tang, trok Y, trang W, terang S. give, to l. Wn 167, lel, [war-krel], šandel Pš, baš-,  $š\bar{\imath}r$ - O,  $(\bar{\imath}r\bar{\imath}k)$  O¹,  $bax\check{\imath}kan$ -, dah P, däl Y, däy S, rand W,  $\delta \tilde{a}(\delta)$ . S. glacier šayoz Y, yaz W. glance nazar P. Cf. look. glass šīšo Y, istakān S. glans penis čula Y. glide, to šwahedəl (v. šwai) Pš, šmuš-yēk O. Cf. slide. glitter, to bruš-yek O. glove destkaš P. glue šrišta O, s<sup>3</sup>trīšam Y. gnaw, to žowul Pš, šuw W. go, to drm- Wn 159, wiyār Wn 160, drūmēdəl, (lārəl), tləl Pš, caw- O, O¹, čh-, čh)īm-, par-, wēh- P, oy-, šūi Y, š-, tōyd S, čāw-, rəč-, tuk- W, sāw-, tīz- Š; (imper.) muž P. go, to cause to caw- O.

go away, to yərz- Wn 167. go in, to deδ-S. go out, to watel Pš, uis- O, nī- P, nēz- S, niwiz- W. go round, to ram- P, wənīž- S. goat wuza Pš. bäkri O, wzo O1, buj, <sup>9</sup>stūr P, v<sup>9</sup>zo Y, buz S, W, bčåk, vaz S, tη, W, vaz S; he- wuz Pš, buz O, O1, narbuj P, ferrame, narboz, vuza Y, čut, kata, narvoz S, buč(ak), nar-tūy W, bučak Š; young čipiš W; young he- češān Ps; young she- rayat W. Cf. kid. goat (wild) trown Y. goats and sheep rizayak Y. Cf. cattle, small. goat's down maryilam W. goat's hair ožyūne (v. wuz) Pš, dāš, wužyeno O1, lirs, voz-yūnoy Y, šöδx S, buzmūi, 81rs W, 80šc S. goat's pen špöl O1, taryo Y, šād W. goatskin wžen (v. wuz) Pš. Cf. skin. goatskin bag yūndai (v. yūnde) Pš, ize Y. Cf. skin, inflated. goat-track roy Y. go-between rebār Pš, dallâl P. god xudāž Pš, O, P, Š, Allâ P, Xədā(i) Y, xədā S, xudvi W. going čhổ P, rawan S. goiture yur Pš. gold sərazar (v. sūr), ziyar zar (v. ziyar) Pš, təla O, sûr-zär O¹, zar P, suworum Y, tilă Y, S, W, S. golden təlâi P. gold coin ašerafi Y. golden oriole čkálpio Y. good šə Pš, šir(r) O, sir O¹, bakâr, kârī P, nēk P, S, xūb P, S, W, baf, yaše Y, frī S, bašant S. goodness kârigī, xūbī P. good, to appear ywarš-yēk O. goods māl O, Y, asbâb, sâmân P.

goose zāya Pš, mullākəriya Y, kāz S, qōz W. gourd kadū S. governor âkim O, hâ° P, ākum S. government service sarkâri P. graceful xērīmān, xīrāmānī P. grain yallă O, S, W, yalo O<sup>1</sup>, bīz P, xosto Y, yŏu Y, S, dūnik S, žāu W; (single) dânâ O, phốr P, nānovỗ, tuyum Y, tien (2 on S, tuxm W; (parched) nīne Pš, talxû P, put S, pist W; (remaining on threshing floor) rištalai Pš; (unthreshed) paixo Y. Cf. seed. grain (of wheat) sepyak S. grain-bin dubul P, čāro Y, ambār, yōv S, yūv W. grandchild nwosai O1, nawâ P, novos S, nəpüs W. granddaughter nuasai Pš. nowoso Y, nebēs S. grandfather nīka Pš, zalpyē O, oiē O1, bâbâ, ghand b, kattabāw P, pap Y, pūp W, bâb Š; (paternal-) bōbō S; (great-) yarnāka Pš. grandmother and Pš. zalmāwo O¹, ghand mâcī P, māmo Y, bībī S, mūm W, S. grandson mlēsa Wn 162, nwasai Pš, °ài O, nowīsa Y, nəvəs W, nebâs Š; (great-) karwasai Pš. grant, to bas- 0. granting čin-ē S. grape  $m\bar{e}w\bar{a}$ ,  $sy\bar{u}_{\gamma}$  O,  $sy\bar{z}_{\gamma}$  O<sup>1</sup>,  $d\partial r\hat{a}k$  P, angūr P, Y, S, agadro Y, angūr W, angūrd Š; (wild) kwar Pš. grape-juice buymoz Y. grapes, cluster of voro Y. grasp  $g\bar{\imath}r$  P. Cf. seize. grass ušə Wn 167, marya, wāšə Pš, γwâšī O, γwāsī O¹, gihâī P, sauza P, W, wuš Y, giā, savza S, wiš W, wâš Š; (a kind of) sābah Pš, alafī P. sevurzuk Y, alaf S.

grasshopper, v. locust. gratis wiriā Pš. gravel žyal Pš. xirīz W. graveyard qabristân O, P. graze, to caredel (v. car), powul Pš, ceraw-, pay- O, carew- P, biciron-, loū- Y, čarā ken-, čarān- S; (abrade) blosedal Pš. grazing ground tobald W. Cf. pasture. greasy čarbī P. Cf. fat. great, v. big. greater (elder, xušći Y. green šīn Pš. šīn O, sābz, sauz P, sauze Y, savz S. W. sauja, savj S. Cf. blue. green plant growing in ponds obrai Pš. Cf. slime. grey spera, xar Pš, yurūirang Y, bor S, būr W; (blueish) xing S; (greenish) xaki Y, xöki W. griddle tāvē S. grief zawr Pš, armân P. grieve, to passedal Pš. grind, to anol (ora) Ps, mar. O, el O1,  $y\bar{a}\eta$ - Y,  $y\bar{u}\eta$ - S,  $[y\bar{u}\eta$ - Š]. grindstone andra O1, yurzuyo Y. Cf. milistone. grip gir P. grizzled yex W. groan akak Y. groan, to kyof. Y. groin myāna Pš, yoyut W. groom mhëtar P. ground bummă O, khen, dharam P. Cf. earth. ground (hollow piece of-)  $p\bar{u}w^a$  O. ground (open) dašt S. Cf. plain. ground, ptc. hinl-yek O. gronnd, to be sūledəl Pš. grow, to waxs. Y, (intr.) gūkən. S, gē

car- W.

guard paira P. guard, to dharew- P, puy-W. Cf. protect, watch. gnardian pairadâr P. guest mēlmūn Wn 162, melma Pš. mēmân O, Š, mehmān P, S. mi Y. guest-house kösxâna P, mīmânxâna W. guilty nava P. guitar rubâb P, tubăr Y. gum šelmak 8. gums oraī Pš, wrīyē O¹, yūš-e danānika. pindar, pendar, wirā P, c S, sotke, zombo Y, dan-poof S, šendik, wera W, kom S. gun maltey O, miltey O1, tofang P, tfak Y, miltəq S, məz W. can S: (European) farang tfak Y; (German) jarmani P; (cannon) tūp P. gun-powder dârū P, S, dārui Y, dârē W, š. guts kulma Pš, lirā, yīšri, wor O1, rūt Y,

#### H

gutter nawa Pš.

guhrū, rūda, šəngər W. Cf. entrails.

hail žalaī Pš, ciē O¹. jálī O. °a P, Š šengerī P, mōriki, žīlo, žâlabárân Y, žāla S, W, mužek, šaxək W, mašak Š. hair ūšt Wn 159, weṣtə Pš, drī O, dæro O¹, dōš, gīnō, jāl, mūi P, yunia, kužke Y, renōk S, ranī, ṣafṣ W, rūnj Š; (single) tār P, târa Y, mūī Š; (cut) rōš P; (long) puro, ²stūr Y: (plaited) ngaṣai Pš; (fringe of) pal¹ Pš; (on the body) rūna, zumba Pš, mūi, rip W; (of the pubes) dērf W; (woman's) čuniē O¹. Cf. lock of hair. hair (goat's), v. goat's hair. half nemai Pš, nīm P, W. nesp P. anīməf, parkand Y, kānd Š.

half-full lomalen, malen, nimkūlo, nīmopir Y, nēmē S.

half rupee kirân, rhuš P.

halter kamand P, ingut Y.

halting-place manzil W.

hammer čukūš O, čakēk O¹, bālukā P, baləko, koţīnē Y, baləkē S, bōleqa, xeyaz W, pulk Š. Cf. sledge-hammer.

hamstring š<sup>3</sup>ta-žezikan Y, čangiling S. hand lās, pl. lāst<sup>3</sup> Wn 162, lās Pš, dest O, dis O<sup>1</sup>, dōst P, last Y, dōst S, dast, lāst W, dust Š; (hack of) čamba Wn

167 (< Si.). handful muţṭai O, farxam, bamĕa P; (double) miċ W.

handkerchief rūimāl, dosmāl P.

handle lāstai (v. lās) Pš, destā O, ai, kabzai P, desto, lasté Y, wad W, dastā Š; (of a spinning wheel) čarxānuk Y.

hand-mill mečan Pš¹, °in O¹, mučin O, garāţ P, bandux, lingōn, yurzuyo Y, karksang S; (small, for salt) yexio Y; (wooden, for pounding gun powder) banduxčuxo Y.

hang, to jaredəl, zangəl Pš, lala- O¹. žiròv- W.

hang np, to lamero- P.

hanging auzân(d) O, āwēzān P, S, lamo, tâla P, owezon Y, awejân Š.

happiness xušâli O, xušwaxti O, P, xvšānë Y.

happy xūš, xušâl O, xušhâl P, xušwaxt P, W, xušān Y, xoš W.

hard ney, ṣax Pš, ṭīng O¹, γâwerī P, saxt P, Y, S, ṣax Y, kullax, ṣōx S, ṣux, ton W, xaṣ Š.

hardness saxtī P.

:

hare soe Pš. xargōš O, °ōš P, °ūš Y, W, sikak O, sa° O', khōrəgū, sahōk P, sīy Y, sūi S, sīī W, šitum [š°] Š.

'harlot kančanī- O, P, yar P, kumā Y. harsh bōž Pš.

harvest dəryōk S, câw, kīặt Š; (wheat) yadəm-lərovo Y.

hash kurma P.

hashish čars P.

haste biwari P.

hat topie O1.

hate kīnā S, °a W.

hate, to bayz kan- S, bayz car- W.

have, to larel Pš, dar- O, dēr- P, lar- Y, dēr- S, wider- W, dēr- Š.

haversack nâxta S.

hawk bâšă O, P, °ē S, bašə, bāz, kirzyal, lumcit O¹, šāyīn, sayūrž Y, cācuī S, čup W, karčapai Š.

hay wāṣə Pš, xēr P, yorj (?) Š.

hay-stack xērdân P, ušćeno Y, uštīn S, wvšdōn W.

head sar Pš. O, O¹, P, W, kal, sốr P, pusur Y, sốr S, kâl Š.

head, top of v. top.

headman ausakâl, malek P, arbab, cārwəl Y.

headstall avzāl S.

healthy roy Pš, bal O, jör O, O¹, salâmat P, tandrust, tāzo Y, bēfirišta, sihat W, jör Š.

heap kat Pš, rāš Y; (of grain) riyāša, wāṇa Pš. Cf. stack.

heap (of sheaves) sose Y.

heap np grain, to ser ken- S.

hear, to aur. Wn 167, ārwedəl Pš, amar-O, O¹, harw. P, nəyuy. Y, apaxš., šud S, kšüy. W, šen. Š. Cf. listen. heart zrə Pš, zlī O, O¹, zur P, zrl Y, ōvzui S, dil, pəzov W, zârð Š.

heat brās, yarma Pš, garmi, šundrī W. heat, to tâb- P.

heaven beišt S, behišt W. Cf. sky. heavy drūnd Pš, wazmīnd O, grān O', girân P, yary Y, wazmīn S, y<sup>9</sup>rūŋy W, wazmen S.

hedge wärd Pš; 'thorn-') paržinī Y. hedgehog zižgai (v. ziž Pš. jarya O, sizgäi O¹, xarpuštak P, šū, šayur Y.

šayor S, W, karpuštak Š. Cf. porcupine.

heel pūnda Pš, °ə O¹, pāšna O, °no Y. khurī, pēšpâ P, päņio Y, påšne.S, pōšna W, pērnak Š.

heel-rope pul wā a Pš.

heifer yunājī O, rəgūm W.

height gadd P.

height-sickness suby W.

hell dozax Pš, dū S, W.

helmet tay, xol Pš.

help kumak i) P, S, yārė Y.

help, to kumak car- W.

helpless nâilâj P, bičâra Y. bē: Š.

hem laman, mayzai Pš, dāmən O¹, °an S, avlānd, dāməne. lamdo, madiri Y.

hem, to nimil- W.

hemp čars P.

hen cirga Pš, kiržī O, zī O, kury P, kīrio Y, kurčūn, mākok S, kerk, māk W, čaš Š; wild kurye dhârī P,

henchman jellát P.

hence indawû O, mên O<sup>1</sup>, ečend, enhâhî P. hen-house yöst W.

herd ramma O, P, romo Y; 'of cows' pâda O, cârvā, galagāu S; (of goats) ramē S; (of horses) galla O, P.

herd cattle, to caran- S.

here dəle, rā Pš, inda O, êk enhāk', ekestak, enhāk P, molo Y, möß ak S, dərəm W, ude, yūdand Š.

hermaphrodite sajūnak (v. šoja Pš.

hero maranai Pš., pālawân P. heron tažīa Y.

hiccough silgie 01.

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hidden yalai Pš. yəlē, yūn.d O, yaibī, peļ P.

hide, to f<sup>3</sup>!ana- Y, pâš va ken- S, '
(oneself xaz- P.

hide, v. skin.

high hask, lway, wont Pš. čig O. Oʻ. pabēga O, beland ī, rust, wakhē P. brland Y, and S. W. wūč W. anděd P. Š.

hill bok, tapa Š. Cf. mountain.

hillside sasto Y, pušta W: steep) paitar, viščo Y.

himself xusör P.

hinderance ar Pš.

hindmost, the peštīna P.

hindpart of animals) špačkera Y.

hinge, of a door v. doorhinge.

hip sujī O, suņo O¹, sēljī P, pēro Y. šoužī S, gūyək, marsī ?'. šūjiš, šūnj W. sēvje. šūn Š.

hip-bone šna Pš. hadd-e mēnikā P. mižiste, brok, da pišćan blok Y.

hire kerû P. ki° Š.

hit zarb P.

hither rā Pš, idal O¹, mā-bō S, tərəm W. yida Š.

hoar-frost asai Pš. pərx Y, šak W.

hoe kašai, saspār (v. spāra), Pš, kulaņg O, P, kafān O<sup>i</sup>, šašpār P, kaland S 'do Y.

hold, to lard Pš ŭr-uk O, dêr- P. wider- W. Cf. have

hole kūžak Wn 168, sūrai Pš. kō O.
thōr P, surv Y. rus. sērv W, câk.
kōuŋj Š: of the ear) rār O', isrōx.
səmbōk S.

hollow čīw O. gow Y: (below the sternum) kafčī Y.

hollow piece of ground  $p\bar{u}w^a$  ().

holly oak banj Y.

home kāla v. kəlai) Pš

honest muxlis S, əţ-kərkīn, mălūmdor W. honey angin Wn 159, gabina Pš, pin O. O1, xīra i zambūrika P, agimīn Y, šāt Y, S, W, asăl S, W, S. honey comb pyāsa (v. žmanj) Pš1, piāco  $O^1$ . honour ezzat P. hoof swa Ps, sumb O, P, Y, S, kanaw? O1, coguli, šefloc Y, səmb S, səm W. cloven) šongarai Pš. šilč W. hook šäště Y. hoopoe denula S. hope timed P, Y, amed d S, W. hopeful båwar S, amēdvor W. hopper of a mill dul P, Y. horn šukár Wu 162, škar Pš. šāx O. P. S. W, sukar O', šī P, šū V, šōu S. sou W, xâš S. horse ās Pš, yasp O, yasp O', ösp P, yasp Y, vorok S, yaš W, varoj Š; red) jeran P. Cf. mare, stallion. horse clothing prigin W. horse-dung, v. dung. horse's load (half of) buy S. horseman, v. rider. horse-neck škyui Y. horse-race paga Y. horseshoe nál O, S. hospitality melmastyā (v. melmə Pš. hostage yost W. hot tầu Wn 160, tod Pš, tộk O, tɔk O¹. dam, tapo P, pic, suzon Y, garm Y. S. W. vorm S. šundr, din W. kaš S. hour sat O, P, S. garī P, sōat W. houri hūr P. house borjal, kor, mena, mešta. xūna Pš. nér O, nar O1, yus, kala. xâna P, kyei Y, xãn S. xūn W, čīd Š; 'two storied) sind Y. housewife merman (v. mena Pš. ceštena O'.

Konseowner, position of a katxudâi S. how [cerang Pš], carang O. zaneng P, čamin Y, conā S. however wale P. how much many  $\circ$   $c\bar{o}$  Ps,  $c\bar{u}n(d)$  O,  $c\hat{u}$ , čeka P. čand, čamin Y. comond S. cum W, cũnd S. howl, to varuy. W. humble-bee bobure Y, zayolog S. hump kwab Pš. köpân P, kyrfo Y, kīf S, kap W. hump backed vňyai Pš. hundred sĩ Wn 160, sal Pš, sợ O, sū O1, ponž yuštak, so P, sad P, V, W, Š, pānžwist, šor Y. sād S, īsad S. hunger lwaža Pš. gušnagi O, purčagi P. žondoki S. hungry wurža Wn 161, wažai Pš. xrunuk O.  $x^{u}$ ranak O<sup>1</sup>, yurča P. waharay, 'w)ušiyo Y. iwondok S. mərz W, mažjanj S. hunter pālawān S, pālawön W. hunting iškar O. šekar P. iškūr. waina Y. žīw Š. hurt augar, jak (). burt, to mac. P. husband mara Wn 159, mera (v. maranai), caștun Pš, ce: O, mălî O. O1,  $x\hat{a}(\bar{\imath})$  P,  $\check{s}^ife$  Y,  $m\bar{a}l(\bar{o}k)$  S.  $\delta\check{a}i$ , šauhar W, čâr, šūmā(!?) Š. husks poky, sabūstuf Y. hut (on a mountain pasture) xarvo Y, ktič W, krič S. hvena kož Pš.

## I

I mã, rã, zə Pš, az O, O¹, S, mun O, P, án P, mən, zo Y, mak S, wuz W, Š, ibex • wižîk, yukš W; (male) naxčīr Y, Š, žimáne Y, rang W; female naxčīr-

vəzo Y, buz, mery W. Cf. mountaingoat. ice yax O, O', S, karran O', ix P, laxsərə Y, yax S, yix, yaz W. ice-house ya.vdân P. idiot leu S. idol but P, bat S. idol-temple butxâna P, bado S. idolatry butparasti P. if agar P. Y, ka O. wahgam Y. if not ne ce P. ignoble bīsī P. ignorant jel Pš. ill (sick) nājor O, P, Š, ranjūr O', bēstő, himár P, bě' S, Š, charő P, lurvë Y; (from fever) kuft S. ill-advised nažaxt W. illness Prova Y, bemåri, kassal S, bemorī W. immediately psāt Y. immersed spūp O. impale, to čormix P. impatient bluar P. impatience bīwarī P. impendent bīlayam P. impolite bēadab 8. impossible šanda Pš imprisoned bandi P. in či Wn 161, kše Pš, nē O, tar P, S, Š. 1 ba Y, da Y, W, ma S, dar W. in all xullas P. incite, to ažiyil Pš. indigestion aver Pš in front of, v. before. in order that ta Y. in time bajāī P. inch, an bamča P. inconsiderate bīyauri 1'. incrustation krox Y. indeed xu P.

independent xudextiyâr P.

individual žawai Pš, nefs Y. inflamed xurin Pš šūm, xrind O. inflammation phundo P; (of the lungs. ўйў-dard W. Cf. swelling. inflated skin, v. mussuck. informed xabar O, P, Y. information xabar Y. inheritance mīros S, W injustice haif P. zulm W. inkhorn dewet P. innocent bēyaib S, bēgunā S, W. innumerable askarâr, bīhisâb P. insect, n. of an wangü O. čalkremo Y. xəuzit W. inside zdare Wn 169, [danana Pš]. darūn P, S, (n)adram Y, darūnya Š. insipid škät Y. instead of hewaz P. instep rašan, šfīna Y, puband, pušt-i ve (pūid kaf), pēš·i·pâ, vā S, təsken W. intelligence wūš O. aql P. intelligent poh Pš. ušyar O. Cf. wise. gast, mudû, niyat. intention ben $\hat{a}_i$ xatir P. into kī O. dar P. darān, tro Y. intoxication kaif P. inundation v. flood. investigation bībâsxâst, surây P. invisible raibī, raibat P. invocation duvâ P. iron öspende Wn 161, ospīna Pš, Pš1, âin O, ro O, O1, âhen, rũ P, rispen Y, åhan, %pon S, tiš (?), yīšn W, sepen S: made of) ahenī P, Y, ahanīn S. iris margas Y: (of the eye cammərdikiq S. irrecognisable nažan Y. irrigate, to čād- Y, (vēki' deh- S, wərəw- W. irrigated xarob Pš.

irrigation avzino Y. vi-diok S: first xokova Y, xâkâv S. (second) dūova, livde Y, dâhâv S.

irrigation-channel wāla Pš, joi O, ywāi O¹, trog-weliko, weliko, wolo Y, jovār, nar S, cermu, wad W. wes S. Cf stream.

irrigation furrow k'īš S. irritate, to zoral Pš.

is v be.

itch, to  $k \in l$  W.

itching buxâr O, gary P, lyone, .euri. xāriše Y, xurūš S.

jackal gidar [Pš], O. O1, šarál O. P. šovo! S.

jacket kurti O. P, korče S. woollen mâwar P.

jar kūza Y, kōzē S, nəlâd W: earthen's kəlâli P, sofo Y.

jaw wāca Wn 169, zāma Pš, alašá O. P, W, zāmbo O1, kyeliko Y, alaiē S, lišá Š.

jaw-bone kelidak I'.

jay menākā O1.

joint mer W, band S.

joke wašta Pš, mazāk P.

journey plā Pš, safar Y.

jowar, v maize.

joy šâdgârī P. Cf. merriment.

Judas-tree v. arghawan.

judge mumaiz P, qâzī P, W, kåzî S.

jujube-tree səziyo Y. Cf. Senjet Darra P.

jump yər, trap Pš, xēz O, top O¹.

jump, to wrātəl 'v. wurzedəl) Pš, xīst . kan- P, ustušč. Y, araz- S.

juniper yovurso Y, arca, wort S, yars W. hambašc S.

just insafdar S, ödil W.

justice adûlat P, insåf S, adl, insöf W.

# K

keep, to sātəl Pš, ūr. O, dharēw. P.

kernel zanai 1 Pš, mayz P, Š, žirmalė Y: pine-nut zwayak O: rice šamâa O.

kettle sofo tāl Y. Cf. cooking-pot.

kettle (porridge) kankato Y.

key kili O, kilizášt. P, kvelen Y, uškoz S, wušik W.

khan xân, xâwin P.

kick, a příšpář P.

kid pšarlai, waroūmai Pš. buzyálă O,  $gur\bar{u}$  O, O¹,  $\dot{c}e_{\gamma}$  W,  $g\bar{\iota}\dot{c}$  Š. (newborn cana Y, štonok S: (one year old) sērlui [Pš], O¹. takačār, žusara P, čānoyo, frayomiy, narčan Y, rižuk, take S. 'female during first year', išten P: female, one year old) frayingo, prenjio Y, fəryəm S, (two years old) dusara, taka P; (three years old) šusara P.

kidney [badödái Wn]. pušta-warga Pš, gurda O, P, W, yulkal, zlikak(?) O', wulya Y, gul, wolk S. walth W, ūwj (wūšč) S.

kill, to wezen. Wn 160 6, wa-žlol (v. żəl) Pš. užnaw- O, wazn- O1, u/-. mēr- P, mōz- Y, kəl-, žan- S, cəx-. šay. W, kaž. Š.

killed kušta P.

kiln wzan Pš.

kind, sort qism S.

kindle, to šilaw- O, bala-, sil- O1, lagew-, thew P, Pfor Y, pedin-S, picer W, peden. S.

king *bâdšâ* O. pâdśâ P, Y, S, W. mištor Y.

kingdom pádšá h i P, məlk Y.

kingfisher macixor Y.

kinsman ulus, xīš P, xēš S, xēš Š.

kiss, n. mača Pš. pēć O. mačī P. boh S. bā, bām W.

kiss, to kṣul Pš, cūṣ-P, boh-, gof-Y.
kite cắr. kalmor, karče;ai W.
kitten prškeze Y, pošbažgī 8. piśzə.min W.
knead, to āṇažəl, (kṣe-mandəl Pš, maṛmuṣaw- O, gūy- Y, tun-, wert- W.
Cf. rub.

knee zũng Wn 169, zangōn Pš. zangʻak v. zánū) O. zánū O. P. göṇḍī O¹. zīk Y. zung S. b²rīn, zōnu W. zūnɔ Š knee cap parvažīn Y. yēnak Š.

kneeling duzânū P.

knife čā<sub>l</sub>a Pš, čártkai O, kali gak, O. Oʻ. čákū Oʻ. W, kūčanŏk, pžškaus P, ke<sub>l</sub>o Y, kī ė̞! S. kəž, tasma-kaš W, čēd Š.

knit, to jora- O1, wor- Y.

knock, to braxā- Y.

knock against, to štrax- W.

knocking at the door taxtax O.

knot giriya O, yundə Oʻ, gerê P, qəro, yurex Y, gərē S, jirex, terāx W, girē Š

know, to puzan. O, pan. P, dis., vozān. Y. wozān. Š. Cf. recognize.

know thou bedân P.

knowing 'âgâ O, âmuxta, dâninda, hilata P.

knowledge elm P.

known zda Pš, mâlūm O, ayan P, mālām P, W, māləm Y.

knuckle brok, čotě, krox i -yaste Y, mer W. knuckle-bone (used in a game) aryund Pš.

kran coin kiran P.

#### L

labour kio Y.

labourer (agricultural) duhqun Y.

ladder xarxac O¹, sulân. šor P, zīnā P, S. afsinro Y, šātūn S, waxār W. narvūnd Š. Cf. stairs. ladder, rung of a pokor Y.

ladle avzano, avzaniko. narkafii Y... kāfi S, we-ām W. Cf. spoon.

lagging behind f<sup>3</sup>rīnd, partāmī S. Cf. left. lake daṇd O, hāuz P. S, haud Y. zōi c Y, W. kūl Š. Cf. pond.

lakh, 100 000 lak 1'.

lamb wrai Pš. Oʻ, Israi O, Iyerai Oʻ.
garoʻʻčuču) P. wari, wārk W. wārg Š.
new born- wərya Y. female wērak S;
f. one year old wōryō, wōryiko Y.
male worok S. m. one year old narworya, prasilane ware Y.

lame xūž Pš. gut O. gudai [Pš], O¹, kuttō P. šut.t) P. Š. lang P. S. W. šel Y. šal S.

lament ferûn P.

lamp palta [; wiek] O, čeray, fánūs P, čirūy Y, čirāylān S. cəràto Š. Cf. lantern.

land, v. country, field.

landslip šot W.

lane čála v. kolai Pš.

language lauz P, rážen Y, zevák S. Cf. tongue.

lap vêž Pš, damen P,

lapis lazuli lāšvər Y,

large, v. big,

lasso kamand P.

last axir O, axerī P.

last year [parēša Wn], paros Pš, prasul O, al O¹, parāsur P, prasāl Y, pərsāl S, pārd W, pārsāl, pərwās Š; belonging to parðingā W, -but one inzəsəl cān O¹.

late dêr O, năwaxt [Pś]. O, O¹, Y, yīr P, dəš S. deš W.

later be 0, ga S.

laugh, to xandəl Pš, xan- O, khan- P, xoud Y, xānd- S, kānd- W, šānd- Š laughing khanði P.

laughter xandā v. xandəl Pš, xanī O. O¹. kanda W.

law šeriet Y, qanūn W.

clawful rawâ P, halāl, halar Y.

lawless bītamīz P.

lawn sarza S.

lazy kahal Y.

lead surup Pš, surb P, arzīz Y. sərb S. lead, to rā-w- Wn 166, kutāl- Š.

lead away, to botlel Ps.

lead down, to un- P.

leaf pāṇa, paxa Pš, bărg O. Y. S, Š. pat, puxa O¹, pōn P, pɔṇek Y, palē W.

lean narai Pš, dangar [Pš], O, O¹, lu jar P. dolk Y, xarâb Y, W, Š, bē S, lá:a W.

lean against, to putruz- W.

leaning on takia P.

learn, to yuxs Y, pozin S.

learned zda Pš.

learning hilata P.

leather žūu Y, pūst S, mandīth W. Cf. skin.

leather-belt karapči Š.

leave n. ruxsat(i) P, Y, W, ro S, rux-sat Y.

leave, to ān· Wn 160,1, (pre·odəl v. prā·) Pš. g· O, ž· O¹, wāst· Y, la ken· Y, S, la·cer· W.

leaving rawan P, rahī Y.

leech žawara Pš, šuluk ().

left (hand) kīṇ Pš, čāp O, P, S, W, Š, cēla C, cīela O¹, cop Y.

left behind pate Pš, ozuk O, manda P. left behind, to be uzeh-, daruzeh- P.

foris- S. Cf. remain.

leg šānga Pš, leng P. ling S; of a bed ženpäliko Y.

lentil nask P.

leopard prāng Pš, palāng O, P, Y, S, W, Š, prāng O<sup>1</sup>, parān P, azāda-pəlang Y; (a kind of xar-pəlang Y: white-pos W.

leprosy prang Pš.

less dūs Š

lesson sahak P.

lest bádá. bádái, ne će P

let loose xalâs O, êlā, yala P, haṭe, yalē S.

let loose, to an-aret Wn 160'1, la ken-Y. Cf. leave, release.

letter xatt O, P. kâyaz P, W.

liar daryal Pš, durüygūī P, 'yī W. durūygū S.

liberated, v. let loose.

lick, to eat- [Pš], O, las-yēk O, līs- P. nerīz- Y. lēs- S, lix- W, dak Š.

licking čata O.

lid baryōlai Pš; . of wooden trough xūno Υ.

lie n. daroy Pš. drišt O. drēši Ot, duruy P, S, W, čŏpī, fyeli Y.

lie down, to cemul- Wn 160, camlāstəl, yazedəl Pš, nw(astak) O, dugur-, rhīz- P, ləyn-, nəliv- Y, nesi- W.

life żwāk, žwandūn Pš, umr O. P, əmy W.

lift up, to riyawdəl Pš.  $kk\bar{o}b$ - Y, zenz- S. ligature on bow  $p\bar{a}\delta$  W.

light (adj.), v. bright.

light not heavy, (?,spuk Pś. O, subuk O, P, sac Y. S, Š, sic W, alukai O', rānjk W.

light n. ruṇā Wn 161, raṇā (v. rūṇ) Pš. nūr O, P, S. ruṇai O¹, rhinē P. årunyo Y, rušān(i) Y, S. šonāi S. nīr, rōšanai, vōin W, mēden Š; (lamputirāy S. Cf. brightness.

light a fire, to v. kindle.

lightning brešnā Pš, barq O, Y, S, bruš O<sup>1</sup>, balk, jabalak P, veliwo Y, åtašek S, åte° Š, åt°šak W.

like Fünde, laka Pš, padak O, dhīr(ang) P, gnik S. Cf. resembling.

like, to šāyəl Pš.

limb hadama Y.

lime čuņa Y.

limp, to ngīšedəl Pš.

line karša Pš.

lined qalamī W.

linen son, z<sup>3</sup>yēr S, kodnok W.

linseed imoyō Y, katānak S

lion ser P. S. W. str Y. babr S.

Iip sũ, sũn Wn 161, sund hiệ, lab O, P, S, W, sundo O¹, lauč P, poršik Y, rīvlav S, lafč W, šand Š.

list čhira P; of names pešk P.

listen, to nyutal Pš.

little, a lož Pš, dnžki O, kop, yila Y, čov. wokiak S, andak, kam W.

little, too vēso P.

little tinger v. tinger.

live, to zindəgöni kən S, zindəyöni car W.

livelihood guzərân P, guzarân Y.

liver yina Pš,  $j\tilde{a}\tilde{s}^r$  O<sup>1</sup>,  $jig\tilde{a}r$  P, Y, S. W, Š,  $y\tilde{e};\partial n$  Y.

living, v. alive.

lizard [samsara, karbopai PS], kirwās, latək, šūšmár O, samserī O, karwaš. šilân l P, karbəsa, šalāku, yanvilya Y, kərvisik S, karbāš, võt W. [carbask (Sk.) Š].

load bâr O.

load, to leşəl (v. ležəl) Pś, daž yēk O, vira- Y.

lobe of the ear kanik  $O^1$ .

lock jandra (v. žaranda Pš. kulf O, P, Š, kolf Y, S, kulp W.

lock, of hair wurbal Pš, kakul P.

locked qīl O. šo.c S.

locust malax Pš, O, P, Y, S, mo W. mēx O, O¹, fusfesīya, yaspa Y, mūr(?¹ W, čiðisk, žid° Š.

log požo Y.

loins pašt S.

long vậd Pš, đrā; O, O¹, bĩ stổ P, vàn Y. darāz S, Š, vəžduk S, vər: W.

long way frax W.

longing ewab Pš. arman, góra P.

look, to kas- >. debi'- W. Cf see, regard.

look here ma S.

looking about diare Y.

Ioom saxtərəni (? Y.

loose garand, cor 2 Pš. xulus P. S.

loosen, to aratəl (arat Pš, mőž O. mynz- O¹, lasču- P, wien-, yuwan- Y, wušūy- W.

loosened hate S, ralas S.

lose, to harew- P, g#ibō- Y, apanis- S, nis- W, benes- S.

lose the way, to rapic W.

loss talaf O.

lost wruk Pš. barbát, gán d). gark O, gum P, gyib Y; in gambling pər Pš.

lost, to be har. P. apī. S.

louse z<sub>T</sub>ānzi Wn 169, spaža (Ž.) Pš, spāī O, spāī O, ispā P, spāo Y, <sup>3</sup>spāl S, šiš W, s<sup>3</sup>paž Š, [small, rod] wraje O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. tick.

love mīna Pš. ašuqī, ešq, dostī, mahabat, meher P.

love, to bilar- Y.

lover mayan (v. mina) Pš, ašuq(baz) P. low post Pš, Y, landai, tūt O¹, machan,

ramba P, past S. W, net ?; S.

lower lara Pš, toru Y, \*dīr S.

lucerne špešta Pš rrjojo, prtio Y, qurūk S, wižerk W, joržij) Š

lungs šoža Wn 161. pappūs, sožai Pš, šuš O, dad O¹, papō P, pāpos, šuš Y. yōl, šoš S, šūš W, Š.

Iupine saftal Y.

lying down mlāst Wn 162, Pš, gal nwastak O¹.

lying on back stūn Pš, stīngo Y.

# M

'm, the letter mim P. mad lewanai (v. lewa) Pš, dīwana O, P. tag P, devoné, lew S. Cf, stupid. madness masti P. magic jadže, seher P. magpie kyunyo Y, kyeviāk g S, kiržepi W, kiśebs S. maid perla Pš, cimitkeryo Y. Cf. girl. maize [jwār Pš], šuta O, dujār Ot, jourari O, P, juo Y, zitai P; ear of lūtaki P, straw of kuso Y, beard of bamboli Y. majesty huzūr W. make, to rez- P, gax- S. Cf. do. make water, to v. urinate. male nar Pš, P, Y, W. nerinā O. nêrók P, yəš W. male child jura P. malice yârat, šaitânī P. malicious šaitan P. man sarai Pš, O, O¹, ádam P, W, Š. mâneš, mer P, mara, mer Y, ādam, mālok S. dăi, mərdina W. ma° Š. xălg W, čárik, mardīna S. mane owi, wraz Pš, yál O, P, Y, S, W, S, čalo Y. manger auxur O, axur O', P. Y. or S, rūz-āxur W, venīr S. mangy paman (v. pam) Pš. manner šān Pś, zail P; in this hērangī P; in what carang O, kërangë P. mantilla, a woman's pakol S. manure, v. dnng. many zut O, dal, yalaba P, žahand Y, fai S, təkī W, bāz S. Cf. much. many, how cun(d) O. many, so on O. marching  $k\bar{u}\tilde{c}$  P. mare aspa v. ās! Pš, myāndēni O1,

\* madiana P, mayozo Y, baital S, W. mådiyån S, madāx W, vērj S. markhor fem. marxor O, būz, corougvozo, mažovo Y; male coraū Y, janwar, žučk S, surxā W. Cf. mountain-goat. marmot dala?, wūn Y, winek, wundok W. Cf. weasel. marriage nikâ O, W, neka P. wàda S, katxudář Š. marriage prosession wrā Pš. marriageable age wāda S. marrow mārza Pš, mārz O', Y. W. S, moyz S. Cf. brain, marsh šūra O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. bog. marten (pine-), v. pine-marten. master ca'tan Pš, bādâr, čēštan O, süheb. xâwân, xâwand P, ³und Y. mastigate, to v. chew. match gügird Y; of a gun pilta S. matchless biazīmī P. match-maker rebar Pš, dallal P. matter hall P, trik Y. matter, v. pus. mattock, v. hoe. mattress tőšak P. aaran Y. kirpačá W. filled with cotton purum Y. Cf. bedding. may be  $f \ni r m \bar{\epsilon} Y$ . meadow wuršo Pš. tâla, maryuzûr. ulang P, mīryo Y, mēry, sarza S. göz W. Cf. pasture. measure (of grain) ožai Pš. measure, to mā- Y, kač-O1: (liquids, etc.) pyaməl Pś. meat [ywase, "zaráh" Wn], wasa Pš, gāka O,  $\supset$  O<sup>1</sup>,  $\gamma \tilde{n} \tilde{s}$  P, Y, gušt S, W,  $p \ni \delta f S$ ,  $\gamma i \acute{s} t W$ ,  $g \tilde{u} \acute{s} (w) t \dot{S}$ , roast  $k a b \hat{a} p P$ ; or fish ngolai Pš. medicine dawâ O, elâj P, iº Y, dârū P. 🖜 Y, darmân, dâwaī P. meeting jalsa S.

melon khōrəbuj P, lārū Y, varbəz(a Y, 🕏, 🗀 cbūz Š. melt, to fro. Y. an saw- S memory yād O, Y. dētər, yōd W. mending mahalam Y. merchant saudagar O, P, -ager Y, -ogar S, W, saudager Y, bāzārgān S. merriment xušâlī O, mastī, xušwaxtī P. waly Y. Cf. feast, joy. merry xušwaxt P. Cf. happy. messenger astojai (āstawul) Pš, káset P. middle myanj (v. mla) Pš, manz O, nesp P, m'yān(e), nəsm S, məlung W; in themakhār P. midnight nīmišō O, barābar xšovo Y, nīmšab, nesmešav S, brobarnājd W. milk šos Wn 160, pat, šauds Pš, pák O, šīpī O, O1, pē P, xšīra Y, xôm S, žārž W, šūvd S; (sonr) šamže Wn 169, trošp S, trig, triš W, maska (incorr. for butter) S. Cf. buttermilk, curds. milk, to cek. Wn 161, lwašel Pš. duš. O. dus- O1, dūč- P, lūž- Y, dēš- S, δic- W, δūj- S. milk-cup, wooden cšir-k: csa Y. milk-pail lawayūna (v. lwašəl) Pś. kizarė P, lipča, vašč W. milk-rice čirgrinj Y. "Milky Way" čarvi falak, wārwan Y, kākašōn W. mill žaranda Pš. āsya O, jəndrə O¹. aēra P, xīryo Y, xubāri S, xədorg W, xedârj S. Cf. handmill. mill-broom färn, rəfiko Y. mill-race trobī Wn 169, x<sup>3</sup>rāṇī O¹, nawoyd Y, nowak S, nin W. mill-stone pal Pš, O1, xēragir P, xursago Y, xədörg-yār, wirt W. mill wheel carx O', wirdan W.

millet (Panienm miliaceum ēždən Wn 161,

ždan Pš. arzan O, ažan O<sup>1</sup>, arzon P,

yurzon Y, wuždon S, arzan, yīrzn W, pinj S; (Panicum italicum) vošt (āyažəl Pš, gáš P, yararso Y, [jäwaus Sk., Š. mimic, to putmui- W. mind hos 8. mine Ednan W. minister wazir P, Y, S. mint plant) welanai Pš mirror ăina O, O1. P, W, ahena, sisa P. âino, šišoyo Y, ainek S; looking glass šīša S. miser baxil S, bəyəl (?) W. miscarrying speyāza Pš. missing  $bij\hat{a}$  P. mist dund, lara Pš, manyar P, S. mizäziko Y, ar-tagûv-yat ("it came down ? S. mistress bībī P. mix, to lar- [Pš], O, voday- Y, alalas kən- S. ao car-, šand- W. mixed qat P, katī Y. moat *xandak* P. mockery tâna P. mode zail P. modesty hayâ P. moist, v. wet. moisten thoroughly, to nicod- Y. moisture n∂b Y. mole xál P. moment lāza P, fasl S. money hūy Y, paisā Y, S, yərnī, pūl S, pīl W. monkey maimūn S. month māst Wn 159, miyāst Pš, maī O. mēhī P. mổ, mux Y. mā S, Š, mij W, m.st S. month, n. of a hamal P, asad, simbulā. təmis W, kaus S. monthly měhīn P. moon miyāst, wažmaī Pš, spožmaī Pš, O1, maryok, mātau O, mahok P, imogo Y,

måtou, wulmëk S, mötöb, žəmak W, mëst Š; the new hēlâl P.

moonless night tarožmai v. spožmai, Pš. trožmai O1.

moonlight rabana Pš.

moraine âbūya Y. ambol S, šui W; heap more digarī S. [of stones .xōris Y. moreover balkim O.

morning sār O, P, saxar O<sup>1</sup>, rućan P. săhar P, Y, S, subəliyo, sārpagā, wūšč Y, rašt, sub S. rux, sārake, Š: in the subdamik W. Cf. dawn.

morning-meal pizrāni W.

morsel nwarai Pš. nori O, tok P.

mortar oyur P.

moslem musulmain P.

mosque mazdīk O, mažīt Y.

mosquito mēsa Wn 159, pumašā v. puā, māšai (v. mač) Pš. paša O, P, pə W, myāsai O¹, g#iblenike Y, kurpaša Y, S, maxše, pašə Y, joz S, kanek, piðu W, čangin Š.

moth parwána P, Y, W, parwinekcy S, wie W.

mother mor Pš, máwá O, v O¹, aī, mâ(ēī), mâma P, nīno Y, mãò dar S, nān S, W, Š, mâd Š.

mother and daughter moweha P.

mother-in-law  $xw\bar{a}\xi a$  Pš,  $sy\bar{u}_{7}$ ,  $xu\bar{s}\bar{u}i$  O,  $sy\partial_{\gamma}$ ,  $xw\bar{\beta}i\bar{e}$  O¹,  $xu\bar{s}$  P,  $x^{u}\bar{s}o$  Y,  $x\partial_{\gamma}\bar{s}$  S,  $xu\bar{s}d\bar{o}man$ ,  $xa\gamma$  W,  $x\bar{i}\bar{s}$  Š.

motor-car mötar P.

mount, to dak- P. Cf. rise.

mountain yar Pš, Y, girī, kē O, girī O', dhâr, khandi P, yar Y, kū Y, W. Š, ålax, kūh, ša.ca-yer S, tāx Š. Cf. hill. mountain-ash tār Y.

mountain-gout yarcanai Pš, āū O, yircanai O', mēšak, naxčīr Š; female sur P, jənwār W; male toy P. Cf deer, ibex, markhor. monse mažak Pš. balūr, kawār, daninmaro P, părr Y, mūš S, W, pork S, purk W, pūrg Š. Cf. 1at.

moustache brt Wn 159, brēt [Pš], O¹, brāt O, Y, bu P. b²- S. wrzṣt O¹, r rut Y, ṣābrut S. b²rīt W, birut Š: large brutĉapar W.

mouth xula Pš, dán, pōz O, pyōz O¹. šōyḍ P, pckore, yurv Y, fōc S, ṣʿaṣ̄ W, yōv Ś.

mouthful inda Pš, teka P.

mouthpiece of bellows belulo Y.

move, to xwajedol Pš. č/h'im P, muž Y. tač-W.

move, to v.tr. çīmew-, jukēw- P., muža- Y. movement yūn P. arakat O., malak, šūr P.

moving rawan S.

much zut O, ferimán, γulā, γulā P, ambox, boh, tipē, žahānd Y, fai, lip. ziāt S, bisyār, foi, γafāi, γafċi W. on O, so-mind, yenda Y; complete binās Y.

mucus roma Pš, balyam Y, qat, lišp W; (from nose) nezyo Y, xolm S; (from mouth) balyām S.

mad gel, matta P. jerīv (? W. muddy xər Pš, xatralog Y.

mulberry  $t\bar{u}wa$  Wn 169,  $t\bar{u}t$  O. O<sup>1</sup>, Y. S. W.  $t\bar{i}$  P.  $m^2rec$ ,  $t\bar{u}i$  Y.  $t\bar{u}\delta$  S.

mulberries, dried mais P, kitori Y.

mulberry-flour pist S. Cf. flour.

mule kaçar O', qâter, yâbû P, kaçîr Y, S. mulla mullâ O, P.

multicoloured, v. piebald.

multitude valabagī, vulūgī P.

murderer ádamkuš P, žúduk S, šitk W. murmur šuršur P.

mushroom xomba Pš, ciyyere Y; (a kind bt; pufānek Y; (white) xarpūst Y. music sur P, mailis Y, sāzingē Š.

musk tâtâr. mušk P.
mussuck, v. skin, inflated.
mutilating nasak P.
muzzle fruše Y.
my jmā Pš, manân P, mon Y, S, žu W.
myself maxsör P.
mystery ramūz. serr P.

## N

nail mēx O, O¹, P, S, Š, kūk P, māx Y. W; wooden bâry Š; (finger-) nūk Pš. taxt ta angušt O, naxk O¹, nōrk P, anaxno Y, nāxăn Y, Š, no² W. nar- \\ x\oldsymbol{v}k'g S, d\oldsymbol{e}ger W.

naked "oon" Wn [= ūn < \*bagna-], layar [barband] Pš, lǐnc O. P, šilex Y. °ax S, W, °ak Š.

name nom Wn 158, num Ps, S, nam O, P, Y, num S, nong W.

narrow narai Pš, O, tang O, S. W. Š. tang O¹, čīnō, lun lu P, təgo, trok Y. būrik, tanik S: street tangī P.

natural xudài P.

nature šūn Pš; condition lab P.

navel nov Wn 150, nū, m' Pš, nefak O, nâf P, S, Š, nif Y, nof W.

near paxē Wn 168, zarma Wn 169, caxa, naždē Pš, bōy O, bōi O¹, da, dâl P. karīb P, S, Š. q´ Y. nəzdīk P, na° Y. tarī, tartar P, iəlo, šut Y, šiš W.

nearest to the village warboi Pš.

necessary lázim. munásib O, wajip P. zarūr P, Y, bakör S. W; is-böya Pš. bâyad Š.

necessity zarūri Y.

neck yāya (v. yarəl) Pš. O, mayzat v. māyzə), warmez Pš. gardan O, makaṇḍāi O¹, maṇḍō P, škyui, šile Y, gardak, yorōk S. gerðān W, māk Ŵ, Š. tōr W.

necklace ožai Pš. ghana P. garai, medraye, xafabande Y, perg W; silver mušti Y.

neckrope of yoke sabəranj, samlasiko Y. ripk W.

need, to lirer - W.

needle sunzən Wn 162, stən Pš. śinī O, s° O¹, sīcīn P, šinjo Y, stən S, sic W. sej Š: (packing-) yorsəm Wn 168, sparxai Pš, tēbana O, xaršižn. juāldūz Y, °ōz S.

needy šilax S. Cf. poor, naked.

Negro habašī P.

neigh, n. [šašņai, haņ Pš], ingās O. hengas P.

neigh, to sisin- O1, ušun- Y.

neighbour hamsâya P, a° Š, jár P, amsāyo, grambešu Y, amāsyē S.

neither nor näi-näi S.

nephew (brother's son) wrānd Pš, rāšrai O, rāšrā O¹, biyāruņāk P, vraipūr, vrēni Y, v³rūzə man S, v³rītpətr W; (sister's son) worayai (v. wor) Pš, xīruņāk P, xurī Y, wīr S, xariyān W.

nerve pala, wuža Pš.

nest manjolo, ţān O¹, yēxio Y, parenda xān, yēca S, yod W, yēd Š; bec'sṣōr Pš.

net wrðz Wn 169, tor Pś, dam O. P. alkē S, tor W, pēθ Š. Cf. snare, trap.

nettle xulxadī Y.

never hee kala (na' v. kala) Pš. h'jiewaxt W.

new nawai Pš. nūw O, nyōw O¹, nō P.
nowo;o Y, nuwōk S, šəyd W, nū Š.
news xabara O¹, auhāl P, xabar P, Y.
W, Š; good zerai Pš.

New-Year festival nauroz, e) S.

next year žâsar P.

next world, finally axerat Y.

niece brother's daughter wrera v. wrara Pš, rāšra O. rāšra O', vrērigo Y; 'sister's daughter xoria v. xor' Pš. xurīgo Y. nice, to look warš-yek O. night špa Pš. šō O, šyōu O1, w ryar. ramin P, rosovo Y, forson, sab S, não & S. W. šāb Š. part of šūma Pš; - s halt šūp W; this very wyarawyar P. nightingale, v. bulbul. nightmare xapasa Pš väyd S. W. nine nəh Pš, na O, nɔ O¹, nō P, nou Y. S. nău W. nâw Š nineteen nulas (v. noh) Pš. nes O. anes O1, nams, nužda P, nūzda Y, nowob'dos S. dasnab W. nipety nawe Pš. niwe O. nawas S. nipple, v. breast female. nit riča Pš, rīko O', rīško Y, žāng W. no na O, na P, nai W; 'adj.' hãc Y. noble höki P. nobleman mirzá P. noise čīya, yaw, šwwal, žay, zmuž Pš. šūr/r P. awāz Y. nook covda Pš. noon yărma, Pš, DO, nimrāž O, ōz P, °ūz W, mižen Y, čášt, maikenī S. noose paxwandai Pš. noon madir W. north šamálí O, P. °ol W. nose piza Wn 159, paza Pś, ak (), nīnī O, O1, damār, nēšt P, fosko Y, fusek, nic S. mis S. W. nei S. noseless, etc. bārai Pš. nose-ring pezwān .v. paza Pš, natī P nostril šemža Wn 169, spažma Pš, parxâna O, sužmī O1, bīnīxân, damaral P, foskafsurv Y, dimåy, fosk-poačē S. not na Pš. P, S, Š, nah O, či, če, ču, č, no, no, Y. ne W; is not ništa Pš. řeš Y, nest S, nist S. Cf. don't.

hothing čuwa Y.
nourish, to nmānjəl Pš.
now os (osedəl), no (v. nan [< nor] Pš.
pērž O, Oʻ. badī, ye, yari P, wos Y,
diga, ngē, naksē, psāt, sē ²\ S. nāv W.
šić Š.
numb kupə Y.
number šumār P, imāl Y.
nurse dāya S.
nurturing parvariš S.

0! ai 0, à, ai, ò, àyà, wò, yà P, ai Y. e, o, wa S, allō, ēi, wai W, oak bālūt O, Š, van P oar fe S Cf. spade. oath wwar O. O', kasam O. q P. Y. S. qurân P. wor Y. Cf. swear. oats jaudar O1, desin S, leso Y. obey, to n-utəl, manəl Pš. observe, to thâr- P. obtain, to v. get. object maxsad P. occupied mangir P. occult knowledge panibėd P. of ra Wn 163, da Pš, tar O, ta O<sup>t</sup>. off, away badār Y. officer hafsar S. oil tel P.

old (living things), zop Pś. zāl O, Oʻ, kaṭṭō P. zōr Y, xyār W, pīr Ś; inanimate things köna P. kō² W. kuhno, telt Y, 'man' chaṭadhârī P. mūisafēd S, W, safēbān Š; (woman pīrazāl, pīrakī, zāl P, zōro Y, kam pīr S.

old age kaṭṭöī P.
olive-tree [ṣōna. ṣāwana Pš]. sōwan O¹.
olive-coloured spišē Y.
on minde Wn 163, bānde, pa Pš, S. jer, sar O,

zär O<sup>1</sup>, ba P, bar P, Y, po, sko, tro Y. rū, sor S, da, rā-i, sak W, pi Š at the top of  $s\vec{\sigma}(r)$  P. once jal, kala Pš, waxtī W. one yau Pš, šē O, sə O¹, žu P, yū Y, wok, yak S. iu W, yiw S: 'of several' yūyo, yukyego Y. one another (h)alaman W. one each igon igon W. onion piāz O, S, pi y az, tekai P. pi Y. piūk, piyoz W. only guj O, fakat P. oorial mēš-i kiškūr S : (male, mīya, naxčīrpəzäxe Y, kuškor, mon, war W [ef. ram); (female) saža Pš, sūsa O, mēšak W. open arat, wit [< \*wi-šita] Pš. rē P. wulai Y, hət S, ət W, yet S. open, to prānatəl, spardəl Pš, gabdā- Y; the eyes) varaw O. opened xor 2 Pš, yalē S. or yā P, Y, S, žī ? Y. orange nâranj Y. order, to v. command. order, in—that tā Y. oriole, golden čkalpio Y. ornament [anjor Pš], fazl P, sarf<sup>3</sup>vāže Y. orphan yatīm O, sayīr Y, so W, sayēr S. other bi, bal Wn 160, bal, nor [< \*an $t\bar{a}ra$ -] Pš.  $b\bar{e}$ ,  $b\bar{e}ga$  O,  $b\bar{i}$  O¹,  $z\hat{a}$  P, dīr Y, digar S. W. yan W. otter singlaŭ Y. saglavi S. sagáwi. šūpis (?) W. out panēšta O. out of breath hanaday Y. out of place bijâ P. outery čiq P. outside panë ta O, nësta O', bor, berun, mabor P, biavan S, baar, vicung W. vaiza S.

oven tanür ()

over par Pš
overflowed toe Pš.
overflowed toe Pš.
overturned, to be parzedol Pš.
overturning čapa S.
Ovis Ammon yâr alī Š v. mountain
goat).
Ovis Poli rūš W; male vrokš W.
owl lagō O¹, bīf P, būm P, W, Š, bū Y.
qīm W.
own xpal Pš, xui O, xwai O¹, xukán P.
xoy Y. xē S, xūnen W, xu Š.
own, to dar O. Cf. have.
owner bādâr O, sâheb P. Cf. master.

### P

pace pal 1 Pš, wiyang W, gum, gadam S. pack-saddle, v. saddle. pad nyorai, namla (v. lamcai. Pš. padlock jandra (v. žaranda) Pš. Cf. lock. pain zawr Pš, dard P, S, S. ram, tâb P; in the ribs brižiēk O1. pain, to  $dim \cdot O$ ,  $b\bar{e}s$ - P. palace dargâ, sarāi P. palate kūmai Pš. kām O, P, Y, S, kom W. pale rangzūrd S. palm (ot hand) waryowai Pš, "we, taliti O1, kaf O, P, kaf-e döst P, odest S. °dast W, peno Y, p'ū(s)n W, ben S. paradise behešt, jannad P. parched, v. grain (parched). parents-in-law qədă W. pariot töti O', töti P, tüti S, sauztüti W. partner *šarik* P. partridge tanzarai, zarka Pš, kauk O. sāc(?), zraj O¹, bōdana, žirež P, žoržo Y. wužižir S, čkor W, zarīj Š. parturition stam Pš. party ferkā P. pass n. hân P, kutal P, S. var Y. ponnk S. wiyin W.

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"perhaps {āyī Pš. magam P. albatt S. W.
pass, to v. cross,
                                           perishable fânī P.
passed ter Pš, O. O1.
                                           period mansum P.
passing yuzar P.
                                           period of two years lohsaxo V.
passion cwab Pś
                                           peritoneum spešta Pš.
pasteboard nornogo Y.
                                           permission rursat Y.
passtime sâatter P.
                                           permit, to lam dah- P.
pasture car Pš: mountain- gaz Š; summer-
                                           perplexed hairan P.
   uēl S. Cf. meadow.
patch of cloth paspon Y.
                                           person žawai Pš. nafar P, W, S, tan S.
patience sabr P.
                                              xălg W: a certain) felâna'i P.
                                           perspiration xwala Pš. arag O, Y. S, W,
patient sabr S. togatdor W.
                                              vola O. salo O1, arak P. S. wal V.
path sīma Pś. Cf. road.
                                              xair S, xil W.
pay muzilur()
peas maruk P, čeriy (?, kišer, pateko,
                                           pestle lawar Ps. gursang O, bagrie.
                                              molai O1.
   xurmuyo Y. karåš, mužīk, rasvos.
   patak S, karoš, patek, saž W. Cf.
                                           pheasant pătacur V.
   beans, lentils.
                                           pice paisa P.
                                           pick, to bož- O, čā- Y, čen- S, čip- W.
peace gwāš Pš. áštī, sulu P.
peach šaftālā O, Ot, P. Š, ele V, cālā
                                           pick up, to orew. kherew. P.
   S, W, šadrax P.
                                           pick-axe kulang P, gižė Y.
peacock myawr Pš, myaumuryān O1.
                                           picture negar P.
peak peza (v. paza) Pš. khandi P.
                                           piebald gaž (v. āyažəl), prāng v. prang)
pear nâk P, nâšpātī P, W. e Š, âbruo.
                                              Pš, ablaq P, kaš Y, col, rangā·i
   ambroz, nərowi coggō, kyogō, nas-
                                              günagün S, ar xēl. čūў. Sard W.
   potry, tok Y, pēšu W, marod, nok Š
                                           piece tök P. Cf. morsel.
pearl marvalara Pš.
                                           pieces, in small rīza P.
pedal (on a loom päliko Y.
                                           pierce, to kif- S.
                                           pierced, to be suredal Ps.
pedestrian palai (v. pal) Pš. piyaba Š.
                                           pig matə, [sarkūzai] Pš. nâlat O, xūg
pedlar, v. merchant.
peg možai, sparxai Pš, mažwai O¹, čūr.
                                              S, S, xig W.
   max Y, mex S; (wooden, on pellet-
                                           pigeon kauntar Pš, kaftar O, kabūtar P,
                                              kovio Y, kovis S, kibit W. čehūd S
   bow) zangīāk S.
pellet-bow, v. bow.
                                           pilan palâw P, palau Y.
pen kalam P.
                                           pillaw (a kind of) damphok P.
penis yen Pš, yend O, vin O', col, lawar P,
                                           pile up, to y\hat{a}\delta- W, t\hat{a}\hat{z}-?) S.
    viky Y, cul, dur S. yor S, W, pat W,
                                           pilgrimage markad P.
    čūlak(?), jus S.
                                           pillar, v. post.
people xalag O, mardum P, S. xalk P. S.
                                           pillow takyā O, bulišt O1, bānapaī,
                                              taisori P, tagio, virzane, vrazidinė Y.
    maxluk S, xalq W.

    tōk-sarī, vōzd S, təkiyā, vōrz W.

perfection kamál P.
perfume aužbūī P; a kind of kalânfâr P.
                                              mutaka, vîžjej Š
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pin (of a spindle) češo Y. pincers ambür O. W. Š. uro Y, For S. cepio Y. pineh škulak O1. pinch, to ceb- Y, corup- W. pine-cone, edible zāņyezai iv. zaņai Pš. pine waziya Y, deram, nastar S, pit ?.  $yir_{\gamma}a$  W; edible bcdr W. pine-marten luū Y, yūnak (prob. marmot' S. pine-nut, kernel of the zwayak O. pistachio pista O1, pəstá Y, S. pit cayul Y, glac W; for storing butter hanjūi W. pit-ecal kemur S. place yālai, 'tūn Pš, ját O, P, Y, Š, jāk O1, žava Y, jā S; (to this) ēken $h\bar{a}k$  P; (in that very)  $\bar{b}k\hat{a}n$  P; for putting pots) yuf W; (where the horse is bound)  $p \in \bar{s} \cdot \bar{a}^x \ni r \in S$ . place, to (kše.) jodal Pš, g., nīw. O, yvh. lam dah., nhēn- P, wāst- Y, nezdəv- W, lā k- S. Cf. put. plain n. awârī O, maidān O, O', P. S, ^ōn W, mērə, samə O¹, dâk, pušta P, dašk' Y, dašt S. W. dašt, medan, pusta S. plait n. bra. Pš. plait, to tâw- P, parmuf- W. Cf. weave. plan *tagbir* P, Y. plane, oriental, v. chenar. planet waxs(?) S. plank frün, tax rü, taxta S. plant buta P. nabat S, nabat W, caom S; n. of a) wayūna Wn 169, ömə, xərywaž (v. .car) Pš, pičili, širiko, šax Y. Cf. shrub. plant, to njatel, zanel Pš. niya- Y. nēnd- S, nūnd- W.

plaster, to axeral v. xar Ps. sift- N.

plastering šəgür S.

plate kāsa O, & S. šäyi O. majma P. táðýak S platform čārsīr, raža Y, rēž S, r.iž W. platoon turp P. play loba Pš, bazī O, e S. štomi O1. xediya Y, nat S, štik W. play, to niwaz. S. please, to sayal Ps, rīm- Y, befar- S please God emšalla P. pleased xūš O. Cf. agreeable. pleasure xwand Ps, xubī O, ais P. xvšānė Y. Pleiades ["pairmoni" Wn], perane Ps bol (?) Y. plenty galabagi P. Cf. much. plough yaxt(a) Wn 169, yawē Pš, 'spir, yūx O, sopāro, yumiē O', kulba P, kugo, kišča. katā, sporo Y, kəlbu, kīrūg S, kiren W, separ S: (peg in the) saryār Y; (part of : takye Y. Cf. ploughing, ploughshare. plough, to kar∂l Pš, kār- ()¹, Y, mēlēw- P. kīr- S. wīžd- Š. plough bullock gažōī O. plough-handle hostaganu Y, yəlāk S, yisək W. ploughing kīriš S, čērij S. ploughman čērijgār Š. plough-pole awusp Y, awisp S, hest, wəšp W. plough-share spāra, tiyāšə Pš, särispâr (), karkič O'. kando Y, spor S, sopundr. sipor. stors W. plough-wedge ačardine, yuvazgo Y. plug mūnai (not mūnai) Pš. plum ālū Y. plunder ulja P. poeket jībak P. podex yara, kūna Pš, kūn O, kunoțai O1, lunc-e kuţurika, ţongok P, yumino. pero, šaškot Y, šen S. Cf. anus.

poet šâher P. poetry såheri P. point (of a knife) nāk (), P. nēš P. nāl S. poison was Pš, zār O, P. S, W, Š. tarkai P. sankiyo, zahar, žaro Y. Polar Star qətb W. polish, to zdoyal Pš. say- O polite, v. courteous. polo-ball k#ipo Y. polo-stick hālo Y. pomegranate anár P. Y, punduk O'. alāno Y. pommel of a saddle ngūbai v. kwab) Pš. pond wasta (v. wandanai) Pš. auz (). dand O. O1, talün O1, hanz P. Cf lake. pony yābū Y. poor yarīb O', P, Y, S, W, sādaī P, ajīt Y, bēcora S, natuan W, wan S. poplar gulramen, rameno, tarzk Y. safē/idor S, W, wurmēk S, piyair, rīzabarg W. porcupine sungun Wn 162, škon Pš. sukal O, O', šuyur P, Cf. hedgehog. porridge roz, xastār O1, atrle Y, oš Y W. pašār, sədik, xašpa S, áš, xušpa S; (barley-) däilē S. portion jiré O, baxš S. possessor xûrand P. post stan Pš, sutun O, seo Š, styān O', ustūn P, ustuno Y, stīn S, isc W. posteen postin O, Š, postaki P, betāk S. pot xumb Š; (large, earthen) mat O1 Cf. eooking pot. pouch (for gunpowder) kamär, kutiā Y. pound, thump tak O. ponnd, to tikaw- O. pour, to z<sup>2</sup>var- Y; (into) kat- W. (out) sanjel Pš, andaz-, yurzēw- P, drī-, na-, zuy- Y. poverty varibi P.

power hoque, jabr. quwat, tab, xudrat. zūrī P; [having this much] hawekaī P. Cf. strength, powerful jabûr, qūwatdar, "nak, mutabar, zūrāwar P. Cf. strong. praise, to stayel Pš. stan. W. praising tûrif P. prayer nmūnj Pš, duwâ O, P, munājat, numůž O, māz O1, salāt, nemâz P. na Y. S. dua, nəmöz W. precipice yurp Y. pregnant brālba, warla 1'š, umidwār 1'. °varo Y. hamâl P. amēðvār S. varenj W; (animal) âwest P, rozäžo Y. preparation zerma Pš. sarišta, tayārī P. prepare, to rez. P. gar. S. prepared jør O, jør, puxta, rist, tayår P. presence nela O. present n., v. gift. present (adj.) hâzer P. press down, to drabol Ps, vardenz. W. previous tariwâl P. price baya O, bhâi, nirx P, kimat Y, gimmat, way W; 'paid for bride tũyâna P. prince šâzâda O. princess bēgum, xânem P. prison bandixâna P. prisoner yasir S, W. proclaimed ayán P. produce hâsel P. produced paidâ P. promise lauz O, ād, wida P. prop aram(ai', 'ar) Pš. propel, to nikiz-yek O. proper munâsib P. property mâl O, P, Y, S, daulat O, P, Y, Cf. riches. prophet päiyumbar O, pai Y. prostrated, to be parzedal Ps. protect, to satal, reoral Ps. Cf. guard

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protection parvariš S. protector nigâwân P. proud sarferâz P. pudenda šarm Y. puerperal langa, zaryāla Pš. pull, to kān- Wn 161, kšəl Pš, kaš kan-P, xoš- Y, xaš- S, xāš- W; (out) ner- P, nig. Y; (up weeds) žimež. Y. pulse (vein) mežâz P. pulse (crop) yāmu Y, mašorj Š. pulverized hinl-yek O. pumpkin kodue W. pungent tekku P. pupil šâgird P; of the eye [kasai], torai (v. tor) Pš, yrâsī O, duko O¹, šūi S, mərdik W. puppy kāčuk O, ek W, gurjā, kūčuk P, cokena, ckonake Y, oskonok S, seken W, čaxbuc(?) S. pure nož Pš. pâkiza O. purpose madlab, maxsūd, niyat P. pursuing rūf P. pus zawa, raš Pš, zū O¹, rīm P, narzū Y. pustnle, v. blister. put, to ban., g., nīw- O, new- O1, ečēw- P. fəcina- Y, nūš., wēd. S, da., nēd. Š. Cf. place, make to sit. put fire to, to, v. kindle. put on, to, v. dress. put to flight, to  $ti\check{s}aw\cdot\bar{o}k$  O, v. flight. puttees paitawo Y.

## Q

quail nwaraz Pš. baţiēr O¹, woryo Y, worc S, wölċ W.

quarrel dâwâ, guftigū P.
question puštana (v. puştedəl, Pš, pəṣtän(n)a O, puṛsân P, pursān W.
quick zyar Wn 169, žir Pš, čabuk O, sēr(ə) O¹, tūnd, zak P, jald S.
quickly dastī, rau, raw, talwasa P, žūt Š.
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quiet ēman Pš, karâr, taī P. quilt zope Y. Cf. clothes. quince behī P. quite xūb S. quiver šwalai Pš, nasun W.

quiver šwalai Pš, nasun W. Rradish turb O, sārb Š. rafter, v. roof-beam. rag u. yūnj O, lataī P, lūq W. rain [wor], pašakāl Pš, bārān [Pš], O, O1, P, Y, S, Š, auyār, yâr P, nīv, wariyo Y, novok S, boron, wur W, dinyâ (cf. Sköld d'nya) Š; (heavy-) šeba Pš. rain, to warēž. Wn 166, woredal Pš, yōr-O, vâr-, wāš- P, nov- Y, bor-, nav- S. rainbow [da budaī tāl, sra-u-šna l'š], kamân-i Rustam O, S, W, S, sūršino O¹, kamânī, nāxčurī, tofang-i Rustam P, mīra-avlasto Y, nerau W. rainy ozgū P; (season) pašakāl Pš. raise, to riyawdol Pš, wustaw- O, uštēw- P, škōb- Y. rake namurzą W. ram maž Pš, aurai O, kuća, manok P, pəzexi Y, jāndār, kəškår(?) S, yəşk'ela, k'Ala, pus, tux, wAtox W, mežij, nir Š: sheep, male nārk S. ram in, to lud. W. ramchikor žərz W. ransack, to šanol Pš. rat maža (v. mažak) Pš, gəlak O, gio O1, qurbamūš P, mirmušān Y. ration jire O. raven vroy [Afr. wroy] Pš, xun Y, xarn, zūy S, šend W. ravine pal 3, xwar Pš, kurri P, yor, karum, žirāv W. darra Š. Cf. valley. raw om Pš, xāmē O, yām O1, hâmô P.

xăm P, Y, S, ying W.

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rav mārīi, paloša Pš. razor páki O. reach, to awas- O. O1. read, to lwastel 1 Pš, aw- O, wos-, haw-O1. xân- P. buxōn- Y. belav- S. iou- W. [xou- Sk.] S. ready hâzer P. tavâr P. Y. S. reap, to reb- Wn 167, rawdəl 1 Pš, dir- O, ləri- Y, deräy- S, drāw- W. reaping lau Pš. drau O, Proro Y, dərvök S. dirau W. câw S. reason sabap'b P. S. šâen P. recent yand W. Cf. new, young. recite, to xân P. reciter (of tales) qessaxân P, (of prayers) fâtehaxân P. reckoning isab O. O1. Cf. calculation. recognize, to [pēzn- Wn], (pe)žandal Pš. pazan- O. pazdan W. Cf. know. red sūr Pš, šūš O, sūšr O1, hinčakoi. surkh'ō) P. gulgūn, surx Y, sərx S. səkr W. rūšt Š light- vūr Y. reed šar-vašai Pš, nai O, P, Y, S, dumb P, nəl, xšileniyo Y, niyök S, nälcik W, kirūšt Š. reflection yaur P. refreshed tâza P. refutation radd P. regard, to (par-), thâr- P. Cf. look. regarding pari, sail P. regiment paltan P. regret pežmán P, pšaimáni S. regretful pošaimon W. reject, to šayəl Pš. relation, blood- [xpul, xēš Pš], xēš S, xēš S. release, to xalāsa- O¹, hēl kan- P. released, v. let loose. religion  $d\bar{\imath}n$  S. remain, to ūzeh- P, fəris- S, tōž-, wərəč- W. Cf. left behind.

• månda P. remedy elâj, darmân P. remembering awē P. repair adel P. pətum W. reproof malâmat P. repulsion radd P. request āra Pš. requesting dâdxân P. resemble, to mono kan-S, mono car-W resembling mesl. misâl P. -anik S. Cf. resin žāwla Pš. širxēšt P. cirwašk, uăziyä Y, šelmək S. respite mātal, thāl P. rest of a matchlock degazayė Y. resting karâr P. restless biwar P. retirement stana Pš. return byarž Pš. return, to tos. Wn 167, jar-watal Ps, čəyū- Y, pišew- W. returned stūn (v. stana) Pš. revetting wall wask W. revolve, to šar. O. reward mujrâ P. rheum zokom W. Cf. mucus. rhubarb čukri O, čugurė, šiiko Y, rūv S. rib puštaž Pš, cie Ot, kaberva O, curva P. °arye S, hadde kaburyāikā P, alixa, parsaye Y, ostok, kamar, wolox, parik S, °2k, purs W, pērs Š. ribs, the place under and between sar-I-dil Y. rice wriže Pš. rezan O. rizon O1, berenj P, S, raho P, burini Y, boo W, bio S, gorīnž Y; (unhusked) mai Pš, šole Pš, O¹, šol O, šel P, šale Y; (a small grain of) mahin P; (kernel of-) šamâx O; (milk-) čirgrinj Y; (with dhal) xuško Y; (with meat) šulo Y.

remaining vāte Pš. ozuk O. bâkī.

rich đák O, daulatmand, mutabar P, akābur, bāi, dauladâr, kuatin Y, māldār S, bōi S, W.

riches (wordly)  $duny\hat{a}$  P. Cf. property. ride, to  $vi\delta \bar{a}w$ - W.

rider swor Pš, s(u)wâr O, Y, W. sō P. sa° Š, swār S.

riding suwarī P.

ridge lerai (v.lor<sup>2</sup>) Pš; (between irrigation plots) wirg W. Cf. border, embankment.

ridicule peșe Pš.

rifle, v. gun.

rifles, fighting with tofangjangi P.

rifleman tufan(g)dâr P.

right durust O, adel P, râst P, S, rawâ P, urzuy Y.

right (hand) šica Wn 169, ξai Pš, xwai, xwarinca O, xurēnco O<sup>t</sup>, urzυγ Y, rōst S, W, wurzg(ə) W.

rightly raste Y.

ring harkâra P, murdīk S; (finger-) calai (v. cəlai), gūta Pš, nguštrī O¹, anguštärī O, P, S, γuštī P, pargušče Y, čelik, ingitōk S, anguštara, pļöngöšt W, čila Š.

ring-dove paxtak O, fâxtar P, fâxtaga, migya Y, fāxtē S, °a Š.

ring-worm sponai Pš.

rinse, to puru- W.

rip up, to vīz- W.

ripe pōx Wn 168, pox. xurīn Pš, alzōk, puxōk O, ktkyii, pšāī, šām Y, pēx, sēr Š.

ripen, to  $p \in \S$ - W.

ripple maks W.

ripped čir P.

rise, to xatəl Pš, wust- O, dak-, ušt-, xist kan- P, žib- Y, xaz- S, giz- W, andez- Š.

rival sĩãl Pš.

river toe Pš, daryā O, P, Y, Š, °āb O¹, °āi S, wōkxâna O, daryāb O¹, dəryō W.

rivulet *laṣtai* (v. *laṣta*) Pš, žī P. Cf. stream.

road lār Pš, C, rāš O, O¹, panân P, pādo Y, rā, sarāk, šoval S, vədek W, pūnd Š; (steep) paranyiko Y.

roar, to arras jan- P.

roast, to alwoyəl, teyəl, wrītawul (v. wrīt) Pš. para- O¹, vroč- Y.

roasted wrīt Pš.

rob, to čūr- P.

robber rahzan S, rah-zan W.

rock parša Pš, kamar  $O^1$ , P, S,  $y \ni r$  S. rock-crystal belaur, kūtī S.

rod šipk W.

roll, to layar O, wahēw P, yaltan Y. roll down, to ryažtel (v. yarel) Pš, dugur P.

roll together, to palēw- P.

roll up, to  $\gamma \bar{a} p \bar{c} l$  (v.  $\gamma a p \bar{c} l$ ) Pš,  $z w \bar{a} y \bar{c}$  W. rolling  $\gamma \bar{c} l$  P.

rolling-pin zifkyan Y.

roof čat [Pš], O¹, čīw, pǫn O, pon O¹, kō P, iščī; Y, kiskūô S, iskakut, kūt W, dišīt Š. Cf. ceiling.

roof-beam bainš (v. weša), weša Pš, °2 O¹, destak O, da° S. xar, m2wēši, tirrāi O¹, wē P. gat, frāspiy, naxdaru, pārsē, patarē, wār Y, tīr, walč, wāl S, bōin, p2rwās, patari, sipask, was W, sepāšc, wūs Š.

roof-board mitxon O', destak P, l<sup>3</sup>voro Y, taxta S, bit, taurič W.

roof-gutter nâx P.

room xūna Pš, vaza Y.

room, to find- wuc- S.

root wex Pš, bēx O, W, myūcan, wulie O¹, bēx, yēx, kōrdi P, vən Y, wēx S, wiūx W, wrēša (?), viēš Š.

root-fibre wīye Wn 160, zela, wula Pš, rišā P, Y, woxo Y, rəštē S, rišta, wāōn W.

rope wandar, biyāsta, wāš (v. wandanai)
Pš, bēš O, bēs, piriē O¹, bāš P,
tinou Y, rasan, vōš S, šiven W,
vāš Š; (fastening plough-pole) čēr W;
(made of willow-bark) tiro Y. Cf.
yoke-rope.

rose gulâb P; (white) phul-wārai Pš. rot, to pu- S.

rotten sxā, wrost Pš, šrī-būk O, līu, pio Y, pusīdä S, pītk W.

rough zəraž Wn 159, la<sub>l</sub>e, lwā<sub>l</sub>, ziž Pš, dīž O¹, drušč Y, dərušt S, dirišt, skurf W.

round γund Pš, girdäi O¹. gırdo -Y, pet W.

rub, to muršen. Wn 161, mušəl, zdoyəl Pš, mušaw., say. O, muxa., xaž. O¹, astar., menth. P, ləmön., măgy., sā. Y, māṇḍ., saw., šak. S, mānd., sīw., sux. W. Cf. smear.

rub to powder vizam. W.

rubbing (of a new-born child) warγāṇai (āγaἔρλ) Pš.

ruby lâl P.

rue spānda (v. spalanai) Pš; (seed of) spalanai Pš.

rug (knitted) kâlin P, palās P, W, pe° S, kaliyo, qālin Y, peles Š; (woven) gilīm O, Š, °ăm P, S.

ruin jazir Y.

ruined pər Pš, yirân P.

rumour gap P.

rump, of horse sεγəri W.

run, to zγāstəl, paredəl Pš, dang-çk O, dhâw dah, hala(î) kan-, halka kan- P,
: bədaway-, γāz- Y, araz-, γuz-, zīδ- S, gafs- W, (nâstīj-), žâz- Š; make to-dhâwēw- P, :γazavd- Y.

run away, to v. flee.
rung of a ladder šurbičak Š.
running trap O<sup>1</sup>.

rupee rīpē O, chaṭaī, rŭpaī P, °ayo Y, °Ē S, ʿīā W. ʾiya Š.

rnst zangar Y, zang W.

S

sacrifice qurbân, satka P.

saddle zīn Pš, O, P, Y, S, zīnd O¹, palan Y, pāling S, pòðin W, bòðān Š; (donkey·) koriān S, mūlā, təqūm W; (·cloth) jaləy; laštokum Y, telik Š: (-girth) trok Y.

safe salâmat O, P.

safety amân P.

saint buzurg, pir P.

saline efflorescence  $r \in zg$  W.

saliva lara, tūk, wužgyē l'š, putu O¹, âwə-i šuṇḍika P. tuf P. W, Š, pixoyo, tfə Y, təf S, yīžg W.

salt mālga Pš, nimēk O, n²mēk, mēk O¹, namâ P, nəmālyo Y, nəmēyð S, nəmuk W, namak Š.

salutation salâm P, Y, W, salāmat Y, mūbarak W.

sand səga Wn 159, šəga Pš, rēg O, S, W, Š. sigə O¹, rīg, seya P, sēyio Y, luwârē W, šâš Š; (grain of) sīstə Wn 169.

sandal capli O1.

satan, v. devil.

satisfied mor Pš, dak O¹, sīr P, sēr S, satk W.

satisfied, to be  $b\bar{a}_{l}$ . Y.

savoury mazadar Y.

saw n. aro  $O^1$ , arra Y, Š, gīr Y, arrē S. sew, to ganq-  $O^1$ .

say, to, v. speak.

scab pam, pəx Pš, garg P; (of a wound)
war, xež Pš. Cf. scar.

scabbard vəlâft O, velâf P, S, heho, tupiya Y. scales tarāzū Y, zē S, Š, tarāzū W. scar  $d\hat{a}_{\gamma}$  P, hork Y, work W. Cf. scab. scare away, to putrim(b)- W. scarf lungi P. scatter, to lwastel Ps, phis-P. scissors ka(i,ti P, qačio Y, qaiči S. Cf. shears. scold, to huwâs- P, vron- S. scorpion laram Pš, O¹, gaždum O, P, Š, °umbaY, čayardum P, kurmo, škraflaY, gāzdəmb S, giždim, yəndāl W. scrape, to skoyəl Pš, kawēr-P, zərend-W. scratch, to skoyəl Pš, gəraw- O, khâ-, kawēr- P, drup- W; (oneself) xūr- S. scream bayāra (v. yaredəl) Pš, nāra P. scream, to žirīy Y. serotum [xota Pš], laura O, xōyâ P, dyurya Y,  $x\bar{a}y\bar{\epsilon}$  S,  $yum \ni n\dot{c}\ni k$  W, varin S. scum, v. foam. seurf xwar Pš. sea daryâ O. sea-monster nahāng S. seam nginda, skoe Pš. search, to šanəl Pš, lur- P, kös- Y, čalg- W. Cf. seek. searching talab P. season mausòm S. °im, fasl W. second (adj.) bəl Pš, dīm O. second irrigation, v. irrigation. secret râz P. security amân P. see, to kas- Wn 167, goral, katal, līdal Pš, wīn- Pš, Y, S, W, S, juš- O, jūn- O1, buch-, dhör, tul- P, kas- S, čes- Š.

seed toma, zanai Pš, tuxm P, t'ēy()m S,

Cf. search.

δοηg,  $t_{\Lambda\gamma}$ om W,  $t_{\tilde{0}\gamma}$ m S. Cf. grain. seek, to  $dh\tilde{e}w$ -, lur- P, tela-,  $wu\dot{s}ku\dot{j}$ - Y,

škarr-, təlap- S. škūrg- W, talāb- Š.

seer (weight) str P. seize, to na Wn 160, nīwul Pš, nas-O, âleš-, gurī- P, fār-, fxot-, yurv-, : ptrəmd-o Y, nas-, zenz- S, durz- W. anjā- S. Cf. take. select, to, v. choose, self xpal (jān) Pš, jān O, P, xui O, xwaī O1, xud, (xu)xu P, xoyo Y, xadak (v. xē) S, žăt W, xu S. Cf. own. selfwilled xudrūya P. sell, to proləl Pš, prây. O, prāw. O1, pharát- P, plār- Y, par-δē- S, pūrind-W, parbā- S. send, to āstawul, ležəl Pš. šičaw O, wesej- P, škor-, xuzd- Y, āstay- S, sotiy- W, bâz- S. sense aql O, huš P. separate byal Pš. alûhida, judâ, žahī P, wodyo Y, jidā W. separate, to war- Y. separation judái P. sepulchre markad P. serpent, v. snake. servant nūkar O, P, nau° S, W. mazdūr P, šadar Y, yəlom, marām W. service xizmat O, P, xed P, xis Y, nūkarī P, muzdur(2) Y. sesamum kunzala Pš. set, to (about the sun) viš- Y, wis- W. settled tai P. seven owe Pš, hō O¹, wō O, hōt P, ardo Y, ôvô S, hùb W, ũvô S. seven months, a period of afmahā S. seventeen awes O, O1, habda, hattös P, avda Y, ōvðədos S. seventy awiā Pš, awaitu O, awāi O1, šīnīm yuštak P, (h)aftāð S. severe ;aweri P. sew, to [gandəl Pš], undərəw- O, andarf- P, эrv- S, žñy- Y, dэrev- W, ancāv- S;

(with large needle) yundr iecan(?) O1. shabby, tattered telt Y. shade siyā, sorai (v. siyā) Pš, syáká O, ° ο O¹, sēγ P. sayo Y, såyε S, sáya W. shady side of a valley nisor P, nicay, nusīy Y, nišorm S, 2 irm W. shake, to drabal, šanedal Pš, xultaw-ōk O, jukēw, jumbēw- P, °ēn- Š, firšōn-, muža- Y, tap- W; (apricots) wolon- W; (dust) cwan-O, O1; (the head) čukčw-P; (a sieve; parīč- P. shaking n. dagas, jūlē P. shallow rangaī Pš, tunuk Y. shame šarəm O', šarm P. Y, S, W, fšarm Y, ayå S, šarmindagi W. shame, to put to šarmēuc- P. shameless binango P. shampoo, to muta- O'. share hisâb P, asē S. sharp tero Pš, tendura P, tez P, S, Š, trry Y. tīz Y, W, terd W, ciš, nēza Š. sharpness bruž O. shave, to tožel (v. taršaj), ariyel Pš, rīn- O, thâ- P, tuyd-, xird- Y, tūl- S, tiš. W, tēš. S. shawl šāl O. P, sariē O1. Cf. blanket. sheaf caţäi, tāngäī O¹, larze, mišča Y. shear, to skastəl Pš, kurta- O¹, fxa- Y, varin- W. shears bästiko Y. sheath, v. scabbard. sheep yarð P, gəspand W. jâendâr Š; (ewe) mež (v. maž) Pš. měl O, mai O1, W, mo/âyoyūk P, mūo Y, mēl S, maž Š; (fat-tailed) ghāṇ(d) γarō, guspand P. Cf. ram. sheep, wild, v. oorial. sheerskin munyo Y. sheep-pen špol Pš, paržin Y. Cf. goatpen.

sheepskin coat, v. posteen. shelf run W. shepherd špa Pš, čupán O, Y, Š, ča° S, šwān O, špon O1, xuwân P, xəš(u)wān Y, špūn W, šibone Š shield kangal O1, separ P, kerê Y. shin-bone \*wozai v. wāzə) Pš, wōzēi O1, neliko Y, kâk-e ling S. shirt kēš O, kēs O1. kāz P. pīrahān. yəktaha Y, favi S, pirån, yakta W, korče, kurta ? Š. shirthand girvan Y, kaitán P. shivering paryaz Pš. Cf. tremble. shoe dīčī (), dučē ()¹, jasta, kausará, moza, paizār P. ar W, kofšė Y, kăfs S, W, kārš Š; (Kafir) tačinge Y. shoe-string yursiliko Y, band S. shoot, a young nehâl P shoot, to wištel Pš, tefek daha Y. shooting, v. hunting. shooting ground *šekárjái* P. shooting star likeyahā O1. shop dukân P. shopkeeper dňkändûr O, P, Y. shore, v. bank. short land [Pš], O, O', vanoko, kot, lundu P, kūkya Y, kut S, kət W, k'ut, past S. short breathed fiai Y. shoulder wuže Wn 161, oža Pš, doš O, galy O, O1, šână O, P, 5žs, wuldī O1, pēšāna P, surdo Y, sərð S, šona, yīsp W, sīvô Š; (-blade) walai Pš, vulyor, yarme Y, fiūk, šona S, fīak W; (back of) fyak S; (top of) iskacusk W. shouting kiči O, žayie O1, yauya P. shovel, v. spade (wooden). show n. sailə Y show, to wiyar- Wn 167, sowul Pš, nifan dah- P, nišāź- Y, nəmay- S, δīsiv- W.

showing  $\S \bar{o}m$  O,  $\S \bar{a}m$  O<sup>1</sup>, ne $\S \bar{a}n$  S,  $ni\S \bar{o}n$  W.

shroud kafan O.

shrub buta P; (n. of a) balak P. âričo, ašasto, bām-sezīo 'jujnbe?), l³rīvä, vuryaköndi, wulyeyo, xio, yūmenä Y. shut, to xambēn- Š, (one's eye) numuļ- S. shuttle rešpuk W.

sky, to bugnēdəl Pš. žurox- Y, witrin-W. sick, v. ill.

siekle lor¹ Pš, dâs O, dãšr O¹. dēš P, l³ruyus Y, dūr S, δitr W, δērf Š. side zarma Wn 169, carma (v. carman), lor², xwā Pš, palau O, dūbara, kenára P, pālū S; (from that) phârī P; (from this) phyârī P; (to that) pū P, vräćoya Y; (to this) pī P, mīr čoya Y. sieve pezna (v. pezəl) Pš, čeyel O, yalbēl O¹, S, Š, prazən O¹, elak, parīcōn P, frāybīl, yarbīl, hīlak Y, frazbīz,

γalbīl W. sieve, to pərwīž· Y.

sigh [aswelai < \*ā-s(u)wāhita-ka- Pš], sā O¹, âhū P, hāzer Y.

sigh, to kašew- P.

sight nandāra Pš.

sign išárat, nemáyán, nišán P.

silence xap S, garor W.

silent yalai Pš, karâr O, cub P.

silk wrejam (v. wrejel) Pš. aurujum O, pīlo O¹, biržium P, vrī² Y, abrī² W, fərjəme, kač Y, arvējum S, abrējum Š. silk-worm kač-kurma Y.

silver [spīn zar Pš], nōkra O, nə° W, spīu-zär O¹, chaṭaī, nuqra P, no° Š, sīm P, droxum, nukrâ Y, nok³rē S. similar cer Pš, mesl P.

sin gunā O, P, Y.

sinew wuža Pš, lagge O¹, rag S,  $y\bar{\epsilon}r$  W. sinful geš P.

singing  $dark\bar{u}p(?)$  P.

single wir W.

sink, to  $g^yib\bar{o}$ - Y.

sinner gunagâr O, P.

sip, to šām- O. Cf. drink.

sister xor Pš, xwār O, O', xī P, ixō, ixiko Y, yəxōai S, xūi W, yax Š.

sister-in-law xījinjek P, Antərê W; (hrother's wife) wrandār Pš, ²ēr O, O¹. biyājinj P, zinio Y, vrūðkuē S, vritkənd W, xīūn Š; (husband's brother's wife) yor Pš, ja O¹, ixčogo, yūi wulo, yana Y, yūð S, bakš-kənd W; (husband's sister) nandror Pš, xšīnī O¹, nanū P, dəxtandār(?) S, xūyun W; (wife's husband's sister) xuyēreno Y; (sister's brother's wife) xuşdāuman S; (wife's sister) xoṣīna Pš, bâjā O, xuyēreno Y, žasirz W.

sit down, to čĩ-n· Wn 160, nãstel Pš, spūcaw· O, n· O, O¹, nhĩn· P, niǔ- Y, nĩô- S, nezd· W, neŷ· Š.

sit down! yāl(?) W.

sit down, to make činaw- Wn 166, naw- O, na- O¹, nhēn- P, näilā- Y, bəşān- S.

six špož Wn 158, špaž Pš, šū O, šō O¹, xī P, uxšo Y, xuāļ S, šād W, xåuš Š. sixteeu špāras (v. špaž) Pš, šūlēs O, šwalēs O¹, šāzda, xudōs P, šonzda Y. xuālədos S.

sixty špeta Pš, šūštu O, šwēštū O¹, šu yuštak P, šast P, S, žuroiwist Y. sixth day xuručina P.

skin carman Pš, oun O¹, xwar Pš, pōst O, Š, wzAn O¹, pūst, pūšt, xâm P, karăst Y, korost, pāsk S, pĭst W. Cf. goatskin.

skin, inflated žai Pš, īz O¹, mašk, sandarā P, dril, maška Y, dēcāk, wüznuk. xēčē S. ðöck. öbī-sənöč. kəlvår. yāzn W, zenâc Š. Cf.:

skin-bag (for flour) xalfan Y; small laxčio Y, kulvár S, pitvár W. sknll [kaparaĭ Pš]. kyemulyo Y, kal, kapāl S. skull-cap, v. cap. sky āsmān O, O¹, P, S, falak O, āyéš P, asmīno Y, osmān W, âso Š. sky, clear, v. clear sky. slander, to  $\tilde{s}\tilde{a}r$ . W. slate sūi Y. slave mrayai Pš, mrīg O, mreī O1. yulâm P, bande, hade, ida Y, andag W. Cf. servant. slave girl wīnja [\*bandači Pš. wīnza O¹, idiko Y, indigunj W. slaughter, to, v. kill. sledge-hammer badir Y. Cf. hammer. sleep  $x\bar{u}b$   $(x\bar{o}b)$  Pš, xau O.  $xw\bar{a}b$  O¹. xom P, xūbun Y, minduk, misūk, xāb S, yünuk (v. yinot) rəxupəm W, xdud, xūdm S. sleep, to min-, mis- S, rexup- W. sleep, to go to nw-astak O, rhīz- P. sleeve lastūnai (v. lās) Pš, avlāsto Y, zol S, drost W. slender narai Pš, bârīk(ōk) P. slide, to, v. slip. slime, green-on standing water yobnaduk S. Cf. green plant growing in ponds. sling mačoyna Pš, falaxmān S, škupn W. slip, to šmuš-yek O, laxš- P, suxuy- Y, ləxč S, līv W, : zenēid S. slip, to make to belišmān- S. slippery šwai Pš, šwaya O¹, lhano P, rińga, sexauk Y. Cf. smooth. sloe amaxno Y. slope pecūmai, zawar Pš. Cf. hillside. sloping down of a field lamarz W. slowly wro Pš, dēr O, wrīkye O¹, marōk P, məlāim Y, āstia S.

small konkai, wur Pš. zarī O, zērī O1. čīno P. rīza Y, cet. cor, mäida, rizyāk S, zəkalai W, jəlik, katrāik S. Cf. tiny. small pox gul Y. smear, to are pl Ps, map, menth P, da, labakow- Y. mal. S. Cf. rub. smeared with yark P. smearing  $ax\bar{e}r$  O<sup>1</sup>. smell būž O. P. Y. W. S. bhâm P. vūl W; good', būr S, xužbūi Y; (bad) gandabũi P, wah S. Cf. stinking. smile tabasum O, püsxand, tamassum P. smoke dund, lū Pš, dūd O, lugai O1, đhĩ P, ku sũn, lũi Y, điô S. đit W. đud Š. smoke, to cing (not  $\dot{c}$ -!) Wn 167,  $\dot{c}ilim$ xaš W, čaž- Š. smoke-hole darwaćâ O, risy, sārds O', rūčon P, rūžen Y, wurcun S, rīcn W, rūz Š; (covering of) darxufto Y. smooth post Pš. ringa, soxauk Y. sudy W. širn S. Cf. slippery. snake mangār Pš, or O¹, már O, haždâr, kirm P, tž Y, woxs S, fuks, mor W, devāsk Š; (black & white) kapča mâr O; slightly poisonous) šuturmâr O. snare lūma Pš, O¹, lwīna [< mlūna?]. tor  $^2$  Pš, lomago, pāš, pežiko Y, alk $\bar{\epsilon}$  S, δing W, pēθ S. Cf. net, trap. sneeze nžai Pš. čiya O¹, atsa, pan P, yənigo Y, axse, sakāu S, aqsa W, aksan, piršak S. sneeze, to kyirf. Y. təriš. S., ferx., porš..

štref. W.

snipe novužė Y.

snout wurbūz Pš.

snore, to xəru\theta W.

zem W, ženij S.

snow wāwra Pš, yōš O, yōš O, yarp P,

warfo Y, barf S, W, warf, im(?),

snow-storm šūriš P.

snuff naswār Y.

so much do-mra (v. mra) Pš, heqa, hōweka P, alə(?). ind. mind Y, dunda S. soap sābūn S.

sod, v. clod of earth.

soft post Pš, nărm O. S, Š, nōṣr O¹, marō P. poləm Y, məlāim, sust S, mulaīm, narəm, xošk W. melâyim Š. softly marōk P.

soil khen P, šət S.

soldier supâ O, fauj, nūkar, sipâi P, spāhī Y, fauji S, sallöt S, W, peltanē Š.

sole of the foot kaf-e pâ P, S, štänin polo Y, nūlsor S, šatta W, kaf-epâð Š.

some cz, jzne (v. co) Pš. cũn(d) O, čâ, câwar, khâin P, čand Y, S, Š.

somebody kūi W.

something ca O, zâ P. čēi, ištiva Y. čīzī S, W.

somewhere kâwun P.

son zoe (v. zowul) Pš. klân O, kulān O¹, puš, zâ<sub>r</sub> P, pūr Y, zōt S, pətr W, puc Š; (only-) kašai (v. kašr) Pš. Ct. step-son.

son-in-law zōm Wn 158, zňm Pš, O¹, dâmâd O, W, Š, nâsai O, zâm P, zamai Y, dōmōd, zəmūð S.

song badela O, cila O', bait O, P, fagyike, naxš Y, sâz-lūf (imper.?) Š. soot kaləy Y, katôīt, rīzəm W.

soothing dilâsâ,ī) P.

sorcerer jâdūgar P.

sorcery jâdû P.

sore, v. boil.

sore-eyed lač Pš.

sorrel selxiko Y.

sorrow nūl, paxsāk (v. paxsedəl) Pš, rām S, W. k''īn Š. sorrow(ful' yamgin S. sort qism S, šəjd W.

sonl jân P, S, nəfs Y, jön W.

sonnd n. žay Pš, awâz O, yax P: of falling water) yaryarā P.

sound (adj.), v. health, in.

soup zwamna Pš, širwâ O, si° O¹, šu° P, šə° S, ša° Š, pīawā P, šurvāi Y, °vâ W.

sour tərəw Wn 169, trīw Pš, trūš O, təf O¹, sīt, turš P, trīšp Y, terəš S, tərešp W, tušp Š.

sour milk, v. milk.

south junūb O, jn° S, jan W.

sow, to [kōr· Wn], karəl Pš, kar· O, nikiz· O¹, phīš· P, (tēγm) deh· S, žοδ· W, ιοēδ· Š.

space (below the ribs) tusak O<sup>1</sup>; (between fingers grut Pš, gruft O<sup>1</sup>.

spade krōz Wn 168 [cf. 'korotung' to dig],
yūm Pš. Pš¹, bēl O, S. W, Š, kurāži
O¹, pī P. bīl, bilčo Y; (wooden)
bhambī P, fīa, fīyiko, kvārāzo, sunīko
Y, fī S, W, pēi W.

span [gəṭṭī Wu], wlešt Pš, jusp O, jbasp, zbast O¹, belīšt, kucok P, wulēyo, wojou Y, wuðīt S, wajāb S, W, avārt. haret, wulēt, xarek W, wiðēd Š; (from thumb to fore-finger) gekū Wn 168 [< Lhd. gokhā]. wuzai [alang, langor < \*ā-vanga·] Pš, gurbizak O¹, lohogušco, pīx Y, bəlis, cārangešt, pēx S. spark skarwaṭa (v. skor) Pš, bacirāi O¹, cərox Y, `ax W, trāxnik Y, ciryazek, ša¹la S.

sparkle, to lapoir Y.

sparrow mur<sub>γ</sub>aī (v. mar<sub>γ</sub>ə) Pš, gunjīšk O. gi<sup>°</sup> S, mirga O, °ə O¹, muréē P. bräyīko Y, mər<sub>γ</sub>ōk S, mingas W, videč [w-l] Š.

sparrow-hawk, v. hawk.

speak, to wāy-: wāī Wn 160/7. lawdəl, wayəl Pš, yuš- O, yucəs- O¹, jar- P, (gab) daha-, ž- Y, (gab) deh-, yēž- S, žān- W, lūv- Š. spear sāng O1, naiza P, näizo Y. special nature xâsiatân P. spectacle säilə Y, tamâšâ Š. spectacles ainake P. speech wrāša Pš, lavz S. spicery masála P. spider yaņa Pš, buzwă O, O1, jola O, °âk, dīwurūk, yafak P, dorzkuryuz, ustada, zariškyo Y, jilayok S, ustodsk, sup, šāmbāf W, gilimbōf W, Š, vəndāl W, yao, tanâbak, tanīzak S. Cf. tarantula. spike (of grain) laša Pš, kiśār Y. spill, to hay kan- P. spin, to yarəl, wresəl Pš, ras- O, O1, muza· O¹, yī· Y, yev· S, žip· W. spindle cāšai Pš, čarxâ, wahēwalo P, čarč Y, īfč S, citr W, žīb Š; 'pin of the) čarmak Y; (wheel of duk Y. spinning-wheel  $c\bar{a}rx$  Y, S, W, S,  $x(\bar{a})$  O, tis O1; (piece of wood on the footboard of pūsura Y; side plank of) zīgaki Y; (threads on) tandeneū Y; (wheel of) parwaxin Y.-V. Ill. spine murā i put P. harko-yaste Y. kamak S, pērs Š spit n. čamursū Y, kabâbsēx S. spit, to fors Y. Cf. saliva. splash, to šilāp. W. splashed up, to be strās- W. spleen torai Pš, ras, spužak O1, ninamāšče, spərzə, šišpāzək(?) Y, sıpərz. sūyūk S, sik, sipurz W. splendid wakhô P. splendour jalī O. julua P. splint in the leg of a horse oba Pš. split dara Pš, kərcī O.

split, to cauul v. cawd) Pš, tar P. Cf. spoil tār Pš. spoil, to natel Ps. spoke of a wheel špištai Pš. spoon kâšuk O, camco O1, camcâ, durē P. kafčio Y, kapć W, čīb Š, Cf. ladle, spot place) żaya Y. spots (of leopard Dirs W. spout cošai Pš. spread, to ywaredol Pš; (manure) wrīz- Y. spring (season) swarla Wn 159, psarlai Pš, wōrai O, rhayâm P, bohor, fsidro Y, baār S, chōr W, hâr Š; (early) [cərmūņa Wn], \*carmūnai Pš, cirmūnäi O1; (late) woräi O1, sombolā S. spring (source) kān, xōzī Wn 168/9, [cīna Pš], cimī O, xāko O1, cišma P. °e S. tcčh P, xūyo Y, kik, žūw W. čašma, šàc Š, (hot) čašma W, Cf, well. spring from one seed, to peterd. W. sprinkle, to prusnaw, páždaw O, čai- Y. sprinkling pūž Pš, aupošī O, carfandegī S. squatting dizo Y. squeeze out, to naštejel Pš. spilan O. wezem- W. squeezed pendi P. squirrel xarpāndai O1. stab, to zanəl Pš. stable sturga O, âxur, kamand P, aspəlan Y, äxtaxâna Y, W, °xûna Š axtxāna S, tawil, wuner, žabd (?) W, pasāk Š. Cf. manger. stable-boy mīrâxūr W. stack [dalaī Pš], yelu Y, &u·i W, čâšvīs Š (Notes on Shgh. incorr. owis). Cf. heap. staff, v. stick. . stag (elk) gawazn Pš. stair \$31 Pš, sulân, šor, zīnā P. Cf. ladder. staircase navūl P.

stand, to daredol Ps, ast- O, O1, dar- O,  $fs\bar{a}(y)$ - Y, ast-, wəröfs- S, wərəfs- W, : wirūvd Š. standing wəlār Wn 159, walār Pš, apâ, papâ P, aletk (v. āl-) W. standing, to be t- O, vrind- Y, al- S. star storai Pš, sitâra O, P, °âr W, starrak O1, esteč P, stare Y, usterūk S, šətērz Š; (evening-) ustur-žojo Y; (morning-) karvonkuš Y. starling maină P, Y, činuryo Y, badxarak(?), mayon(?) W. starting răhī P. Y, rawān P, S. stature qadd P. stay, to dhar- P. steal, to torif- Y, torof- S, boviy- W. steam wažm Pš, tafta O, barās, tāu O1,  $t\bar{a}f$  P. S. W., tux Y.,  $t \ni x tx \bar{\epsilon}$  (?) S. teş W, manyâr S. steel polâd O, pū Y, fūlăd P, S, pūlod W, kârč S. steep čund P, pasmīnaka Y, tənd S, lašn(?) S. Cf. slippery. stem (of a tree) manza O, mundā O1, gaṇḍā P, kundē S, tana Š. stench, v. smell. step yūn Pš, qadam P, W, k<sup>5</sup> Y, layat S. steppe, v. plain. step-father plandar (v. plār) Pš. step-mother maira Pš. måendar P. step-son bən-zai (v. bən) Pš, bacandar, winjōk O, wēn-kulān O1. stick n. largai, lašta Pš, gon O, O', bhont, döstikor, dezbhont, kor P, krīnsar, možė Y, aså, durk, vond S, asōi, baṇḍ W, ôârg, mâô S. stick, to nºšel- Wn 166, buštēdəl, nšatəl Pš, časp-, lag-, mač- P. stiff ziž Pš. Cf. rough.

stale baranai (v. parūn), spor Pš.

stallion narāsp P, ynain, narasp S.

still (adv.) lā Pš, mēn O, digarī S. still more fai S. sting laša Pš. sting, to gas- P. stinking šrībāk O, O1, wachanbhâm P. būigən Y, badbūī Š. stir, to lar- O, kəršav- Y, pīrkit- W. stirring-stick tīwaniy Y. mħl Y, W. stirrup rəkâb O, re P, ri S, Š, krēb O1, čaulii, rikau Y, rikob W. stirrnp-strap tasma-rikâb S stitch skoe Pš, v. seam. stitch, to pezəl Pš. stocks of offenders kunda P. stockings kufčiliy, žirabe Y, jerāb S, ji° W, jerīb Š. stolen vəlē O. stomach of kid) siyalai Pš. Cf. belly. stone sāzə, zyar Wn 169, kāņai, sīāja, tīža Pš, gap O, O¹, gir P, yar, kūiko Y, song, yer S. Yar W. k'imb, žīr S. (crushing-) yurzuyo Y. stonelid (for the caro), car-payalyo Y. stool, to xarəl (v. xər) Pš. fərx- Y. stop, to mān- Wn 166, āredəl (ar) Pš. stopping band P. karār S. store room quoom S, redun S; (on a roof) māra W. stork laklak P. story nagl Y. stout câk, lāndā P. Cf. fat, thick. straight sat Pš, durust O, də S, râst O,  $s\bar{\imath}x$  O<sup>1</sup>,  $r\bar{o}st$  S. straight (to be) daw- P. strait, v. narrow. straitness tangī P. strange nažan Y. strap pīārma Pš, tazma P, suy Y, kasyōk. tasma S, rndāg W; (of pellet-bow) pukara Y; (for binding bull to plough) särälī O.

straw kaf O', drlmrl, pale, xāste Y, sultan sultân O, P. muš S. wiš W: (of maize) patti O1: (of wheat or maize) ganaske Y. Cf. grass. stream toe, trai, wāla Pš, tāk O, Ot, sind O1, žī P, baxšiyo, šōxōv Y, šaxab, xarav S. street kucio, sūv Y. strength bram Pš, qūwat, sitam. tab. tâyat P; (of the arm) bâzūī P. stretch, to vazedal Pš, kaš kan-P, urzu-Y. rur. W: (the warp on the loom) wār. Y. strew, to, v. scatter. strike, to, v. beat. string spansai Pš, sarbān Š; (of an instrument)  $j\bar{e}l$  W. Cf. bow-string. string, to pewdal Pš, pi-yek O. strin cira Pš. striped naxšīn S. Cf. piebald. stroke n. hawâla P. strong mazai Pš, gābəl Y, bāguwwat, qwatdar S, zūr W. Cf. powerful. stubble drūza Pš, druja O¹. ayām Y. stubble(-field) 'stau Y. stumble, to blavsedal (v. blos Pš. voži Y. stnmp of a tree  $kund\bar{\epsilon}$  S. Cf. stem. stupid jaban Pš. bēaql O, bīc, nadan, sâda P, biagəl Y, ablā, axmag S,  $ah^{\circ}$ ,  $m\bar{u}q$  W. successful war Pš. such hēkezm P. zi S. suck, to jbežel, rawdel Pš. lip. O. fšūv-, šuv- Y, šāp- W; (trans.) šuvā- Y. suddenly bixabar P. suffer, to zyamal Ps. suffocation (bleeding from the nose) aspa Pš. sugar gănd O, P, śokor Y. suitable barábar P. snlphur gügurt Y, gögərd S, pilta(?) Š. 1 swim, to zənay- Y.

summer dobai (v. tod), worai Pš. tamūs. tâwistân O. tāve° S. tābi° S. Š. xâra P, tövistön Y, töbə° W, wāro Y. summon, to, v. call. summons to praver azân O. sun mīr Wn 162, yarma, nwar Pš, mēš, tōa O, mēšr O1, ruč P, mīra Y. ormozd S, aftob, yīr W, xīr Š. ; snnny side of a valley paitowai Pš, paratâf P. pitou Y. °āv S. °au W. sun-rise pələftuk S. Cf. dawn. sunshine  $t\bar{\nu}w\bar{\nu}$  O<sup>1</sup>. supine stūn Pš. stinyo Y. supper šūma Pš, xšėma Y, šot W. surprise dučár P. surrounding žer Y. suspicion qumân P. swaddle, to bleždol Pš. Cf. wrap. swallow mindelič W. swallow, to nyardel Pš. wangēw P, yurica-, nuyoz- Y, nežyar- W. swallow-wort spalmat Pš. swear, to ywaž. O. sweat, v. perspiration. sweep, to ruy- P, istor- Y, astar-, zdar- S. višiv. W, zedār. Š. Cf. wipe. sweeper(s) makân-rūyak(ân) P. sweepings repk W. sweet xūrž Wn 161, xož Pš, xwâš O. xwašr O1, xiro P, širin P, S, W, Š, xušuvd Y, xažok S, xūžg W, xīž Š. sweetness xwašrawi O1. sweets xīraī P, halwā P. Y; (given at a feast) bat S. swell, to šus- O, pedameš- W. swelling parsob Pš, phundo P. Cf. inflammation. swollen xrind O, lamoiva Y. swift, v. quick.

swimmer n. aubâz 0.
swimming [lămbō, v. nūnd Pš]. aubâzī
O, P. āv° S, lambō 0¹, šənōwarē W,
šenâ° Š.

swine, v. pig.

swing, to zangal Pš.

sword tey, tūra Pš, °ə O¹, selûba(?, talwâr P, šamšēr P, Y, S, xugor Y, xingār, xamxēr W, şâp Š; (double-edged) bēbīdi W. Cf. dagger.

swordsman šamšērī P. syrup zoša Pš.

## T

table  $m\bar{e}z$  O<sup>1</sup>, P. S. Š,  $m\bar{f}z$  Y, W,  $m\bar{e}x$ (?) S.

tadpole kauležik S.

tail ləm Pš, dumb O, P, W, likiē, lakaṇḍim(?) O¹, dēra(?), dōyund P, lum Y, dəmb S, bickā W, sum Š; (of fat-tailed sheep) mudyāl O; (end of) curcun W.

take, to wu-ns- Wn 167, āxistəl, nīwul Pš, wur- O¹, nas- S, durz- W, parjiv-, zēz- Š.

take away, to wr- Wn 167, wrəl Pš, g- O, gl- O¹, zend- W,  $y\hat{a}s$ - Š.

take on one's back, to derz- P, zenz- S. take out, to nawar- O, O', nis-, nəvor- Y, zewēδ- Š.

take care xabardâr Š.

tale kissi O, qissa, naql P, Y, suyiko Y, žinda W, nakl Š.

tallow wost S. Cf. fat.

talon, v. claw.

tamarisk [yaz Pš], henju Y, gaz S.

tambourine dāf Š.

tame watani P.

tar rānjara Pš.

tarantula sizalvo Y.

target nišân P, numuņ Y.

taste xwand Pš, mazāi P, maza P, Y. W. xāl Y.

taste, to čaš- P.

tasteless bolmang not beof w. mālga Pš, waxān Y.

tasting nūš S.

tasty mazanák P, mazadár Y.

taught ámuxta P, yašk W.

tea čář P, Y, Š.

teach, to *fouul* Pš.

teacher, religious xája S.

tea-kettle čāižuš Y.

tear oša Pš. hêncčī O, yēscak O¹. âwə·i dīdaika, audīda P, awe° Š, yāšk Y, āšīk S, yašk W, yūšk Š.

tear, to (v.i.) lwaredəl, wraredəl Pš; (v.tr.) ray- O, cir- O¹, dalēw- P, f⟨ə⟩či·, pətišā- Y, kuṇḍār ken- S, čuṭ car- W, šičend- Š. Cf. break.

teat, v. breast.

tedious zəq W.

tell, to naql kən- S, naql car- W; (one's beads) širāw- W. Cf. speak.

temperament mežâz P.

tempest tufân O.

temple bedxåna S.

temples (anat.) lweganda, mərrai Pš, kiliāk O, rrās-ə spiēu O¹, čūkī, šakikata P, rurpakə, poxayak, šâxek-isar Y. čakka W.

ten las Pš, das O, O¹, dös P, da. los Y, dos S, das W, dis Š.

tendon pala Pš, pai S, rāg W.

tent kiždai Pš, xaima O, P, čatir Y.

tenth dosumi P.

terrace, upper, of a house pon O.

terrify, v. frighten.

test âzmâiš P.

test, to izmaw- O.

tether, horse's škel Pš.

than kade (az . . . kade) Š. thanks (to God) šukur P.

' that (h)aya Wn 194, haya Pš, afō O, afa O¹, ân. hu, hōưĩ, mundē, ōkū. udē, ŏ P, yŏ, wo Y. að(a), ō S, ayāu, yau W. yū Š; (-very) hawī, mundhēk, udhēk, ok'e)wiyak P; (rel. pron.) ka O. that (conj.) ce Wn, či Pš, ka O, če P. ke Y, Š, ki S, W; (not-) nēče P.

that way, in howerang P.

theft [ $\gamma l\bar{a}$  Pš], č $\bar{u}r\tilde{\imath}$ ,  $jut\bar{\imath}$  P,  $\tilde{\gamma}\bar{u}\delta i$  W.

then nō(r) Wn 162, man O, ēka P, wos Y, bāz, diga, īŋgē, psāt S, bād W, daδe, tam Š.

thence učend, unhākī P.

there halta (v. dəle) Pš, wal O, ök, okċī, okistak, unhak P, huro, olo, woko Y, wōð S, dra W, yēmand Š, therefore jəka (v. j.) Pš, nakma sabab S, cəm-jənīb W.

thick lwār, tat Pš, estörö P, vəzök S, bāj W. Cf. fat, stout.

thick milk, v. milk.

thief yəl, tor Pš, ylī O, čūr P, duzd Y, W, yāl Y, dəzd S, yūð W, duzd Š. thigh rūn, patūn Pš, rân O, P, (yut)-langāi O¹, mundarân P, piščan Y, potūn S, rōn S, W, biṣtūn Š.

thigh-bone mižistė Y.

thin rangai Pš, mahīn, tunuk P, bārik, təndār. xarâb Y. būrik, tanik S, sənor W, nâzuk Š.

thing čīz O, P, šài O, O¹, zâ P, trīk Y, čīzī S.

think, to dis- Y.

third šionii P.

third day of the week šuručīna P.
thirsty tərža Wn 161, tažai Pš, trunuk O,
trənak O¹, tan'(a), thân P, kāk, trušne Y,
təšna Š, taž W, tušna Š.

thirsty, to be tan- P, z<sup>2</sup>y2riy- Y.

thirteen darlas Wn 159. dyarlas (v. dre) Pš, šēs O. šrēs O¹, šidos P, sēzda Y. thirty ders Wn, derš Pš, šīstu O, šr³ O¹, šus P, yūwistolos Y. sī Y, W, Š, rus S.

this ai, indī, dā, da; a Wn 164, ō, dā Pš, a, ara O, ē, edē, he, hawē, mendē P, ma Y. ī, am(a), amīn, īn S, amī, yem, yət W, de, ho, ikme, me, yam Š; (from) acet W: (very) ecendhēk, edhēk, ēke, ekwiyak, hewyak, mendhēk P, amdak S, īyam W.

this year saž Pš, asul O, asəl vān O¹, asur, emsar P, asāl Y, asāl S, imsōl S, W, wuserd W; (of-) sērdingō W. this way, in hawerang P.

thistle xāxo Y.

thither "wal O, iwal O', wū·bō S, tərá W.

thorn ayzai Pš. sūg, zēš O, zyēš O¹. kaćō P, akadē Y, kandāk S, zāž W. šar Š. Cf. bramble.

thou de, to Pš, tŭ O, O¹, P, Y, S, W, Š, -a, -au P, -t Y, fak S.

thought fikr O, W, <sup>2</sup>ər, xiyâl P, andiša, xiāle Y, fekr S.

thousand zər Pš, āzār O, ha° O¹, P, Y, S, zār O¹, azōr S.

thread mazai (< \*mazja- cf. mazzai, spaņsai Pš, tûr O, O¹, P, čišaintār, rištan P, loso, wirž Y, rismon, yiv- δōk S, dārċ, žītr W, pedyâc. wūrž Š; (cotton) paxtai, wušūles, wizinga Y, wōsi S; (goat's hair-) yīs W.

threads on spinning-wheel  $tandene\bar{u}$  Y. thread, to  $pewd\bar{d}l$  Pš.

three dre Pš, šō O, šrī O¹, šō P, žuroi Y, rōi S, trūi W, arāi, sē Š.

three days ago, hence, v. day.

. 1

three hundred ter su Wn [Pš] 163.

thresh, to  $x\bar{a}$ - Y,  $x\bar{u}y$ - S,  $k\bar{a}s$ - W.

threshing zunga Wn 169, yobal Pš v. i tiger [mzara Wn], mzarai cf. mazai  $\gamma w\bar{a}$ ),  $O^1$ ,  $\check{c}u\gamma ul$  O,  $kham \check{\sigma}_l$ : P,  $x\hat{a}\check{j}$   $\mathring{S}$ . threshing-floor xarmanjā $\bar{\imath}$  O,  $\bar{\imath}^r$ amənd O<sup>1</sup>. xirman-i-bībāt(?), xurom Y, xormōn S, čerām W.

threshing-fork cāryašiē, dyūyašiē O1. cuano Y.

threshing-sledge kulča O.

threshold pāṣrī O¹, (tahe)alarsīne Y, pərnīc S, yīšir W.

throat yarai (v yarəl), marai, stūnai Pš, gulūn, kâkurtak O, kuryār, mariē O¹, kāhī, kamā P, ālq, ustuya, yurvo, kâyəko Y, yā! S, alqūm, kəlītöq W, nâi Š.

through (prep.) ze P, tar S.

throw, to āc., ci-ost Wn 166, ācawul, pre-yastəl (v. prā-), tayawul, wištəl Pš, ban· φk, g. O, and âz., ečēw., γūh. P,  $\check{c}ad$ ,  $w\bar{u}l$ . Y,  $n\bar{u}\check{s}$ , purta(w). S,  $(q\bar{a}r)kat$ · W,  $w\bar{e}\delta$ · S.

throw away, to yastəl Pš, ləyan-Y, SAVAnd cor- W.

throw down, to nikiz- O, but- W.

throwing šut P, avāle S.

thumb n<sup>2</sup>guță Wn 161/8, [yața-gūta Pš], yutta-ngušt O1, šast P, usturoguščo, narangušč Y, katta narxåk, narangišt, šast-ingit S, vošiyāngol, puluk W, xedār S.

thunder yarā (v. yaredəl), tanā Pš, tandar O, O1, °ur Y, S, W, bumburu, yarambas P, doldorok S, bumbəriš, kampīrak W, tundur Š.

thunder, to yrambəl Pš, yoromb- P.

thus dayal Wn 160, dase Pš, guša O, hēwezail P, malmīn Y.

tick kon, wrāja I'š, kunäi O1, k3royunu Y, xaməndək S, kuwend W.

tickling taxa Pš.

tie. to, v. bind.

strong' Pš, šērozmarai O, muzarai O¹, šēr P, S.

tighten, to vezb- Y.

tightening-stick caxt Y.

till pore Pš; (now) yal Š.

time war Pš, sât O, waxt O, P, S, Š, gâhī, gašt. kâl. mausum, nūbat, wil P, augât, vär Y, wâda, wagt W.

time, in sarwaxt P.

timidity stāra Pš. Cf. fear.

tinder xwa Pš, šaxeq Y.

tiny xarmandai Pš. Cf. small.

tired starai, stomān Pš, stor O, stirāi O1. mânda P, f<sup>3</sup>rīnd, yamī, partāwī S. monda W.

tired, to be- wuzā- Y: to get- pxuf- Y. to la<sup>3</sup>, lara, ta Pš, kī O, da, kun, pa P, tar P, S, Š, nă Y, be S, Š, ma S. ke W, ar, be S.

tobacco tamākū Y, okū W.

to-day nan Pš, šan O, san O1, nī(hēk) P, dūr Y, nēr S, wūdg W, nur Š.

toe pale ogūščo Y, pu-narxåk'?) S.

together jabla (v. bəl; Pš.

together with hum, jabla (v. j.), sara Pš, giđi O, gol, yol S, mešen W. Cf. with. toil xârī P.

tomb  $kab(\delta)r$  O,  $g\bar{u}r$  P, W, qabr P, S, xắk S, qābr W; (of a saint) mazâr P.

to-morrow sabā O, O¹, P, Y, sahār S, Š, sārək, vərök W, ašīb, šumnē Š; (morning)  $p \partial g \bar{e}$  S.

tong, v. pincers.

tongue zíba Wn 162, žaba Pš, zubān O, P, zbān O1, bân P, zovīy Y, zovūk S, zīk, zubon, zevī W, ziv S.

too little dūs S.

tooth yāš Pš, giši O, gas O1, danán P. lad Y, dand S, dendik, lând W, ðindun S. Cf. back-tooth.

fark P, kāka, tō-i-sar Y, tā°, farx-isur, tā-i-sar S, kasa-e-sar W. top, of a hill sor Y. top, of a wall parcal P. torch rhīnēkor P, dīwcūw, levaxče, pelicio Y. torn čir O, P, kərči O, xâr P, ado W. Cf. tear, to. torrent, v. stream. tortoise kašap Pš, škautatie O¹, girbaka, kasabaka P, sambaka S, sangbuqă W. totter, to yoži- Y, gač- W. touch blos Pš. towards zarma Wn 169, -wano, rux ba P. towards that mahak P tower burj P, burž Y; (loopholed) usdûn W. town šâr O, šār P, S, W, šahər Y. trace, v. foot-print. trading saudăgari O, P. transform, to pherew- P. trap pāš, tūr Y. Cf. snare. travel šūm S, ročom(?) W. traveller musåfer S. tray tâôcak Š; (copper-) tasa Y; (wooden-) poško Y. tread down, to naspar- W. treasure sâmân P. treasury xazâna P. tree wana Pš, d(a)raxt O, Y, S, W, S. wuno O1, bhin P; (n. of a) yuštūra, xenjak P, sawīr, tavdoro, xerišče Y, yārī S, arār W; (stem of a- kondē S. trefoil, v. clover. tremble, to reždedal, šanedal, taredal (v. tarhedəl) Pš, larz- P; (to make-) larzânuk O, larzew- P, belarzan- S. trembling paryaz Pš, larză O, Y, lazja W, lazja Š; (-fit) lazye Pš.

trench kandraq Y.

top of the head tâlâk O, kakarië O', I tribe xel Pš, ēl, kom P. trick čal, rew P. trip, to sk.1f- W. tripod cayan O1, šīpāī P. trotting dəqədəq S, doqdoq W. trouble zahmat P. troubled ranjo P. Cf. distressed. trough tarnāw Pš. yuve Y, putžārm W. Cf. trav. troughs, maker of kārga Y, trousers  $part \tilde{u} k$  O,  $pur^2$  O<sup>1</sup>,  $pat l \tilde{u} n$  O, bazu, yušawal, paltūn, tamban P. woro Y, šavol, wal S, patlūn, təmbūn W, šawâlak S. trouser string warwaden Y, wolvoš S. true ristūnai Pš, rast O, P, urzuy, moyāw Y, rost W. trunk, v. stem. truth rištiyā (v. rištūnai) Pš, râxa O, rax O1, haqq, tāqīq, râsti P, rīsk S. truthful råstgū S, rostqūi W. try, to kwažel Pš, izmaw O. tube nāwa Pš. tulip lâla P; (-bed) lâlazâr P. turban dustár O, patkai O1, langota P, čadūr, kalpič Y, salā Š. turn daur, gašt. gerde, nūbat P. turn, to awuştəl Pš, girz-, şar- O, šar-O1, pher-, rēm- P, nēž- Š. Cf. transform. turn over, to waraw- Wn 166. turn round, to gord. Y, yīr. W. turnip šalyām S. tusk waranai Pš. twelve dwalas (v. dwa) Pš, dwās O, O', P, dwazda P, dwoo Y, didus S. twenty šwī Wn 160, šil [and wšel] Pš, jīstu O, O¹, yušt P, bīst Y, W, S, wisto Y, wišt S, wist W, 80818 Š; (-one) sawijīstu O1; (-two) dawišt S; (-four) čērwust Wn 160. cerījīstu O1; (-five) pənjijīstu O¹: (-six) šəwijīstu O¹: (-seven) hawijīstu O¹: -eight` aštajīstu O¹; (-nine) newijīstu O¹.

tweezers mūi-ċino Y. Cf. pincers.

twig šāx S, yax W.

twigs, dry dyūra O.

twin brayūnai (v. bray) Pš, dūgănī O, P.
dəgōni, luänekė Y, juftakī S. yūm W.

twist tāw Pš.

twist, to gal- O¹, zīye- Y. Cf. spin.

twisted, to be mŭz-yēk O.

two dwa Pš, dō O, dyɔ̄ O¹. dī, du P,
loh Y, dōu S, būi W, δīōwn Š.

two-hundred dwē sū Wn 163, loswist Y,
dəsad S, δosäd Š.

## U

udder ywalanz Wn 159, (yw'lanja Pš, pīstän Y, pēšten S, lox. pezīn W. ugly bodrui Y. ulcer dâna P. Cf. sore. umpire mumaiz P. unaccustomed nâwalāt 1'. upbridled bilayâm P. uncle kākā O, bai Y; (paternal) tro Pš, audur O, tā O1, amū, petē P, amək, bəčī S, bəč W, bâb Š; (maternal) nue Pš, māmā, nīyāk O, nyāk O1. kâkī, mâwul P, tāyō, xōlək S, yanga S; (father's sister's husband)  $b\bar{o}j\bar{a}$  S. unconscious bidel, bihuš P. unconscionsness bīhušī P, Y. unexpected meeting dučár P. under lände (v. lar) Pš, zēr P, š'tāhän Y, biš S, bun S. Cf. below. under-bailiff nåyəb S. understand, to pahēž- Wn 166, [pohedəl Pš], fâm- P, pəzīn- S, fām- S. understanding poi O, poe O1, po Po unhappy zurgīr P. 40 - Kulturforskning.

unirrigated lalmī Pš. united jift Y. unjust zōlim W. unknown nâwalāt P. unless yaira, magam P. nnmarried, to be soy- W. unmixed nož Pš. unripe, fruit wozak Wn 169. untie, to, v. loosen. until tâ P, Y, S, zân P. nntimely bijái P. unwell, v. ill. np wakhē P, vəlyo Y. wuć S. uphill šīð W. upon bande, par Pš. npper bar Pš, siri, woru Y. uproar yauyâ P. upside down naskor Pš. up, to tu-manak O. upwards pataráj S. urine mətiā Wn 168, mitiyāzai (v. mītəl) Pš, mizī O, mižī O¹, mīz, šâša P. čkyūgo, mīzyo Y, čīš S, mīzg, pēšāu W, mišc S. urinate, to mītəl Pš, mīz- Y, šoše-kən-S. us, v. we. useful bakâr P. V

valley köl, röt P, daro Y, ° S, koša Y, ošr W, darra Š; (small-) dargāv S, value xeráj P. vanity wiyār Pš. vegetable sābah Pš, savzī, səwī Y; (a kind of: biləxša, kulyo, narirau, rīv. šēiša Y. veil parūnai Pš, buyra. parda P. veiled rūpūš P. vein räg O¹, P, S, W, Š, rīyo Y. veranda muxan Y, dālīz S, dōlōn, dīrgå W; (latticed) hursī P. Cf. vestibnle.

very zut O, P, yulū P. fai S, yaf. yafčī W, lap S. 'verily magam Y. ' vessel lošai Pš: (wooden-) kāra Pš; (large, for grain) kandū O; (water-) yudāra S. vestibule dâliz O. dâlân P, astano, piš $w\bar{o}z\bar{i}$  Y,  $n_{\bar{e}}x$ ,  $p\hat{a}iga$  S. Cf. veranda. victorious bar Pš. victory fata P. vigorous čák P. village wagura Wn 169 [= Pš wugarai person, people], kəlai Pš, grâm O, kiläi O1, deát, sát P, lāmo Y, q1šlåq, wulāt S. dior W, kišlák S. vine melawa Pš, tâk P, šendik W. violence haif P. violent zūl Y. violet (n.) benafšā P, banafšo Y, violin rabáb Š. voice âwâz, γax P, sadâ P, Š, (h)âwâz Š. vomit, to girza· O1, kušm· Y. vomiting kangem (corr.: I vomit) O1, bok S. vulture kargas P, šīž Y, koryos S. vulva kus [Pš], O1, Y, S, būn, dewet P.

## W

šīno Y, kuš S, kiš W, dam Š.

waist mlā Pš, biyān O, O¹, mēn P, məlān Y, mēd S, mād, məlung, miyōn W, mīd Š.
waist-band mēnd Š. Ct. belt.
waistcoat wāskət O, °at P, woskāt W.
wait! dhar P.
wait! dhar P.
waiting udrāk P, karār S.
walk, to yərz- Wn 167, šar- O¹, č(h)īm-, ram- P, tōyd S.
walk about, to girz- O. gudar- pal- P,

, zəyü- Y, fəryərt-, yart-, wənīž- S. Cf. go, turn. walking čhő, čimő, guzar, guzərûn P, sail P, W, gåm, qadam S. wall jar Wn 168, dīwâl O, deo O', S, S, dušt P. haule, xeyo Y. diwol, diz W. Cf. back-wall. wallow, to layar- O. walnut ūyz Pš, čârmâys O, S, watk O, O1, deže P, oyuzo Y, čormāyz, for W, bājak Š; (-tree` γōz Š; (-shell) bayäle Y. wandering kūc P. want, to xvos kon S. for W. far S. Cf. wish. wanting, to be daruzeh. P. war jang O, P, S, W, žang Y, bed S; (belonging to the) jangi P. ward kandai (v. kandəl) Pš. warm, v. hot. warm, to tapēw. P; (the hands) vedō- Y. warrior pālawân P. wart kanayiko Y. wash, to winzen: wā Wn 160/6, (pre-)winjel (v. prā-), wlet Pš, yušaw-ok O, ywaşra. O1, sunī. P, wuzd. Y, zənē. S, wuzdi- W, zenē- Š. watch paira P. watch man kašai Pš, pairadar P. guardian. wasp yalbuz Wn, zambūr O, P, S. W. bamburië, dambur O1, bhambur, kāftek P, yoribombur, wofšto Y, dus.

water obe Pš, wāk O, wak O¹, âwe P, yduro Y, vēk S, yupk W, šāc Š [\*xšudrā]. water, to make, v. urinate. watercourse, v. irrigation channel. waterfall rarrarā, šaršarā P, re S, šiftiko Y, åbšār S, jūš, širširā W, rišūu Š.

vizvizak W, cevinj S; (red) surx-

bobure Y.

water-fowl (n. of a)  $war_{j}ijin$ ,  $k^{u}t\bar{a}^{u}$ ,  $j\bar{\imath}kya\Psi$ . watering, v. irrigation.

water melon phyöbuj P, tarbəz S, °iz W, °ūz Š.

water-mill, v. mill.

waterpipe čilim Y, S, em P.

water-pot garai O1. Cf. bucket.

way, v. road.

way (in this hawerang P: (in that howerang P.

wave zëi W.

we mỗš Wn 164, mũ, mũž Pš, mãx O, O¹, mâ, mâkhân, ·an P, max Y, amax, miể S, sak W, mãš Š.

weak naza, sâdai P.

wear, to psolal Pš.

weasel dala P, dela S.

weave, to ūdəl Pš, gal· O, yaf· O, O¹, P, wāf· Y, īf· S, ūf· W, wâf· Š.

weaver dūr O1, jolā P, gilambāf S, dorzkuryuz Y.

weaving dorz Y.

web londa Pš.

wedding xudba Y, nikā S, tūi S. W, serištā, sūr Š. Cf. marriage.

wedding guest wreza (v. wrā) Pš.

wedge špešta Pš. pərsif W; (for ploughshare) šin W.

Wednesday čáršambē P.

weeding lalūn Pš, `ān O¹, xešâwa P, šōv S, neždun W, šūć Š.

week afta O, S, aščomīž Y, yaftā W. weep, to žarəl Pš, šū-O, šrow-O¹, ruh-P, xšī-Y, šīô-S, nev-W, nav-Š.

weeping rhīnto P.

weigh, to  $tal \cdot O^1$ .

weight girângī, töl P.

well (adj.)  $r\bar{o}_{Y}$  Pš,  $j\bar{o}_{T}$  O, O¹,  $w\bar{o}_{T}$  O,  $\gamma\bar{e}$ ,  $j\bar{o}_{T}$ , xair P,  $x\bar{u}b$  P, S, Š,  $j\bar{o}_{T}$  Š. well (n.)  $spar_{Y}a$  Pš,  $c\hat{a}$  O, P, Š,  $hu^{w}ai$ ,  $x\bar{a}k_{F}$  O¹,  $cukur\bar{\imath}$  P, sardawo Y.

west kiblaru O, åftåb nišastan S. mayrib S, W.

wet nåu Wn 160. nūnd, xušt Pš, šūr O.° šūr, tānd O¹, phyō P. xalōu. xusto Y.° ċal S. namb S, Š. namnåk, šəlōk, tar S, nam, tarī. xašē W, xest Š.

wetch muyo Y.

what ca Pš, O, cēn O, zanēng [\*zanahya kahya] P. če P, Y, 'šti, ce. cəmin. ces Y. ce, ceci. čīz S, čīz W, ca-, čī. čīr Š; (of—kind)-min Y, zanēngī P; (manuer in) kērangī P.

whatever harči P, čes Y.

wheat γandəm Wn 161. γanəm Pš, ganum O. P, gu° O¹, afsırnê. γādəm, paizane Y, γöndəm S, γidim W, žindam Š. wheel arâba O, čarxak Š.

when kala Pš, ka, kon O, kabī P, kəla Y, ki, kabī S, cə waxt W.

whence khânjâi, kujēnd P, žukū Y.

where čarta Pš, guda O, khânjái P, kū P. Y, kužā Y, kunjā S, kumjei W. k'ā Š. wherever harkū P.

whet-stone psān Pš. muzäi O¹, afseno Y. vəsīn S, pisōn W.

whey xinj S. Cf. buttermilk.

which kam Pš, če, khân, khâin P, kyem Y, kuôum S. Cf. who.

while (n.) garī, lāza, wil P.

whip kamčin P, činto, čawuk Y, rešip W, kamče Š.

whip, to hai kan- P.

whirlpool yernānu Y.

whirlwind gulbåd(3k), yərdar S.

whistle špelai Pš, š.cēlān W.

white spīn Pš, spēw O, spīu O¹, chaċō, chaṭō P, spī Y, safēd S, Š, (e)spēð, surxūn S, ruxn W; (of the eye) ispēwī ta cimī O; (of an egg) chaṭaī ēxika P.

whitebeard chatadhari P. Cf. old.

white-muzzled rūisafēd S.

whittle shavings, to tāl- Y.

who cok Wn 161, cok Pš, ka O, P, kok O, kī P, koi Y, S, kodī Y, kūi W, codām Š. Cf. which.

whole tamâm P.

why wale Pš, kyē O, cá, cekun P, nakōi Y, cē-ba, cṣ bā, kirā S, cerak W, cīr Š.

wicked, v. bad.

wide ["wurlun" Wn < \*fraθana], arat, plan, wit [< \*wi-š(i,ta-] Pš, ārat O, O¹, pan O, hāṣrat O¹, paxəy, wosa Y, pām, wasē S, kšâd W, γulā. kešâδ Š.

widow bēwa O, S, W, Š, bīwo, wosorwo Y, bəidōq W.

widower bek'and W.

wife korma (v. kor), šēja Pš, nāk O, O¹, jīnč P, wulo Y, kuč i̇, wuzinjak S, kend W. žīn Š.

wild sor.xaš S; (animal) dhârī P.

willow wazā Wn 160, wala Pš, bėd O, W. wulo O¹, γĩ P, awusto, čilikyŏ, mažnum-bit, wīya Y, bēð, šikår bēð, šûrmůk bēð, wēd S, tik, wonok W, wēd, wān Š.

willow's bark (strip of) lenju Y.

win, to bušā. Y.

wind wagā Wn 160, wo Pš, bād O, O¹, dhamān, yā, yāphunē, xunuk P, šamāl S, °ōl W, wūi Y, bād⟨ī⟩ S, dəma, xūz W, šūj Š; (autumnor winter) ayōs W; (cold blast) sūz W, windless bībāt Y.

winding-sheet kafan O.

windpipe, v. throat.

window ursi O, calandure, derbačo, rīzl³vora Y, rauzan, vōrok S, panjara, tâk (niche?) Š.

wine mai, šarâb P, araq Y.

wing wazar Pš, bâl O, P, S, W, parai O1, värzeyo Y, tap W.

wink, to zambel Pš, sparaw-yēk O, j.m., xurta- O¹, cipō- Y.

winking čmak O, nomiz Y, camok S, winning warāna, wor Pš.

winnow, to lwastel Pš, lebān Y, devin S. būn aān car W.

winnowing farmâl O, devēnic Š.

winnowing-fork xurom-fīa Y, apčūn S, W, būn W.

winter zimai Pš, zemāk O, zimak O<sup>1</sup>, z<sup>3</sup>mâ P, z<sup>3</sup>mīstān Y, zem<sup>3</sup> S, zemistān W, zemistān Š; (the coldest part of-) čilē S,

wipe, to astar-, menth- P.

wire sim P.

wisdom aql O, xirāt P.

wise âqel, aqli P, dând, hušyâr P, S, dāna, lānawo, uši(y)ār Y, bāql S. bafikr, ušyōr W, ušyâr Š.

wish xâeš P.

wish, to yoštol Pš, xāi P, komay, tolap, xōoš kon S, komi, xŏhoš car W.

with la<sup>1</sup> Pš, gidi, nēla O. ba, pen P, la, sko, šəlo Y. pa S. pu W. Cf. together with.

wither(ed), v. fade(d).

within men P.

without  $b\bar{i}$  P; (-chief)  $b\bar{i}s\delta r$ ,  $b\bar{i}tam\bar{i}z$  P; (-fighting)  $b\bar{i}jang$  P; (-head)  $b\bar{i}s\delta r$  P; (-reward)  $b\bar{i}mu\bar{i}r\hat{a}$  P.

witness šâid O, šâhed P.

wolf lēu Wn 168, lewə, šarmaš Pš, dâmī O, lēwū O¹, yury P, wury Y, wərk S, šapt W, wūrj Š.

woman šeja Pš, zarkā O, jarko O', zaīf P, žiņko, žiņkiko Y, janj S, kend W, žēnik Š; (married) maroša (\$. maranai, Pš. mālidarī O; 'unmarried' waserwo, wosorwo Y.

womb vəzaxo Y, rām S. wonderful ajab O, P, ažop Y. wood largai Pš. gon O, O¹, skut Y, čūb, durk S, sung W, darg S; chip offroi Y.

wooden korin P.

wood-carving areyevde Y.

woof wawana (ūdəl) Pš.

wool waraî Pš, pom O, O', pöc P, păm Y, pām S, řer, pašm W, wön Š; carded) mykič Y; (a kind of) yolās O; (lambs') kraberė Y; (yak's) perob W.

woollen jacket, v. jacket.

word  $q\bar{a}(i)$  Wn 168 [ $< g\bar{a}\vartheta\bar{a}$ -], kissi O, âwâz, harf, sū? P, gap P, Y, S, W, Š. lauz, rōi Y, lavz S, səxan W.

work car Ps, kar O, O1, ker P, hory Y, arī S, yark W, k'âr S.

world dinyâ O, âlam P, S, dunyâ P, do S, jehân P, ji S; (the lower) tā-duniā Y; (next-) āxerat Y.

worm kirm O, kirmāk P, počuk S, porīč, pat W, čirom S.

worry, to yus- Y.

worse battar P.

worth *lâyiq* O.

worthless binango P.

wound parhar, zam Pš. zaxm P, Y, S, W.

wounded \*paraželai, žobal, xūž Pš, jak O, zaxmī O, S, sâr P, zâr S.

wrap up, to nyaštel (v. yaštel) Pš, yar-O¹, pəlarz- Y, pēž- S.

wrestling  $kušt\bar{\iota}$  P.

wrestling-ground harkâra P.

wring, to ispilaw-, palašt- O, žumānd- W. wrinkles kalakəri Y.

wrist marwand Pš, omand O', bande döst P, dest S, S, dast W, last-bot. wuški ostia Y, pərsəngəl W, lakak corr.: middle finger, S.

write, to līkən- Wn 166, pis- O, lik- O1, nuviš- Y, no° S, W. nowiš- S. written nimišta O. niwišta P.

Y

yak juy W.

yard, v. ell.

varn ancaī Pš.

yawn [aswelai Pš], arjumai O¹, fâza P, niaskė Y, damfāžek S, oje, zim W. fûža Š.

yawn, to kašēw- P, zom- Y, axse deh- S. istīnd. W.

year [kāl Pš], čân, °sul O, cān O¹, sâl P, Y, S, W. S, sar P; (of drought) ušksāl Y.

year, last, v. last.

year, this, v. this year.

year before last totvārt W.

year, three—s ago čurmosāl, žirasāl Y.

year, one-old yusaxo Y.

years, period of two- lohsaxo Y.

yearly arsol S, W.

yeast yarvaden Y.

yellow ziyar Pš, zyēr O, O¹. zītō P, spišč, zit Y, zāļ, zard S, zart W. zīrd Š.

yes wöya O, hā P, šn S, balĕ S, W, yān W, amâ S,

yesterday [pārənd Wn], parūn Pš, prān O, O¹, aze P, wuzīr Y, karēr, parūzd. wəcərīn S. yĕz W, beyâr Š; (evening) bēgâ O, iziko Y.

yesterday, two days before yo, etc., v. day.

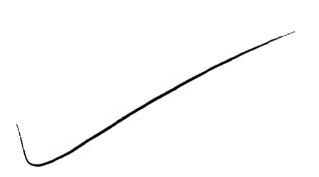
yesternight nēr-fəršöu S.

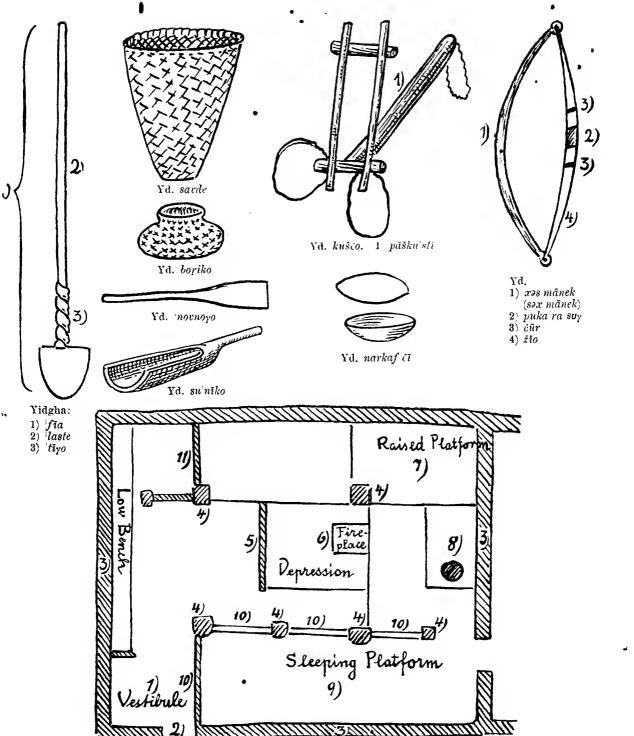
yet, v. still.

yoke yūy-lunda O, ziy O¹, jauza, żūγ P, yūy Y, W, fəryay, yəy S. səmvər W. yoke-peg kāriak, sām Y, keļī W.

yoke-rope sar-wāndē (v. wandanai Pš, | young workai (v. wur) Pš, bīlo P, juwan särälī O, frāiyo, zūelo Y, yelyārband S. yolk of egg zīta-i ē.xika P. you tās Wn 164, tāsu, mū Pš, tōs O, wâ, wâkhân, -ō(u) P. maf Y, təmox S, sāišt W, tama Š.

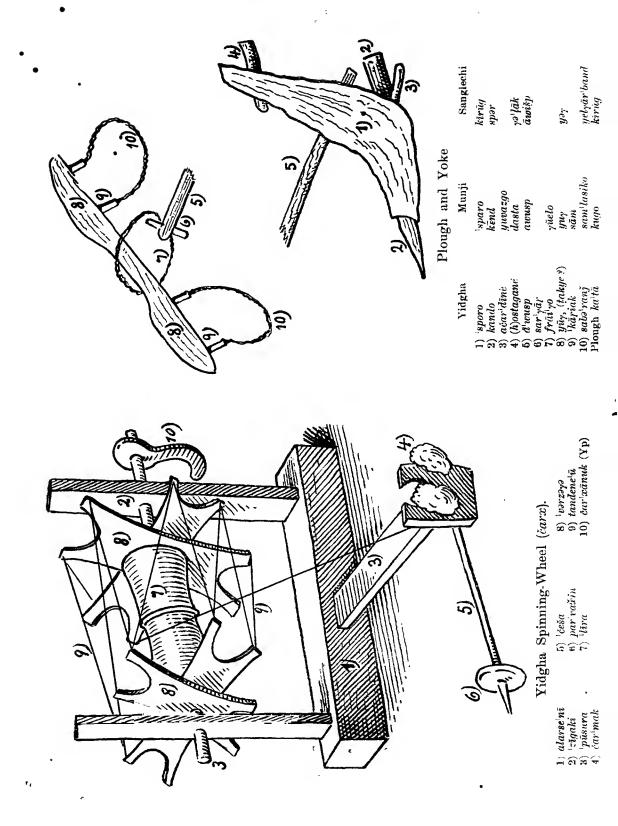
P, S, W, ž<sup>2</sup> Y, nauča P; (man) zalmai Pš. young of an animal zārai Pš, cuča P. younger kašr Pš, kyämder Y. youth juwani, nojuwani P. youthful xišrūt Š.





Plan of a Yidgh House from Burbunu.

- 10 san jā 7) 'ćārsīr 4` ustu no 1) astano 8\ caro
- 11) Low, wooden 2) la voro 5) taxta bande partition wall 9, žen 6 livden i; 3 xeyo





(thulam Haidar from Lutkuh and Ali Mahmad from Munjan.



Mahmad from Zhitr in Lutkuh.



Yidgh peasants from Lutkuh



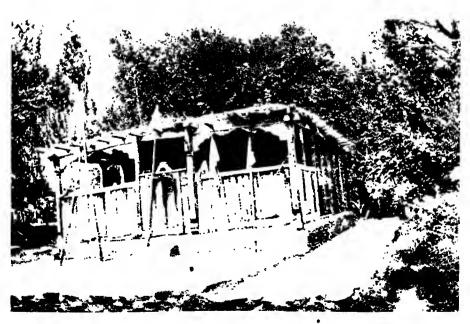
From Zhitr in Lutkuh.



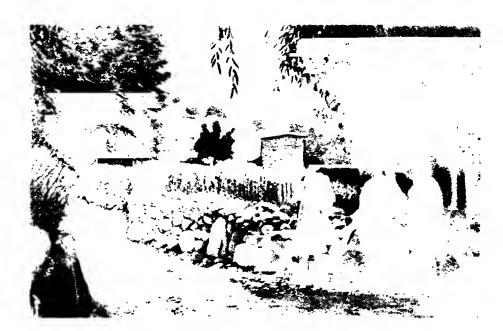
Spinning-wheel from Zhitr.



Garm-Chishma in Lutkuh.



The Maulai Shrine near Izh in Lutkuh



From the Parabek Plain in Lutkuli.



Village at the head of the Lutkuh Valley.



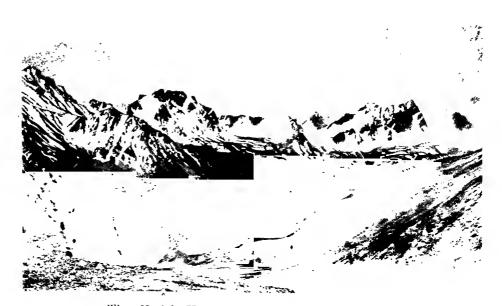
Cliffs above Shoghor, Lower Lutkuh.



On the road from the Dorah Pass.



From the Dorah Pass towards Munjan and Sanglech



The Ustich Valley south of the Dorah Pass





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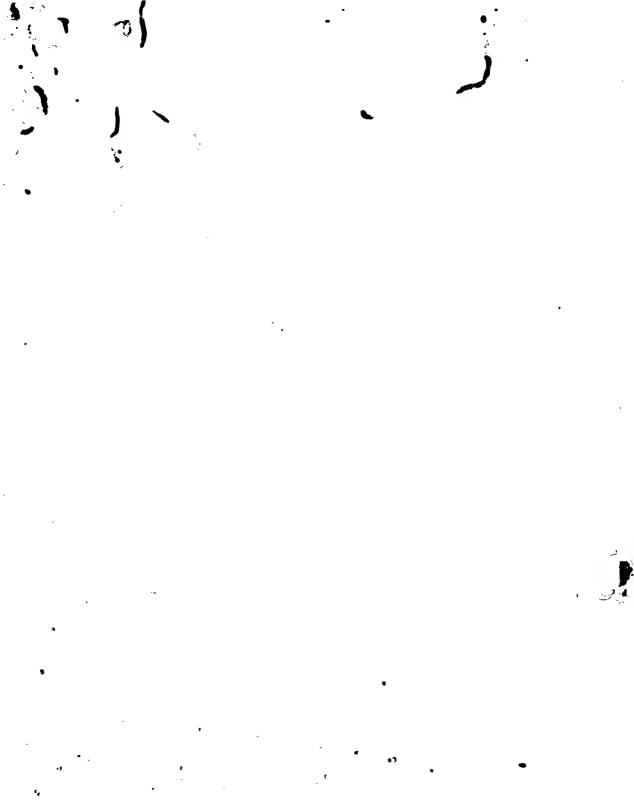
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